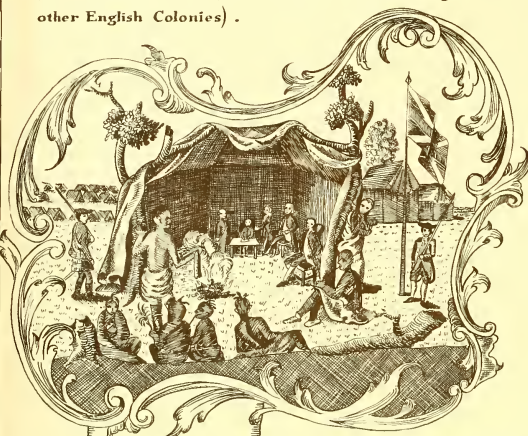




# Map of the INDIAN TREATIES, 1736~1762

MADE BETWEEN the Six Nations of the *IROQUOIS CONFEDERATION* (with tributary nations) AND the *PROVINCE of PENNSYLVANIA* (with some other English Colonies) .

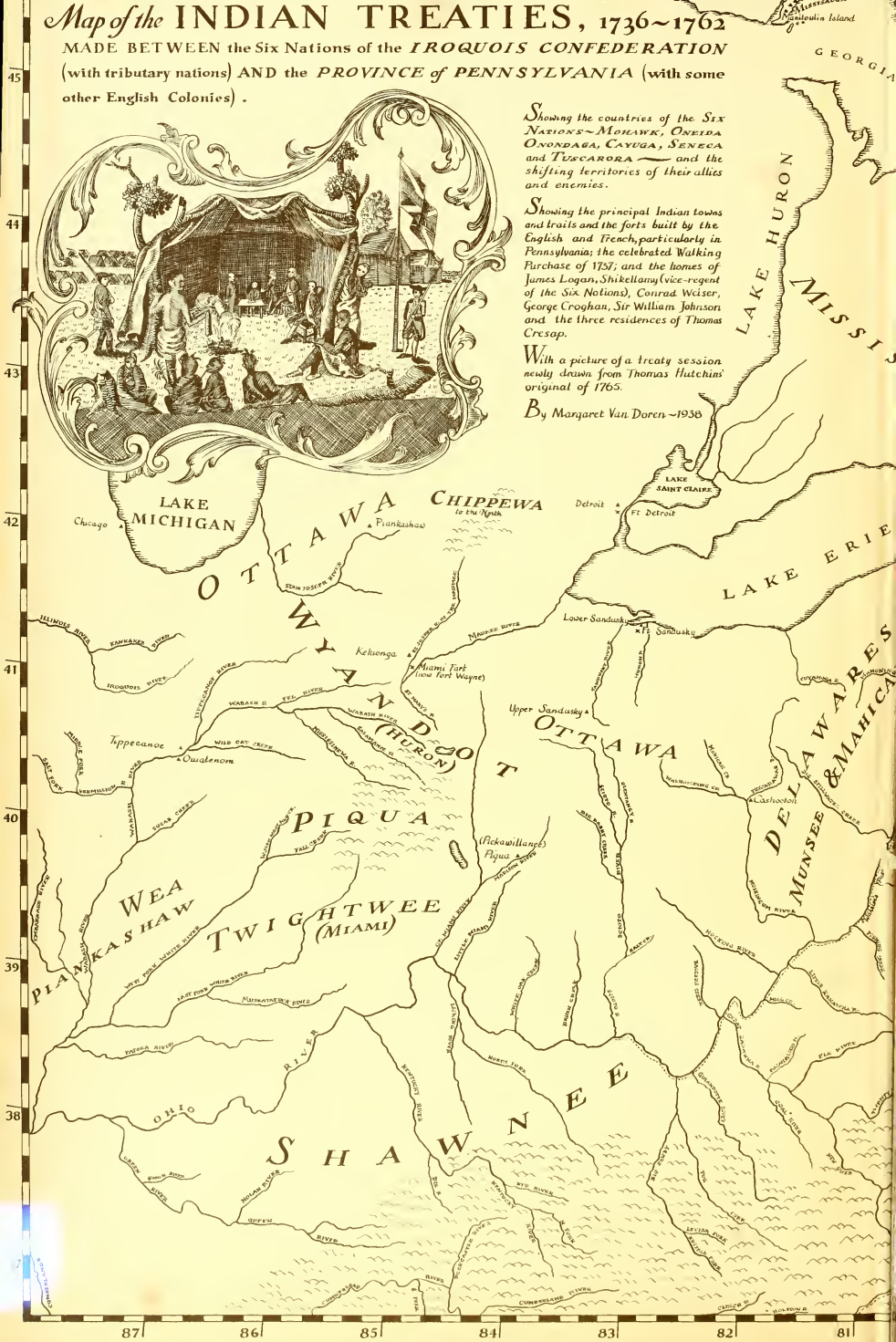


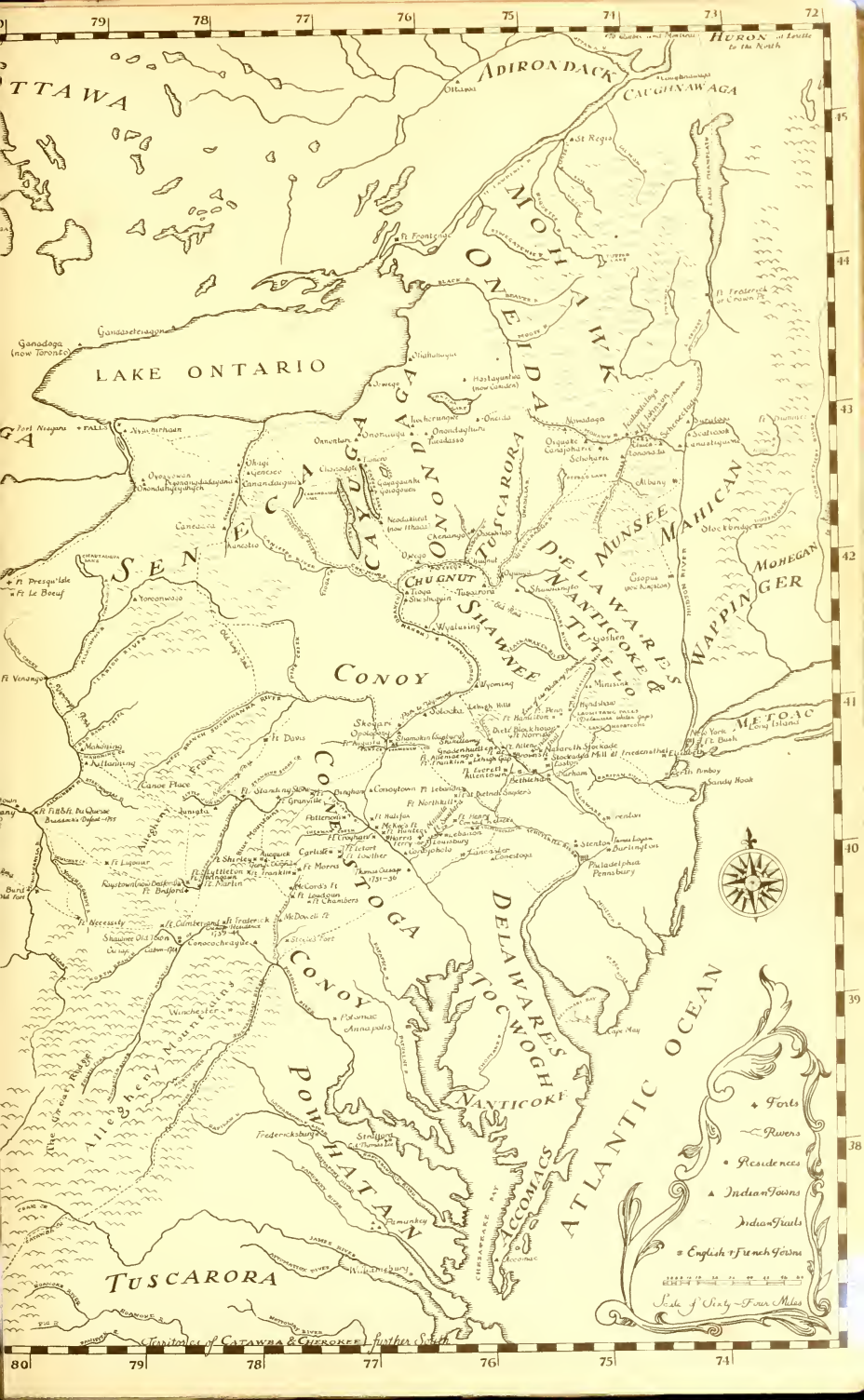
Showing the countries of the *SIX NATIONS*—*MOHAWK, ONEIDA, ONONDAGA, CAYUGA, SENECA* and *TUCCARORA*—and the shifting territories of their allies and enemies.

Showing the principal Indian towns and trails and the forts built by the English and French, particularly in Pennsylvania; the celebrated *Walking Purchase of 1757*; and the homes of *James Logan, Shikellamy* (vice-regent of the *Six Nations*), *Conrad Weiser*, *George Croghan*, *Sir William Johnson* and the three residences of *Thomas Cresap*.

With a picture of a treaty session newly drawn from *Thomas Hutchins' original of 1765*.

By *Margaret Van Doren*—1938





- Forts
- Rivers
- Residences
- ▲ Indian Towns
- Indian Trails
- English & French Towns

Scale of Sixty Four Miles

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University of Pittsburgh

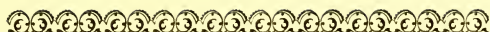


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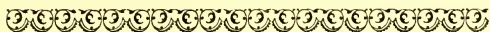
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# INDIAN TREATIES

*Printed by*  
*Benjamin Franklin*





# INDIAN TREATIES

PRINTED BY

*Benjamin Franklin*

1736-1762

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*With an Introduction by Carl Van Doren  
and Historical & Bibliographical  
Notes by Julian P. Boyd*

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## Acknowledgment

The Iroquois had a ceremony called *Dayonunnequā Na Deohako*, or the Harvest Festival. It was not merely a Thanksgiving for the harvest, but a general pæan of gratitude for all the sympathetic and protecting elements that gave food and comfort to mankind — for the fertile grain, for the soil that gave it nourishment, for the sunshine and rain that gave strength to the plants, for everything that contributed toward the desired end. The acknowledgment here made must be briefer but fully as inclusive in its sweep. If it also could be as impressively sincere in its symbols of gratitude, it would convey a measure of the appreciation felt toward those who have helped to produce this volume.

Mr. Carl Van Doren provided the fertile suggestion — as well as the illuminating and scholarly introduction — for this volume. Mr. E. E. Brownell furnished the equivalents of the nourishing soil and warm sunshine, elements so necessary to the growth of what otherwise might have remained only an ardent hope. Mr. Brownell's sympathetic interest in the suggestion made by Mr. Van Doren was quickened for a very justifiable reason: George Brownell, a Boston schoolmaster who taught Benjamin Franklin writing and arithmetic for several months, who lived for some time in Philadelphia, and who no doubt looked with a proud and kindly eye on the rising fortunes of his former pupil, was Mr. Brownell's collateral ancestor. To Mr. Van Doren, therefore, for the suggestion and to Mr. Brownell for the support that made possible its realization, I wish to express my gratitude.

Many others have also helped to bring the grain to fruition: librarians of the institutions listed in the bibliography, as well as scores of others whose institutions unhappily did not possess Franklin treaties; the officers of the Library Company of Philadelphia, the American Philosophical Society, and the University of Pennsylvania, who generously permitted us to make use of their copies of the treaties for reproduction in this volume; the staff of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who have all labored anonymously but faithfully to make this work worthy of the imprint of the Society and without whose industry and assistance it could not have been produced at all — to all of these I wish to express my appreciation.

I am particularly indebted to Mrs. Augusta Smith, of Martinsburg, Pennsylvania, for permission to use her very interesting collection of manuscripts; to Mr. Charles B. Montgomery for his reading of my manuscript on Indian affairs; to Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth for giving me the advantage of his specialized and wide-

ranging knowledge of colonial history in general and Indian treaties in particular; to Miss Margaret Van Doren for her painstaking scholarship and competent artistry in achieving the difficult feat of producing an endpaper map that is at once charming and useful; and to many others who have in many ways contributed to the improvement of this volume. For all this generous assistance I am deeply grateful.

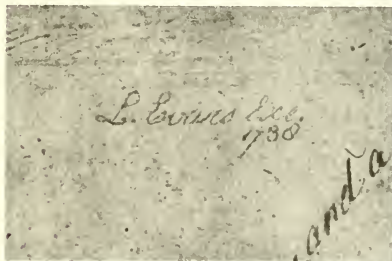
*Julian P. Boyd*

Editor, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

# *Map of the Indian Walking Purchase, 1737*

by LEWIS EVANS

This map is in the Logan Papers, Miscellaneous MSS., I. 119, in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The signature is faded but clearly legible: "L. Evans Exc. 1738." It is not clear why or for whom Evans prepared this map. It is not mentioned in any of the contemporary records pertaining to the Walking Purchase. The official map of that purchase was made by Benjamin Eastburn, Surveyor General of the Province, and it is his map that is usually referred to. There was also a draft of the Walking Purchase made by John Chapman, Deputy Surveyor for Bucks County. Inasmuch as Evans' map is found in the Logan papers, it may be that it was drawn up for James Logan. This reproduction is the same size as the original. Below is shown an enlarged, unretouched facsimile of the signature.



PART OF 1151

535

Red of the Rocks (Cathin.)

1. High 1000 ft  
2. High 1000 ft  
3. High 1000 ft  
4. High 1000 ft  
5. High 1000 ft  
6. High 1000 ft  
7. High 1000 ft  
8. High 1000 ft  
9. High 1000 ft  
10. High 1000 ft



NEW JERSEY.





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## INTRODUCTION

*The quality in Franklin which makes him now seem to have been so often a prophet is the same as any other prophet's secret: he had a quick and sure instinct for what was excellent in his own time, and much of that excellence has turned out to be lasting. His instinct was better than he always realized. In 1744 he hoped his Cato Major might be "a happy Omen, that Philadelphia shall become the Seat of the American Muses." That same year he hoped for his printed version of the Lancaster treaty that "the method of doing business with those barbarians" might afford William Strahan some amusement. Franklin sent Strahan, for possible sale in London, five hundred copies of the Cato, three hundred of the treaty. By all the standards then current "this first Translation of a Classic in this Western World" was the important book. The American Muses would translate the Roman. Compared with that, it was*

mere day's work to print an Indian treaty, though here was a form new to literature, in a world that was dangerously alive. And yet, whatever his conscious literary judgments, Franklin's instinct did not fail him. While he printed no more translated classics, he—or he and David Hall—continued his series of treaties, begun eight years before, until there were thirteen of the stately folios which for both matter and manner are after two hundred years the most original and engaging documents of their century in America.

The Indians were not, as tradition has come to regard them, perpetual enemies in endless wars against the white settlers. For three or four decades before 1763 the Six Nations—Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and the newly-admitted Tuscarora—of the Iroquois Confederation labored skillfully and wisely to keep the peace. Not more than perhaps fifteen thousand persons all together, living in perhaps fifty villages in central New York, the Confederation ruled a kind of empire from the St. Lawrence to the James, from the Hudson nearly to the Mississippi. Conquered tribes paid tribute to the Iroquois, who alone claimed the right to say who should go to war, and why and when. South of the

*Six Nations lay the hunting grounds of the Susquehanna valley to which the Iroquois had assigned the Delawares and the Shawnee, with smaller tribes. The Oneida chief Shikellamy took up his official residence in 1728 at Shamokin (now Sunbury), at the forks of the Susquehanna, and there for twenty years acted as the Confederation's viceregent for the district. In 1729 Conrad Weiser, a Palatine who had lived from boyhood in close friendship with the Mohawk, left New York to establish himself on a farm at Tulpehocken. To these two men must go the credit for carrying out the far-looking Indian policy of Pennsylvania, originated by the wise James Logan.*

*That policy seems to have been fostered no more by Pennsylvania than by Shikellamy, astute and secret. Through him, with Weiser as interpreter, Pennsylvania made terms with the Six Nations. Together they disposed of the Delawares and the Shawnee, rebellious tributaries of the Six Nations, uncomfortable neighbors of the Pennsylvanians. This cost the province a Delaware-Shawnee war, but it prevented what would have been a worse war with the Iroquois. The Six Nations, after their treaty with Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia at Lancaster in 1744, looked on Pennsylvania as spokes-*

man for the English generally. Canasatego, chief of the Onondaga, at Lancaster advised the English to follow the Iroquois example. "Our wise Forefathers established Union and Amity between the Five Nations; this has made us formidable; this has given us great Weight and Authority with our neighbouring Nations. We are a powerful Confederacy; and, by your observing the same Methods our wise Forefathers have taken, you will acquire such Strength and Power; therefore whatever befalls you, never fall out with one another." Though the colonies were slow in learning union from the Indians, Pennsylvania's steady alliance with the Six Nations had a large effect in preserving the friendship of the Iroquois for the English. If the Iroquois with their whole empire had gone over to the French they might have won the continent.

The Pennsylvania treaties which maintained the alliance were diplomatic dramas in a form prescribed by Iroquois ritual and for years directed by Conrad Weiser, the Pennsylvania interpreter. "By the Interpreter's Advice," says the earliest treaty printed by Franklin, the chiefs of the Six Nations who had arrived at Stenton in 1736 "were first spoke to in their own Way, with three small Strings of Wam-



*pum in Hand, one of which was delivered on each of the following Articles," presumably by Weiser himself. Four days later, in "the Great Meeting-House at Philadelphia" filled to the top of the galleries with curious citizens, in the presence of Thomas Penn, James Logan, and the Council, the Seneca speaker for the chiefs, also in their own way, "spoke as follows by Conrad Wyser." They had come, he said, to warm themselves at the hospitable fire which Pennsylvania had promised to keep "in this great City," and they desired it would "ever continue bright and burning to the End of the World." They desired that the road between Philadelphia and the Six Nations might "be kept clear and open, free from all Stops or Incumbrances." And they desired that the chain of friendship should be preserved "free from all Rust and Spots . . . not only between this Government and us, but between all the English Governments and all the Indians." Business had to wait on ceremony, and the whole occasion was ceremonial.*

*The forest metaphors of the Fire, the Road, the Chain run through the treaties down to that at Carlisle in 1753, when a new ceremony was added, at the request if not the demand of Scarouady, chief*

*and orator of the Oneida. He was there in company with chiefs or deputies of tributary Delawares, Shawnee, Miami (Twightwee), and Wyandot from the Ohio, where the French were threatening. If the English wanted to keep the Ohio Indians friendly, so did the Six Nations, firmly hostile to the French. The English supplied the necessary gifts at the Carlisle treaty; the Six Nations prescribed the ritual of giving. It was an applied form of the ceremony of Condolences, used among the Iroquois when chiefs or warriors had died and delegates from other nations came to mourn the loss.*

*All these Ohio tribes had lately suffered the death of notable men. Scarouady, speaking for Pennsylvania as well as for the Six Nations, told the mourners: 'As we know that your Seats at Home are bloody, we wipe away the Blood, and set your Seats in Order at your Council Fire, that you may sit and consult again in Peace and Comfort as formerly.' When a string of wampum had been given he went on: 'We suppose that the Blood is now washed off. We jointly, with our Brother Onas [Pennsylvania], dig a Grave for your Warriors, killed in your Country; and we bury their Bones decently; wrapping them up in these Blankets; and with these we cover*

*their Graves."* Then the gifts, already laid out before the Indians, were given to them. Scarouady ended: "We wipe your Tears from your Eyes, that you may see the Sun, and that every Thing may become clear and pleasant to your Sight; and we desire you would mourn no more."

The ceremony of Condolences became as customary in treaties as the metaphorical Fire, Road, Chain. The forms grew familiar to the English, and they expert in the practice of them, but the forms were Iroquois. The governor or the commissioners of Pennsylvania would open a treaty council with a speech of several articles, presenting with each of them a string of wampum which was for the Indians an essential part of the record. Usually the Indians would put off their answer to the next day, to have time to confer among themselves. Then one of them, speaker for them all, would take up each article, repeating it from a memory as accurate as written minutes, and replying to it, again with formal wampum. Though there might be hundreds of Indians and white men present at a treaty gathering, and all sorts of caucuses off stage, the actual councils were grave and punctilious, as orderly as a trial before a high court of law, as straightforward in action as a good play.

*Behind the strict ritual the issues were realistic. Pennsylvania, however generous in payment, wanted more and more land for its increasing and spreading population. The Six Nations knew that farmers were the natural enemies of hunters. "Your Horses and Cows," Canasatego said at Philadelphia in 1742, "have eat the Grass our Deer used to feed on." "We know our Lands are now become more valuable. The white People think we do not know their Value; but we are sensible that the Land is everlasting, and the few Goods we receive for it are soon worn out and gone." The Indians could not retreat forever. The French were at their backs. "The King of England, and of France," the Delaware Tedyuskung said at Easton in November, 1756, "have settled or wrought this Land, so as to coop us up as in a Pen." If the French and English must be at war, "there was Room enough at Sea to fight," Canasatego insisted at Lancaster in 1744. Let them stay away from the interior, where the Six Nations were working to keep the peace. "The French and English made War, and made Peace, at Pleasure," he said at Albany in 1745; "but when the Indians once engaged in Wars, they knew not when it would end."*

*The Iroquois Statesmen were perfectly aware*

*that only by remaining neutral could they hold the balance of power, and that only as long as they held the balance of power could they hope to survive at all in the face of immensely superior numbers and wealth. So, at treaty after treaty, they schemed for English support of the Confederation, made concessions only when they had to, looked out for the interests of the Indian trade, and exacted or coaxed whatever they could in the way of goods and munitions given as peace-making presents by the English. While their advantage lasted, a league of ragged villages held off two great empires, inflexibly and proudly forcing the empires to treat with them in the village language.*

*Within the rigid form of a treaty council there was still much variety in individual speeches. The speaker of the Cayuga at Lancaster in 1744 impressed his white hearers with "all the Dignity of a Warrior, the Gesture of an Orator, and . . . a very graceful Posture." An Oneida at Lancaster in 1762 with an enormous image told how his people had made a peace by burying the bones of the enemy dead. "There is a large Pine Tree in the Oneida Country, which I take and pull up by the Roots, and then it makes a great Hole; when I look down the Hole, I see a great River, running very strong at the Bottom. By this Belt I*



*gather all your Bones, wherever I can find them, and bury them in that Hole, and the Hatchet with them; when I put them down the Hole, they fall into that strong Stream, and float down it, I know not where. I stick that Pine Tree down again in the same Hole, and then no Body can discover that there has been a Hole; so that neither you nor I, nor our nor your Grandchildren, shall ever be able to know where your Bones are laid. This is the Custom of our Forefathers, that when any Difference arose between them and their Brethren, they buried it in this Manner."*

*The austere Canasatego, who at Philadelphia in 1742 imperiously ordered the Delawares to remove at once to Wyoming or Shamokin, had a dry, sly humor when he chose. At the same council he praised Conrad Weiser for his impartial honesty between Indians and whites. "He is of our Nation [by adoption], and a Member of our Council as well as yours. When we adopted him, we divided him into Two equal Parts: One we kept for our selves, and one we left for you. He has had a great deal of Trouble with us, wore out his Shoes in our Messages, and dirty'd his Cloaths by being amongst us, so that he is become as nasty as an Indian." They gave Weiser five skins to buy clothes and shoes with and recommended him to the*

*further generosity of Pennsylvania. If Canasatego was both austere and humorous, Scarouady was graceful and eloquent, and Tedyuskung an irrepressible aboriginal Falstaff.*

*Throughout the treaties there is at any moment likely to be comedy. "You tell us," Canasatego said at Lancaster in 1744, "you beat the French; if so, you must have taken a great deal of Rum from them, and can better spare us some of that Liquor to make us rejoice with you in the Victory." George Thomas, a governor who had a knack at treaties, "ordered a Dram of Rum to be given to each in a small Glass, calling it, A French Glass." The next day Canasatego asked for rum in English glasses. They all drank together in glasses of a larger size, with Yo-has from the Indians and huzzas from the English.*

*The Indian treaty was a form of literature which had no single author. Shikellamy and Scarouady may have suggested the metaphors and rites to be used, but they had to be adapted by Weiser as impresario, and then be accepted by the government of Pennsylvania. The secretaries who kept the minutes never dreamed they were making literature, nor need Franklin have guessed that he was printing it in his folios. These were simply the records of public events.*

*The events, being based on ritual, had their own form, and they fixed the form of the record. Accuracy in such cases was art. Now and then the secretaries left out speeches or parts of speeches uttered by the hard tongues of the Indians, but there was not too much expurgation, and there was no literary self-consciousness. Here for once life seems to have made itself almost unaided into literature.*

*Nothing quite like the Indian treaties exists anywhere else in the literature of the world. Vercingetorix is only a character in Cæsar's narrative, presented as Cæsar liked. But Canasatego and Scarouady and Tedyuskung, with many minor chieftains, live on in the actual words they spoke face to face with their conquerors, in a breathing-spell before the conquest. For a time savage ritual had power over civilized men, who were obliged to listen. Years later white story-tellers were to lend romantic color to the vanished race. Their invented stories could not equal the treaties, even as romance. The plain facts, as the treaties set them forth, are alive with poetry no less than truth, with humor and drama, and with the strong wisdom of simple experience.*

Carl Van Doren





*INDIAN AFFAIRS  
IN PENNSYLVANIA*

*1736-1762*





## *Indian Affairs in Pennsylvania, 1736-1762*

ONE of the pivotal facts in American colonial history was the balance of power held by the Iroquois in the period between 1689 and 1763 wherein France and England came to grips four times for the mastery of the continent. That fact was recognized by thoughtful persons among the English, the French, and the Indians themselves, with consequent influence upon the relations of all three in their efforts to control and use this "balance of the Constitution of America."<sup>1</sup> In 1689 Lord Bellomont informed the British government that the friendship of the Iroquois was essential to the British interest in America. DuChesnay wrote the French government in 1681 that "it is absolutely necessary to make them our friends or destroy them."<sup>2</sup> The Iroquois, finding themselves courted on either side, often revealed their consciousness of the advantages that those who hold a balance of power usually possess. They made the most of it, well realizing also that their situation, though favored, was precarious.

"To preserve the Ballance between us & the French is the great ruling Principle of the Modern Indian Politics," wrote Peter Wxaxall.<sup>3</sup> William Penn, though troubled by few of the complicated Indian problems that harassed his sons, fell easily into this ruling principle of Indian politics. Within a year after his arrival he sent agents to New York to deal with the Iroquois as the recognized overlords of the lands along the Susquehanna.<sup>4</sup> But it was James Logan who gave definite form to Pennsylvania's Indian policy in its early years. He was in charge of Indian affairs in the province from 1701 to 1732 and until his death in 1751 his advice on this subject was sought by the proprietors and their agents. His central policy was summed up in a single sentence within a year after his arrival

<sup>1</sup>William T. Morgan, "The Five Nations and Queen Anne," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XIII (Sept. 1926), 169-89; *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (hereafter cited as *N. Y. C. D.*), V, 371. All manuscript sources cited in the footnotes are in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania unless they are particularly referred to in some other repository.

<sup>2</sup>*N. Y. C. D.*, IX, 165.

<sup>3</sup>C. H. Mellwain, ed., *Abridgment of the Indian Affairs . . . of New York*, by Peter Wxaxall, 219.

<sup>4</sup>Penn's agents on this occasion were William Haig and James Graham. As appears by a document dated Sept. 26, 1683, several Onondaga and Cayuga sachems appeared before

the Albany Commissioners for Indian Affairs and stated that they could not sell the Susquehanna lands inasmuch as they had yielded them up to the governor of New York four years previously. Penn subsequently obtained a release of the land from Governor Dongan, which probably accounts for his cryptic comment on the reverse of this document: "Ill intended but Providentially well Concluded. W. P." This document, together with several others relating to the same subject, as well as a duplicate also endorsed by Penn, is in the possession of Mrs. Augusta Smith of Martinsburg, Pennsylvania, to whom I am indebted for its use. See also Mellwain, *op. cit.*, 11.

in America: "If we lose the Iroquois, we are gone."<sup>5</sup> In 1718 Logan, the best informed man in the province on Indian affairs, drew up an account of the French trade, trade routes, and Indians in the French interest. To prevent the French from extending their influence, he proposed that the English "use all reasonable endeavours to preserve the Iroquese . . . their Preservation seems to be of vast importance to us."<sup>6</sup> He also suggested a line of policy that the proprietors renewed thirty years later: that Virginia be encouraged to extend her settlements beyond the mountains and build forts on Lake Erie. Though he was a leading merchant of Philadelphia engaged in the Indian trade, Logan likewise recommended that intercolonial rivalries be avoided and that abuses be regulated. In 1731 he drew up a far-reaching view of Indian relations and their influence on Anglo-French rivalry, again emphasizing the importance of the Iroquois. These ideas he first communicated to the provincial council and later submitted to persons in authority in England. Not only was Logan possessed of an intelligent and far-reaching policy, which he impressed upon Thomas Penn, Conrad Weiser, Richard Peters, and George Thomas—that remarkable group of Indian diplomats—but he gained the affection of the Indians so completely as to be considered by them in the same terms in which they thought of William Penn.

This policy of recognizing the influence of the Iroquois was continued without interruption by Thomas Penn when he came into control of Pennsylvania affairs. Thomas Penn was but seven years of age when five Iroquois Indians visited England in 1709 and were entertained by "le Sr. Pen la Quaker a Taverne du Diable a Charing Crosse."<sup>7</sup> He was too young to appreciate the state policy back of the hospitality showered by the court and all of London on these American chieftains, but by the time he came to America he sensed the necessity of continuing the Founder's policy of securing the friendship of the Six Nations. He realized also the wisdom of William Penn's well-known policy of dealing fairly, honestly, and peaceably with the natives. He endeavored to act upon these two principles consistently.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, IX, 88. James Steel, writing to the proprietors May 21, 1731, said of Logan that he "has always had so great influence on them [the Indians] that none since your worthy Father could attain." Steel Letter Book, 1730-1741, p. 23. Logan attended, if he did not direct, treaties held with Delawares, Shawnee and other local tribes in 1710 and 1712 at which the suzerainty of the Iroquois was acknowledged. Minutes of an Indian Treaty held at Conestoga, July 31, 1710, Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 34; Conference with the Delawares at Whitemarsh, May 19, 1712, Ms. in Logan's handwriting in the possession of Mrs. Augusta Smith of Martinsburg, Pennsylvania. At the latter conference over thirty belts of wampum, their designs depicted in the margin of Logan's manuscript, were sent by the "women" of the Delawares to the Iroquois, some expressing hostility to the French, some professing friendship for the English, all acknowledging the overlordship of the Iroquois. The 1710 treaty has not been printed; that of 1712 is to be found, with minor variations, in *Pennsylvania Colonial Records* (hereafter cited as *Pa. C. R.*), II, 546-49.

<sup>6</sup>Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 43; Joseph E. Johnson, ed., "Of the State of the British Plantations in America [by Logan]," *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LX (April, 1936), 97-130; *Logan Papers*, XI, 8.

<sup>7</sup>Morgan, *loc. cit.*, 181. These five Indians, usually referred to as sachems, included only one who held that rank: "Hendrick the great Prince that was so honoured in England cannot command ten men, the other three were not sachems," wrote a contemporary; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* (Philadelphia, 1936), 150-51.

<sup>8</sup>In the proprietors' instructions to Governor Patrick Gordon, dated Jan. 26, 1732/33, the ninth article is as follows: "You are to be particularly careful to keep a good Understanding with the Indians & see as far as lies in your Power that they be honestly dealt with and as our late Father with great Success avoided all Acts of Hostility and ever behaved with great Humanity & kindness towards them let this be your Method & behaviour as far as possible." Penn Letter Book, I, 74-76. These instructions are not included in L. W. Larrabee, *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670-1776*, since that valuable work pertains only to the royal provinces.

Despite the fact that he had a copy of *The Prince* in his library, Thomas Penn was no Machiavelli in his dealings with the Indians. He was no liberal in economics, politics, or religion: he was an English country gentleman with strong Tory leanings, trying his best to adhere to the standards of his class, or of that above it. He had the conservative magnate's aptitude for exact detail and scrupulous order in executive management. He bought books, statuary, and paintings because it became his station to do so. Poetry was not in him: he preferred the names of London streets to the sweet music in Susquehanna, Juniata, Monongahela. He was unmoved by the flowing oratory of Canasatego and Scarouady. He clamored for copies of the Indian treaties as soon as they were published, but he wanted them to show to ministers as evidence of the good relations Pennsylvania had with the natives, or to learn of the success or failure of his plans for new purchases of lands or for frontier defense. They were to him business reports, not documents of statesmanship, least of all literature. Nevertheless, since Indian affairs until 1756 were entirely in the hands of the proprietors and their officials, and since he was the chief proprietor after 1746, he was the ultimate source of authority for the Indian policy of the province and his efforts to direct that policy deserve a closer attention than they have received.

When Thomas Penn met the deputies of the Six Nations at Stenton in 1736 he entered upon the most momentous quarter of a century in the whole history of Indian affairs. England was temporarily at peace with France, though Utrecht was twenty years in the past and the stage was being set for the third conflict. The Indian threat had up to then been confined to New England and the frontiers of New York, but Pennsylvania traders had already begun to tap the rich Ohio Indian trade. Internal politics of the province had not yet reached an impasse over Indian policy, and the Friends were securely in control of the government. Germans and Scots-Irish were landing at Philadelphia by the thousands, but the pressure of population on the Indian boundaries had not yet become acute. The local tribes in Pennsylvania were kept in friendly relations with comparative ease and it had not yet become necessary to remind them unequivocally of their subjection to the Six Nations. Treaties held with them were in the main occasions for exhibiting and adjusting minor grievances and making land purchases. As the period wore on through the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, all of these factors merged into the dominant theme of Anglo-French rivalry, the focal point of which became the Ohio Valley. At its climactic close, France had yielded to British imperialism, the local tribes in Pennsylvania were left without influence, great tracts of land were available for settlement, the Iroquois were declining and the western tribes were growing in weight in the calculation of policy, and the incomparable Ohio region was ready for the Whartons and the Gratzes. In the unfolding of these momentous events, Thomas Penn was obliged to enlarge his Indian policy from provincial to imperial dimensions, merging it with the interests of what was coming

to be known as the British Empire. During the middle of the period, no British colony in America had more influence over the Iroquois or more friendly relations with them than Pennsylvania.

A decade after William Penn's death Indian affairs began to require an increasing amount of attention from the provincial government. In 1727 about forty Iroquois, mostly Cayugas, appeared in Philadelphia to brighten the chain of friendship and also to complain about being cheated by traders and debauched by rum, as well as to sell lands. A few months later an Indian killed a trader in a drunken brawl—"the first Accident of the kind . . . in this Province since its first settlement."<sup>9</sup> This led Governor Patrick Gordon and the council to reflect that "this Government had been formerly happy above most of our Neighbors, in preserving a good understanding and an uninterrupted Friendship with all our Indians, which was effected by the just & obliging Measures our late Proprietor first took with them . . . and the same Methods had been for Years constantly continued by Treaties with them," but that for the past six years no treaty had been held with the Pennsylvania Indians, a fact which had brought complaints from the Indians.<sup>10</sup> A treaty was therefore resolved upon for the following spring and recommendation was made for closer regulation of the Indian trade. The spring of 1728 brought an even more imperative need for attending to Indian affairs—the threat of invasion. This war scare was brought in by James LeTort, one of James Logan's traders, and he had it from Madame Montour, a not unimpeachable source. Nevertheless, the council again pressed for a treaty with the Indians on the Susquehanna and those on the Delaware. The inhabitants were genuinely alarmed, for a skirmish had actually taken place between some of the frontiersmen and a small band of Indians. Governor Gordon held three conferences with the Indians in 1728 because of the alarms and at one of them an unscheduled outburst on the part of the bibulous Sassoonan, chief of the Delawares, provoked spirited replies from James Logan and Andrew Hamilton. To Sassoonan's charge that people were settling on lands not purchased from the Indians, Logan, as secretary of the commissioners of property, replied that the commissioners had followed William Penn's "Constant Rule never to suffer any Lands to be settled by any of his People, until they were first duly purchased [from] the Indians." Logan reminded Sassoonan that in 1718 he and other Indians had made the same complaint; that at that time deeds had been produced showing that the Indians had already sold all the lands between the Susquehanna and the Delaware below the Lehigh Hills; that nevertheless Sir William Keith had given a valuable present and Sassoonan and four other chiefs had signed an absolute release for these lands. When the deed was again produced, Sassoonan conceded it was effective but also pointed out that the settlement of the Palatines was beyond the boundary, whereupon

<sup>9</sup> *Pa. C. R.*, III, 286.

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.*

Logan laid the blame for that settlement on Keith. Both Logan and Hamilton took notice of the "pains that some had taken to persuade [the Indians] that they were wronged" with respect to their lands. Logan even found it necessary to reply to a rumor that he had retained for his own usage a large part of a valuable present that he had received from London for the Indians. These rumors and insinuations, they felt, were made by those who, for partisan motives, desired to embarrass the government. Here, too, for the first time was made the charge that Indian treaties were held only for the benefit of the proprietors in their purchases of lands and that in consequence the province should not be called upon to bear the mounting expenses for such conferences.<sup>11</sup>

These difficulties with the local Indians caused the governor and council to fall back upon their reliance on the Iroquois. "As the Five Nations have an absolute Authority over all our Indians and may command them as they please," they resolved, "it is of great importance to Remove any impressions that have been made upon them to the prejudice of the English."<sup>12</sup> A treaty with the Five Nations was therefore thought to be urgent. James Steel, Surveyor General, was sent to England in 1729 to urge one of the proprietors to come over. He was assured that Thomas Penn would arrive in Pennsylvania that autumn, but two years passed and still he did not come. As the summer of 1731 wore on, James Logan, fixing his vision far beyond the small problems raised by the local tribes, saw the need for prompt action to protect the whole of the British interest in America. Laying before the council a map of Louisiana, he pointed out that the French claimed a part of Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, including the lands along the waters of the Ohio and that they were making efforts to gain influence over the Shawnee on the Allegheny. "Mr. Logan then went on to represent how destructive this Attempt of the French, if attended with Success, may prove to the English interest on this Continent, and how deeply in its consequences it may affect this Province" and moved that "a treaty should be sett on foot with the Five Nations, who have an absolute authority as well over the Shawanese as all our Indians . . . and that such a treaty becomes now all the more necessary, because 'tis several years since any of those Nations have visited us, and no opportunity ought to be lost of cultivating the Friendship which has always subsisted between this Government & them."<sup>13</sup> At the same time Logan recommended that legislation be urged for controlling the selling of rum to the Indians. The assembly agreed to provide funds for a treaty to renew friendship with the Five Nations but at the same time urged the governor to induce the proprietors to purchase lands of the Indians and thus remove some of the grounds for complaint. Shikellamy, who had been placed at Shamokin by the Six Nations to oversee the Pennsylvania tribes, was forthwith dispatched to Onondaga to invite the Six Nations to a treaty.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 34, *passim*; *Pa. C. R.*, III, 271-76, 295-98, 302, 307-26, 333.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 330-31.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 402-403; Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 43.

<sup>14</sup> *Pa. C. R.*, III, 403-405, 407-408, 410-12.



Two years had now passed since Thomas Penn was first expected. Logan, Steel, and others had repeatedly written the proprietors urging one of them to come over to negotiate a purchase with the Indians. Now that the Six Nations and the local tribes had been invited to a treaty to be held in the spring of 1732 and overtures had been made for the purchase of lands, it was imperative that the proprietors be made to realize the seriousness of the situation. Thereupon Logan, Isaac Norris, and Samuel Preston, all seasoned veterans in the proprietary administration, indited a long summary of Indian affairs and laid the responsibility squarely upon the shoulders of the young proprietors: "Treaties with the Indians in order to purchase their Lands that against their Consent have been invaded, which as it has been repeatedly observed to you ought to be managed only by the children of their Friend W. Penn are of [such] . . . a nature and the neglect of them may be attended with such fatal consequences even to the lives of the inhabitants as well as to their and your Estates that it is extremely unhappy you could never be prevailed on to consider an affair of such vast Importance and that has so repeatedly been urged and press'd upon you."<sup>15</sup> Logan's hand is seen also in that part of the letter emphasizing the French effort to control the Ohio and their overtures to the Shawnee and Delawares, "with the first of whom we doubt not they have had too much success." Concluding one of the bluntest letters the proprietors ever received from their agents in Pennsylvania, they said: "If these affairs appear troublesome you may be assured their difficulties are in a great measure if not wholly owing to your delays. Therefore now if you set any value on your interest here or will show any regard to the peace of this country you see the absolute necessity there is that one of you should hasten and be here as early as possible in the spring to take proper measures for preventing the calamities we may otherwise incur. As this is an affair of the utmost importance we hope it may at length have its due weight. If not we have but too just cause to fear we shall all have reason to mourn the heavy misfortune." Logan's warnings had indeed already had effect when this letter was written. Already John Penn had sent a message to the chiefs of the tribes in Pennsylvania promising that Thomas Penn would arrive in 1732 and assuring them that the proprietors stood ready to give "satisfaction and to do justice to you and all your people upon whatsoever occasions . . . that so the good foundation laid [by my late] deceased father for establishing a perfect concord and good agreement with your nations may be [from ti]me to time confirmed and kept up as long as

<sup>15</sup> Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, and James Logan to John, Thomas and Richard Penn, Nov. 13, 1731, Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 36. See also James Steel Letter Book, II, 23 also the treaty held with Sassoonan and Shikellamy in August, 1731, p. 274-76; proprietors to James Logan, March 5, 1729/30, Penn Letter Book, I, 5; *ibid.*, 13, 87. John Penn wrote James Logan on Feb. 15, 1730/31, that one Jacob Stover, of Switzerland, had proposed to go into Germany to obtain families to settle beyond the Blue Mountains on the Potomac, but that the proprietors had not given him definite

encouragement for two reasons: first, there was some doubt that the land was in the province; second, "we will not pretend to dispose of any Lands before they are Fairly purchased of the Indians." Yet the Penns were interested in the proposal and thought it well to "enter into some preparatory treaty with those Indians for the purchase of those lands, so that we might be able to treat with this man more Effectually after his Return from Germany." Penn Letter Book I, 22-23; nothing came of this proposal, however, *ibid.*, I, 63, 71, 77, 87.



the sun and moon continue to give light."<sup>16</sup> Thomas Penn arrived in Philadelphia on August 12, 1732, barely a week ahead of the delegates from the Six Nations.<sup>17</sup>

He plunged at once into the strange world of forest diplomacy. He met for the first time Conrad Weiser—called by his adoptive Mohawks Tarachawagon and by Governor Thomas "Honest Conrad"—who in the next decade was to become the most influential, most respected, and best informed interpreter in any of the colonies, and who, as a backwoods diplomat, was to implement James Logan's established policy of giving official support to the authority of the Six Nations. The treaty was an important one and Penn's arrival was most timely. In his opening speech to the Indians he reiterated his father's policy of friendship with the Indians and justice to them. The Six Nations were urged to extend their influence over as many Indian nations as possible "for by these means you will make yourselves much greater and stronger."<sup>18</sup> They were asked to assist in compelling the Shawnee to remove from the Allegheny closer to the inhabited parts of Pennsylvania. They were urged to avoid wars with distant tribes, such as the Cherokee and Catawba. They were desired to let all of the nations over whom they extended their influence know that an alliance with the Six Nations brought them also into the league of friendship with the English. A Council Fire was thereupon established at Philadelphia and the path to the Onondaga Council cleared of "every Grub, Stump & Log, that it may be straight, smooth & free for us and you." The Six Nations were urged to draw in their tribes from the West so as to consolidate their strength. Here, then, appeared in its complete form the policy that Logan had long advocated, based on a broad concept of English interest. Local Indian problems within the province were apparently not even discussed, except, as in the case of the Shawnee, when they touched upon the larger problem of the Iroquois balance of power.<sup>19</sup>

These local problems engrossed Thomas Penn's attention during the next four years. He made arrangements with the Delawares for confirming the deed of 1686 for a part of their lands. He held conferences at Conestoga, Durham, Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia. He formed friendships with several of the Shawnee and Delaware chiefs, and had the artist Gustavus Hesselius paint portraits of Tishcowan and Lapowinsa. In 1732, in order to meet the protest made by Sassoonan in 1728 about the settlement of the Palatines, a purchase was negotiated for all the lands lying on the Schuylkill or any of its branches between the Lehigh Hills and the Kittatinny range, otherwise called the Endless Mountains. The Six Nations were expected back in Philadelphia in 1733, but the smallpox, the difficulties experienced with the Shawnee at Allegheny induced by the effort to secure their removal to Pennsylvania in conformity with the treaty of 1732, and a number of other

<sup>16</sup>Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 38. For the proprietors' reply to the letter of Norris, Preston and Logan, see Penn Letter Book, I, 43, 46.

<sup>17</sup>*Pa. C.R.*, III, 433.

<sup>18</sup>*Pa. C.R.*, III, 448.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, III, 435-52. The treaty lasted from August 23 to Sept. 2, 1732. John Penn wrote Thomas that he was greatly pleased with the treaty with the Indians, "whose being at Philadelphia at your arrival was a happy accident." Penn Letter Book, I, 68; Jan. 28, 1732/33.

factors contrived to delay the meeting until four years had passed. At last, about the first of September, 1736, Conrad Weiser received information that some twenty chiefs of the Seneca, Onondaga, Cayuga, Oneida and Tuscarora, led by the friendly Seneca chief Hetaquantegechty, who had been speaker in 1732, were on their way. The treaty that opened at James Logan's home at Stenton on September 28 was the largest and most important that had been held in Pennsylvania up to that time.<sup>20</sup>

Charles Thomson in 1759 complained that "the Minutes published of the Treaty 1736 are so imperfect, that they only serve to shew that a great deal was transacted, and much was said, of which little or no Notice was taken, and over which a Veil seems to be cast."<sup>21</sup> It is true that, aside from the important business of confirming the treaty of friendship of 1732, completed at the session in the Great Meeting House in Philadelphia on October 2, the minutes for the next ten days take no notice of the negotiations with the Indians. This, however, was probably due less to a sinister secrecy than to the fact that the Indians were engaged in the private business of selling lands to the proprietor. They met him at his home on October 5, when he presented them with a belt of wampum bearing his own arms and those of the province, reminded them of the purchase of the Susquehanna lands from Governor Dongan and of the confirmation of it by the local tribes on the Susquehanna in 1701, and asked them to clarify the claims they had lately made to those lands. "The Proprietor told them that his father the great friend of all the Indians who made it his constant rule never to take one foot of Land of the Indians without first duly purchasing it, had always believed as his children and all our people had constantly done that these lands truly belonged to him and them alone and that no other person or nation had any right to them."<sup>22</sup> The next day the Indians gave their reply, now lost to us, but on October 11 they again sold or released all the lands on both sides of the Susquehanna, eastward to the heads of the tributary streams and westward "to the setting of the sun" and to extend northward to the Endless Mountains. The deed was signed by twenty-three Indians of the Six Nations, representing all of the nations except the Mohawk. Three days later the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, in announcing the confirmation of the Dongan grant, paid tribute to William Penn's policy of maintaining a good understanding with all the Indians, "to the preservation of which nothing has contributed more than the practice he set on foot and has since been continued of purchasing their lands before he would suffer them to be taken up by his authority."<sup>23</sup> But the *Gazette* did not announce a more important deed signed on October 25 at Weiser's home in Tulpehocken. Charles Thomson knew about it in 1759, and said it was

<sup>20</sup>Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 37; James Steel Letter Book, II, 51, 272; Richard Peters Manuscripts, I, 18, 20; Paul A. W. Wallace, "Conrad Weiser and the Delawares," *Pennsylvania History*, IV (July, 1937), 139-52; the purchase of 1732 was acknowledged and confirmed in 1733 and 1742; *Pa. Arch.*, I, 344-47, *Pa.C.R.*, III, 511-13, 577, 607; W. R.

Shepherd, *History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania*, 98-99.

<sup>21</sup>*Causes of the Alienation of the Delawares and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest* (London, 1759), 30.

<sup>22</sup>The original manuscript of this treaty is in the Pennsylvania State Library, Provincial Papers, VI, VII; *Pa. Arch.*, I, 494-98.

<sup>23</sup>*Pennsylvania Gazette*, Oct. 7-14, 1736.

signed at Philadelphia by only a few of the chiefs who had remained in town, a statement accepted by subsequent historians.<sup>24</sup> It was, however, signed by ten of the principal chiefs after Weiser had fully explained its terms to them; in it they extended the area purchased to the Delaware River below the Kittatinny Hills and also agreed not to sell lands in Pennsylvania to any but the proprietors or their deputies. James Logan had urged Weiser to secure this amplification of the first deed in an effort to forestall a Jersey Delaware, Nutimus, who claimed lands which his tribe had already sold. The Indians debated all day before making the second release. "It went very hart," wrote Weiser to Logan, "about syning over their right upon delaware becaus they sayd they had nothing to doe there about the land, they war afaired they Shoud doe any thing a mis to their gosens [cousins] the delawars."<sup>25</sup> This concern, however, did not prevent some of the same chieftains from dictating "in a very earnest manner" a message that they desired Weiser to take down paragraph by paragraph and convey to the proprietors and James Logan. The latter, in asking Weiser to secure the deed of October 25, had intimated that he had intended to broach the matter at the treaty. Now the Indians, usually so punctilious about conducting business at the Council Fire in Philadelphia, dictated with a sardonic touch a petition covering some things they "had forgot to mention at the treaty." These questions concerned their claims for compensation for lands in Virginia and Maryland, a matter plainly set forth in the treaty but evasively answered. But their petition also contained a serious warning: "We desire further of our Brethren Onas and James Logan never to buy any land of our cousins the Delawares and others whom we treat as cousins. They are people of no virtue and have nowhere a fire burning and deal very often unjust with our friends and brethren the English. Let it be manifest to all people that if so be the Delawares our cousins offering to sell any lands to the Europeans that no Body may buy it of them, for they have no Land remaining to them; and if they offer to sell they have no good design."<sup>26</sup> Although this message was sent in the name of all of the Six Nations, only four chiefs signed it. Probably the others at Tulpehocken were "afaired they Shoud doe anything a mis to their gosens."

The proprietors were much pleased with the two releases, but more so with this statement about the Delawares. "What gives me a Particular pleasure," wrote John Penn to James Logan in thanking him for his assistance in making the purchases, "is the message they sent back with relation to the Indians about the Forks [of Delaware] that they had no Land to sell which agrees with our thoughts at Pennsbury, when wee believed them to be Jersey Indians who came over the River after the sale made to my Father and those Indians Removing Further into the Country upon it."<sup>27</sup> The proprietors were now definitely committed to the policy of cultivating the Six Nations and of giving recognition to their suzerainty over

<sup>24</sup>Thomson, *op. cit.*, 32ff.

<sup>25</sup>Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 40; Pa. State Lib., Prov. Papers, VI, 63; Wallace, *loc. cit.*, 147, citing Logan Papers, X, 65.

<sup>26</sup>Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 39.

<sup>27</sup>Feb. 17, 1736/37; Penn Letter Book, I, 189; see also, *ibid.*, I, 185, for a letter from John Penn to Thomas Penn on the same date, expressing similar views.

the Pennsylvania tribes. It was the more costly policy, to them and to the province, but in the long view it was the safer.

Believing that their father had already purchased the lands in the Forks of Delaware and having assurance that the Indians there had no right to sell, the proprietors nevertheless proceeded to complete the negotiations begun at Durham and Pennsbury in 1734 and 1735 for confirming the sale of 1686. This culminated in 1737 in what has come to be known as the Walking Purchase. At a treaty held in Philadelphia in the summer of that year the Delawares "agreed that the land formerly purchased of their ancestors should be walked over in a day and a half's journey according to the former agreement."<sup>28</sup> A trial walk had been made in 1735, the exact course was run by the shortest and best route a few days before the actual walk on September 19-20, 1737, the best walkers were chosen, and, while the point is not well established, it is probable that the courses of the release were interpreted to the advantage of the proprietors. In short, the purchaser made the best of his bargain. It has been claimed that fraudulent measures were resorted to by the proprietors in order to obtain the lands in the Forks of Delaware. The Indians, however, knew at the time of signing the release that those lands would be included and requested to be allowed to remain there. Their request was granted and the land thus set aside was still available in 1757 for their use. They made no complaint about the method of the walk for twenty years, and then only when they were seeking a *casus belli* after the fact. The proprietors doubtless would have preferred to obtain the lands by geographical bounds, as being more precise and less troublesome, but they were bound by the terms of the deed of 1686. Finally, the detailed arrangements for the walk were made not by the proprietor but by two members of the Society of Friends of unimpeachable character, James Logan and James Steel. The generally accepted conclusion that the Walking Purchase had far-reaching consequences and a direct relation with the warfare of 1755-1756 is even more tenuous than the charge of fraud and deception.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> James Steel to Solomon Jennings, Aug. 31, 1737; Steel Letter Book, II, 156; Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 46.

<sup>29</sup> The terms of the deed of release as agreed upon by Logan and Steel are set forth in Steel Letter Book, II, 157. Steel to Nicholas Scull, Sept. 6, 1737, ordering him to run the courses "some days before the time appointed" for the Walk. Steel stipulated also that "No time or pains should be spared in making the proper discoveries both in respect to the place where the men are to begin their Walk and the shortest and best course they are to take in their journey." See also W. J. Buck, *History of the Indian Walk*, 82ff.; Steel Letter Book, II, 75, 95, 96, 155, 157, 166; Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 41. The copy of the confirming deed of release of August 25, 1737, as set forth in the last cited source, does not agree in some important details with that given in Buck, *op. cit.* (particularly in the bounds and in the names of the Indians); *Pa. Arch.*, I, 541-43 (wherein James Steel's name is repeated and the names of Jo. Tunum and Cornelius are omitted).

Shepherd expresses the opinion that the subsequent complaints of the Indians regarding the Walking Purchase were "due far more to the presence of squatters than to any sup-

posed injustice on the part of the walkers." *Op. cit.*, 102, citing Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, V, 339; VI, 209ff. and 337ff. The proprietors set aside 6500 acres of land in the Forks of Delaware for the use of the Indians and as late as 1757 Thomas Penn asserted that this land was still available for them. Indeed, this tract was not cut up by surveys until 1789. For an excellent treatment of this and other tracts in the Forks, see A. D. Chidsey, Jr., "The Penn Patents in the Forks of the Delaware," *Northampton County Hist. and Gen. Soc. Publications*, II (1937), Table 8. The original draft of this 1789 subdivision of the Indian Tract is in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Buck, whose strongly prejudiced viewpoint affects the validity of his conclusions, states that the proprietors had granted lands in the Forks prior to 1737. It is probably nearer the truth to say that surveys, which were not at the time patented, were made subsequent to the preliminary Walk of 1735 and prior to the final Walk of 1737; it was certainly not the policy of the proprietors to grant lands within the Indian territory. See Richard Peters to [Zachary?] Butcher, Feb. 10, 1737/38; Peters Letter Book, VIII. See also Penn Letter Book, I, 224, 227, 268-69.

During the time that the Walking Purchase was being carried on by the proprietors' agents, the council, now under the direction of James Logan as president, was debating matters of greater importance to the peace of the province and the good of the British interest. The Shawnee on the Susquehanna had protested the purchase of the Susquehanna lands from the Six Nations and made overtures to certain French Indians. The council expressed amazement at this claim and declared that it was "entirely new and without any manner of foundation, those Indians having never before made the least Pretension of the kind."<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, they were of opinion that "all possible means ought to be used to prevent their Defection and to keep them attached to the British Interest." This decision was influenced also by the fact that during the preceding winter Logan had undertaken at the request of Governor Gooch of Virginia to negotiate a peace between the Six Nations and the Cherokee and Catawba. Although this matter concerned the British interest more directly than it affected Pennsylvania, the energy with which Logan and Weiser acted reveals their concern for matters beyond the borders of Pennsylvania. Weiser set off for Onondaga in the dead of winter, suffered almost unbelievable privation, and arrived "almost starved by Misrys and Famine."<sup>31</sup> Even the Indians were surprised at his endurance—but the urgency of his journey at such a season impressed them with the importance of his message. He tendered the invitation of Governor Gooch to the Six Nations to meet the southern Indians at Williamsburg in a peace treaty and also the request from Pennsylvania for a cessation of arms until the treaty could be held. The proceedings of this conference were impressive. The chiefs had been assembled with urgent haste and Takanunty, an Onondaga who had attended the treaty of 1736, "spoke as a man of great authority and prudence, loud and slow and great silence and order was kept during the whole." He referred in affectionate terms to Onas and Logan, but said that the Six Nations could not go to Williamsburg "as there is no road to that place. We never travel through bushes to treaties of peace. It is too dangerous and we have no fire at Williamsburg . . . Such a thing can't be done in a corner, it must be done by public fire." He therefore invited the governor of Virginia to the Council Fire at Albany, and agreed likewise to Pennsylvania's request for a cessation of arms, promising to suspend hostilities for one summer and one winter. He also desired the governor of Pennsylvania to attend the treaty, for, said Takanunty, "the governor of Virginia is a particular friend of the Southern Indians and we must needs have one of our particular friends on our side." Messengers were dispatched with speed to all of the Six Nations proclaiming the cessation of arms; and Weiser, his heroic mission successfully concluded within a week after his arrival, set out immediately to carry the news back to Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania's Indian policy

<sup>30</sup>*Pa. C.R.*, IV, 203-204, 233-35, 342.

<sup>31</sup>Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, March 15, 1754, printed in *Susquehanna Company Papers*, I, 63-66. Weiser's narrative of this remarkable diplomatic mission is in *Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs*, I, 42, which includes more of

the actual negotiations at Onondaga than is given in J. S. Walton, *Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Pennsylvania*, 35-43, who evidently used not the journal itself but Weiser's remarks about the trip as set down subsequently; *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, I, 163-67.



had taken on the aspect of international diplomacy, and her frontier diplomat was a man in whom reliance could be placed.<sup>32</sup>

The following five years, however, found Weiser engrossed in religious interests. James Logan continued to guide Indian affairs during this comparatively peaceful period. His aging hand was capably supported by two newcomers to the circle of proprietary officialdom, Richard Peters as secretary in 1737 and George Thomas as governor in 1738, each of whom seemed to have a natural ability to deal with the natives. Their immediate problems concerned no more urgent matters than the maintenance of friendly relations with local tribes. Sassoonan, aged and very weak, brought a number of the older men of the Delawares to Philadelphia in October, 1738, to see the new Onas and "in the path between him and us . . . remove every little stick or Grub." If there were any thorny obstacles in the path, Sassoonan, always quick to recognize them, made no mention of them. He had in 1731 complained of not being compensated for his lands, but now, a year after the Walking Purchase, he apparently had no grievance. He made no exception to the governor's speech declaring that the sons of William Penn, "that Great and Good man . . . as they have succeeded him in the Inheritance, so they have no less in affection and Tenderness for all your People, of which you have already received many Proofs." Instead he spoke of the perfect friendship and good understanding that had always subsisted between the Indians and the government—a friendship no doubt valued the more by the old warrior because of the matchcoat and hat, laced with silver, that Governor Thomas presented to him as a personal gift.<sup>33</sup>

The Shawnee on the Ohio were at last responsive, but when they appeared in 1739, having been repeatedly invited, James Logan's message to them was a stern reminder that they were newcomers to Pennsylvania, that they had entered into solemn engagements with William Penn in 1701 to remain friendly to the English, that their own messages and other information showed they had been listening to French overtures, that they had evaded the invitations to return closer to their allies the Six Nations. The Shawnee protested their friendship and their eagerness to abide by the covenant of 1701, whereupon, departing from the usual custom, the governor laid before the chiefs another written treaty binding the Shawnee on the Ohio and those on the Susquehanna to maintain the union of friendship between them and the English. This they "freely and unanimously agreed to." They agreed that they would not "by any motives or persuasion be induced to join any Nation whatsoever" that should become an enemy of Great Britain. They also agreed to observe all of the articles of the covenant of 1701, one of which imposed a stricter limitation on their trade than the sons of William Penn ever required: that the

<sup>32</sup>*Pa.C.R.*, IV, 245-46. This document, dated Sept. 27, 1737, and bearing the lesser seal of the province, is to be found in Peters Manuscripts, I, 31. See also James Logan to Conrad Weiser, Aug. 6, 1737, informing him that Governor Gooch was "highly pleased" with Weiser's narrative; *ibid.*, I, 30.

<sup>33</sup>*Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 25-June 1, 1738; Steel Letter Book, II, 182; Peters Manuscripts, I, 32; Richard Peters Letter Book, IV, to the proprietors, April 10, 1739; *Pa.C.R.*, IV, 307-308.

Shawnee could not sell their skins or other products to anyone beyond the bounds of the province. This covenant of 1739 was broken as readily as it was signed. It suggests, far more than the treaty of the Walking Purchase, a direct relationship with 1755.<sup>84</sup>

At a treaty held in Philadelphia in August, 1740, Sassoonan, speaking for the Delawares on the Ohio as well as for various other tribes, again found the “road very good and clear.” But three months later another protest came from the Delawares about their lands being taken from them and held without compensation. It was just ten years since Sassoonan had made a similar protest, but in the meantime, as the governor was able to remind the Delawares, the area had been taken in by the two releases from the Six Nations in 1736 and by that of the Delawares in 1737—and in addition the Six Nations had specifically requested the governor not to buy lands of the Delawares for they had none to sell. Instead of allowing the matter to rest with this reply, Governor Thomas took a step that had important consequences. He advised the Indians of the approaching treaty with the Six Nations and said that the complaint concerning lands would be taken up then, and, he added, “The Delawares may, if they please, at their own expense, come down at the same time and be present.” There was in this apparently nothing more than a willingness to allow the Delawares to see that their charge was fairly presented, and since the Indians were making the charge it did not seem reasonable to the council that they should be the guests of those defending it. The coming treaty was to be a large, important, and expensive one. There was another reason for holding the numbers down: some of the Six Nations had experienced a famine. “I find we are to have a goodly ragged and very hungry company,” wrote James Logan just before the treaty opened, “but if Allummapis [Sassoonan] with any of his People be so indiscreet and thoughtless as to add themselves to the Crowd, I think all proper measures should be used to prevent their coming, for they may assure themselves at such a time when there are to be so many others, they will be most unwelcome.” But in a postscript Logan added a significant sentence: “On a further thought I believe it may be proper enough that Allummapis with some few of his Council attend, for probably we may have an important treaty.”<sup>85</sup> Did Logan anticipate what the Six Nations would say to Sassoonan and his people?

In June, 1742, Richard Peters authorized Weiser to meet the Indians “with what provisions you please and as far as you please.”<sup>86</sup> But when the more than two hundred men, women, and children of the Six Nations arrived in Philadelphia they were “most of them in a starving condition.”<sup>87</sup> One hundred and eighty-eight of them, including twenty or thirty Delawares, arrived at Stenton on June 29 and Logan entertained them until next day. They then proceeded to Philadelphia

<sup>84</sup>*Pa.C.R.*, IV, 336–47, 501; Peters Manuscripts, I, 45, 46.

<sup>85</sup>James Logan to Conrad Weiser, June 10 and 28, 1742, Peters Manuscripts, I, 84, 88; *Pa.C.R.*, IV, 432–34, 443–47, 481, 501–502; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Oct. 8, 20 and 24, 1741, Peters Letter Books, IV and V; George Thomas

to Conrad Weiser, Feb. 26, 1741/42, Peters Manuscripts, I, 73.

<sup>86</sup>June 10, 1742, Peters Manuscripts, I, 85.

<sup>87</sup>Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, July 9, 1742, Peters Letter Book, V.

where they were joined by about forty Indians from Conestoga, "and soon after by Nootamis and his Company, who [complained] very heavily to their Uncles of their being cheated and abused" with respect to their lands.<sup>38</sup>

The treaty was Canasatego's. The great Onondaga leader was at the height of his power. He had started out from the Onondaga Council with two other deputations, one going to conclude a peace with the southern Indians and the other to Albany. He had concluded new alliances with distant tribes, and his actions at Philadelphia were those of a leader of a proud and imperious confederacy. He met Governor Thomas as an equal, and each entertained a respect for the other. The purpose of the conference was ostensibly for Pennsylvania to pay the Six Nations the moiety of the consideration for the releases of 1736, but of far more importance was the question of their attitude toward the English in the approaching war with France. On the latter head, Canasatego pledged whole-hearted support to their defensive alliances with the English. Peters was not convinced, for he observed that the deputation of Six Nations Indians that had gone to Albany had only pledged to remain neutral. But Logan, Governor Thomas, and the proprietors were delighted with this "excellent treaty."<sup>39</sup> For Logan this pledge of support from Canasatego represented the culmination of his long desire. On July 11 he wrote an urgent letter to Weiser, asking him to sit down with "some of the Chiefs and inform thyself as effectually as possible how it stands between them and the French, and more especially what Nations of Indians at present in alliance with them, how many men for service in their judgment each nation consists of, and what their names and where and how they are Situate in respect to their own towns."<sup>40</sup> He considered this inquiry "of such singular importance" that, despite his illness, he went to Philadelphia to see that it was done. Weiser complied with his request, and thus it was probably through Logan that the information reached Dr. John Fothergill, who, early in 1743, edited it and brought out a London edition of the treaty. Thomas Penn's own copy of this London edition shows how carefully he recapitulated on the flyleaf the total strength of the Six Nations and their allies and tributaries. Canasatego supplied an impressive set of statistics for English consumption.<sup>41</sup>

The principal purpose of the treaty fulfilled, Canasatego broached other matters. He spoke of encroachments by the settlers on lands at Juniata. The governor promptly issued a proclamation and took steps to have the squatters recalled. Canasatego reminded the governor of a promise made in 1736 to write to the governor of Maryland about Indian claims to lands in that province. The council immediately met and, genuinely alarmed, concluded that "should those Threats, in any sort, be put into Execution, not only the Inhabitants of Maryland, but of this Government, and all His Majesty's Subjects on the Northern Continent of America, may thereby be involved in much trouble." Canasatego's remarks were

<sup>38</sup> James Logan to the proprietors, July 12, 1742, Peters Manuscripts, I, 89.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 89.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 88; *Pa.C.R.*, IV, 586; Walton, *op. cit.*, 72.

<sup>41</sup> See Bibliographical Notes in the Appendix.



less a threat than an ultimatum: "Let him [the governor of Maryland] say *Yes* or *No*: If he says *Yes*, we will treat with him; if *No*, we are able to do ourselves Justice." In reporting this to the proprietors, Peters said that "Colonel Thomas transmitted this request in the very words the Indians had used and mentioned what a powerful and resolute people the Six Nations were and how prejudicial it might be to the British Colonies to disoblige them at this time."<sup>42</sup> Logan, Thomas, and Peters were determined to let nothing jeopardize the alliance they had striven so hard to obtain.

This treaty was decisive in another respect: the arbitrary discipline exercised over the Delawares. This significant action was relegated to a minor paragraph in Peters' letter describing the treaty: "The Six Nations, at the instance of our Governor, have ordered the Delaware Indians to remove immediately off the Land in the Forks on pain of their highest displeasure."<sup>43</sup> Logan had no love for "those vile ones from the Forks of Delaware" and he may have inspired Governor Thomas' request for their removal. This fateful step met with a surprisingly vigorous and perhaps undesired response. And it is doubtful if Canasatego's historic speech to the Delawares would have come with such insulting fury if the Onondaga sachem had not been in an authoritarian mood: it was just as easy and, under the circumstances, far more dramatic to deliver an ultimatum to Sassoonan than to Governor Ogle of Maryland. At any rate, whether or not the proprietors' officials desired such a severe chastisement for the Delawares, a large part of the price of this treaty, along with the powder, lead and matchcoats, was the alienation of the Delawares, the full payment of which fell on the inhabitants thirteen years later. But in recognizing this, it must be remembered that the real alienation of the Delawares had its origin long before in the deep-rooted hostility between the Six Nations, especially the Mohawk, and that tribe. Those who formulated the Indian policy of Pennsylvania did not feel that hostility, but they did assume it when they chose the more powerful ally. As Scarouady the Half-King put it: "You can't live in the woods and stay neutral."<sup>44</sup>

Thomas Penn was generous with his praise of Thomas, Logan, and Peters for accomplishing such a significant treaty. "I am glad the Treaty with the Indians is so well ended and everybody pleased with it," he wrote Richard Hockley, "which is somewhat very extraordinary at this juncture."<sup>45</sup> But while the treaty was far more successful than that being conducted by Governor Clarke at this time, and marked the beginning of Governor Thomas' influence with the Iroquois, not everyone was satisfied. The Delawares were smarting under a taunting insult. And Weiser, who at Peters' suggestion had sounded the Six Nations about a new purchase of land, found the chiefs "unmoveably determined not to treat with agents, but with one of the proprietors from an imagination that the proprietors never leave

<sup>42</sup>Richard Peters to the proprietors, Aug. 25 and Oct. 17, 1742, Peters Letter Book, V; *Pa.C.R.*, IV, 630.

<sup>43</sup>To Thomas Penn, Aug. 25, 1742, Peters Letter Book, V.

<sup>44</sup>Wallace, *loc. cit.*, p. 145; Peters Manuscripts, I, 88.

<sup>45</sup>Sept. 16, 1742, Penn Letter Book, II, 6; to George Thomas, Sept. 17, *ibid.*, II, 9-10.

the keys of their money chest behind them, or in other words that their agents would not be so generous as the proprietors themselves."<sup>46</sup> Finally, the assembly was by no means pleased with John Kinsey's unofficial promise, made while that body was not in session, to have the public bear the maintenance charges for all but fifty of the Indians, and informed Kinsey that "he had no business to have engaged at all, and had he not given the governor expectations of the greatest part of the maintenance being defrayed at the Publick expence, they would not have allowed a farthing."<sup>47</sup>

There were other disturbing factors. While the treaty was in progress, Maryland was alarmed by a war scare which evidently originated with the Shawnee, who had apparently made overtures to the Maryland Nanticoke to join them in an uprising. Governor Ogle had no sooner imprisoned a large number of the Nanticokes than Governor Thomas' express arrived with Canasatego's ultimatum. The Indians were immediately released and Ogle sent a conciliatory message back to the Six Nations. The chiefs at Tulpehocken on their way home promised to inquire into the matter, saying that the Nanticokes had been imposed upon by the Shawnee. The Delawares, too, despite their peremptory orders to leave the Forks of Delaware, were disposed to use every means to remain. The strategy they employed was to become Christians. Count von Zinzendorf and his Moravians, wrote Richard Peters, had had "a good deal of trouble with the Indians, Captain John in particular, who are converted or pretend to be converted to the Calvinistical scheme of religion, on purpose, as it is thought, to vex the Count and to be a plague to him, and those rascals, the Delaware Fork Indians wrote a letter some time ago to the Governor wherein they pray that as they are become Christians and of the same religion with the white people they may be permitted to stay on their Lands and not to remove to live with Heathens, though of their own nation, and have the impudence to subscribe themselves, 'Your Honour's brethren in the Lord Jesus.' They are now in Town to prosecute their petition and . . . the Governor intends to speak to them in a very severe manner and treat this their Application as a violation of the late Treaty, of which he will inform the Six Nations and expects they will all be cut off . . . if they stay."<sup>48</sup> The petition was heard in council on November 20, 1742, and the Indians were put through the catechism. It appeared that they had "very little [knowledge of Christianity] if any at all." They were sternly reminded of the terms of the treaty and acknowledged the "Inconveniences they were reduced to by the ill Behaviour of the Delawares . . . and express'd Concern at the Conduct of their Countrymen."<sup>49</sup>

A more serious disturbance of the harmonious relations with the Six Nations appeared the next month when a skirmish occurred between the frontier inhabi-

<sup>46</sup>Richard Peters to the proprietors, Oct. 17, 1742, Peters Letter Book, V.

<sup>47</sup>*Loc. cit.*, Penn Letter Book, II, 2-3, 11, 17, 21-22, 30-31; *Pa. Arch.*, 8th ser., "Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives," IV, 2784-85, 2804-2805.

<sup>48</sup>Richard Peters to Thomas Penn Aug. 25 and Nov. 21, 1742, April 23, 1743, Peters Letter Book, V; Peters Manuscripts, I, 76, 78, 90, 93, 94; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Aug. 5, 1742.

<sup>49</sup>*Pa.C.R.*, IV, 624-25.

tants of Virginia and a party of Iroquois. The Indians and the whites gave conflicting accounts of this engagement, each declaring the other was the aggressor. Wherever the aggression lay, Governor Thomas' hope that the treaty of 1742 "would have made us easy for some time to come as to all Indian affairs" was rudely shattered. But he acted promptly by offering to mediate between Virginia and the Six Nations. The assembly agreed to bear the expense of such mediation, and Thomas at once sent Weiser to Shikellamy to notify "the Six Nations, the Shawanese and all the Indians in alliance with us that we shall continue to be faithful to our treaties with them so long as they observe them on their part, that we are extremely sorry for the accident that has happened, and that we wish the Six Nations would rather endeavour to accomodate the matter with the Governor of Virginia in an amicable way . . . and that I shall be glad to contribute all I can to bring it about."<sup>50</sup> Thomas, in his message to the assembly on this affair, said that he thought the Six Nations would adhere to their treaty, but he entertained a different opinion of the Shawnee: "They are known to have a strong Attachment to the French, to be a perfidious People, and to have rendered themselves justly to be suspected by their Behaviour."<sup>51</sup> On this affair Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* expressed the hope that "by the prudent interposition and mediation of this and the neighboring governments, a war may be prevented between those nations and Virginia."<sup>52</sup> The *Gazette* also quieted the false alarm that an action had occurred between some Pennsylvania Indians and traders on the Susquehanna. On September 1, 1743, the *Gazette* was able to announce that the misunderstanding over the Virginia skirmish "is now happily accomodated by the mediation of our Governor" and by Weiser's negotiations at Onondaga. "The Governor," wrote Richard Peters to the proprietors, "has had a great deal of trouble in Indian affairs and has shown in his management a fine spirit and a very good understanding, insomuch that he is the favorite of the Indians and has more influence in the Grand Council of Onontaga than any Governor on the Continent. The Six Nations have made him the arbitrator of their differences with the government of Virginia, and the Governor of Virginia has lodged £100 sterling with our Governor as a present to the Six Nations, not for their land, but in testimony of their willingness to enter into friendship with them, and Conrad Weiser has been at Onontaga to inform the Six Nations of this favorable disposition of the Virginians and of their present. Whereupon the Six Nations have unanimously agreed to bury the hatchet and have forbid their people to mention the late skirmish or anything about it, and they have agreed to treat with the Virginians at the same time they treat with Maryland, which is to be next spring on the Bank of Susquhanna near John Harris's Ferry. The Governor of Maryland has likewise

<sup>50</sup>Thomas to Weiser, Jan. 26, 1742/43, Peters Manuscripts, I, 104; see also I, 105, 106, 108, 110, 111; *Pa.C.R.*, IV, 630-33; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Jan. 30 and Feb. [?], 1742/43, Peters Letter Book, V.

<sup>51</sup>*Pa. Arch.*, 8th ser., "Votes and Proceedings," IV, 2859-61.

<sup>52</sup>*Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jan. 27, Feb. 2, March 31, 1743.

made our Governor handsome Acknowledgments for his assistance in their transactions with the Indians, and Conrad is handsomely rewarded both by Virginia and Maryland for his indefatigable Pains and excellent Management.”<sup>53</sup> Logan’s policy had not only heightened the influence of the Six Nations but had also made Pennsylvania, under the hands of a capable governor, the chief arbiter in their relations with the English.

Peters did not understate the matter when he said that the preliminaries to the treaty of mediation had given the governor a great deal of trouble. Both Virginia and Maryland denied that the Iroquois had any land claims in those provinces. Governor Gooch of Virginia insisted that the Indians were the aggressors in the skirmish, whereupon Thomas wrote him plainly, though graciously, that he thought he was mistaken. Thomas Cresap, who had given Pennsylvania so much cause for concern in the boundary dispute with Maryland, sought to have the scheduled Maryland treaty of 1743 held at his home, a move that Conrad Weiser promptly and effectively blocked. “The Pennsylvanians,” wrote Daniel Dulany to Lord Baltimore, “have Shewn their Rancor to Mr. Cressap in a very Extraordinary manner.”<sup>54</sup> In the same letter Dulany said he was “satisfied the Indians had no thoughts of making any demands for lands in this Province till Mr. Logan or his Emissarys Infused a notion into their heads that they had some pretensions.” The Maryland commissioners appointed to negotiate the treaty of 1744 thoroughly distrusted Weiser and infected the Virginia commissioners with their feelings. “Before we left Annapolis,” wrote the latter, “there was an express from Conrad Weiser, with an Artfull Letter relating to the Indian Affair, which they say is Logan, tho Weiser Signs it.”<sup>55</sup> Cresap had not helped to smooth the negotiations when he told a deputation of Indians from the Six Nations that the battle in Virginia was between the Scots-Irish, who had removed from Pennsylvania and settled without obtaining patents from the Government of Virginia and that the battle happened with them and the Indians without the knowledge of the Governor of Virginia.<sup>56</sup> It is evident, therefore, that the embittered boundary dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania complicated the issues involved in the treaty. There may be, too, some ground for Dulany’s charge against Logan in the fact that the releases secured from the Six Nations in 1736 extended all the way to the mouth of the Susquehanna River. These releases were not published at the time, but in the printed minutes of the treaty of 1742 the terms were changed to read: “as far South as this Province extends”; and when Franklin was furnished information respecting the purchase, he printed in the *Gazette* all of the bounds except the southern one.<sup>57</sup> Governor Gooch also wrote that the Virginia commissioners

<sup>53</sup>Oct. 3, 1743, Peters Letter Book, VI; Peters Manuscripts, I, 120; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 9 and Sept. 1, 1743.

<sup>54</sup>June 16, 1744, Calvert Papers, Maryland Historical Society. This quotation was generously given to me by Miss

Evelyn Abraham; Peters Manuscripts, I, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 121; II, 5.

<sup>55</sup>R. Alonzo Brock, ed., “Journal of William Black, 1744,” *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, I, 238, *passim*.

<sup>56</sup>Peters Manuscripts, I, 122.

<sup>57</sup>*Pennsylvania Gazette*, Oct. 7-14, 1736.

objected to the time and place of meeting. It was even necessary for Peters to get Weiser to interview John Kinsey, speaker of the assembly, and to represent to him the necessity for appropriating expenses for the governor to attend the treaty that he had done so much to bring about, for, he wrote Thomas Penn, “as I am afraid, from those gentlemen’s [the commissioners’] ignorance of Indian affairs and from their being in some measure under the influence of Cresap who has been meddling on the part of Maryland, that there may be some misunderstandings.” Weiser did this and Kinsey promised to “represent the thing fairly and fully to the Assembly.”<sup>58</sup> Finally Weiser threw consternation into the governor and Peters by becoming ill on the eve of the treaty. When the commissioners finally arrived late in May, 1744, Peters was not optimistic: “Two Commissioners and seven flaming fine gentlemen are arrived here from Virginia and will stay till the Indians come to Lancaster, who are expected there every day. I wish the ensuing treaty may end well, but I very much doubt it, being afraid of the narrowness and haughtiness of the Virginians and Marylanders, which, added to their unacquaintedness with Indian affairs, make but a poor prospect. If anything turns out favorably, it must be owing to the influence our Governor is like to acquire by his spirit, cheerfulness, and lively conversation, for which the Virginia gentlemen express high admiration and seem extremely well pleased with him. Colonel Lee, a high man in his own country, and Colonel Beverly are at the head of the Commission. Mr. Jennings and Mr. Phil. Thomas and two others are to manage for Maryland, and our Governor, Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Taylor go up with £300 voted by the Assembly for a Present besides Charges.”<sup>59</sup>

Though Peters lamented the ignorance of the commissioners concerning Indian affairs, it was probably this unfamiliarity of the Southerners with the picturesque diplomacy of the Indians that caused one of them, Witham Marshe, to give us the clearest and most vivid picture we have of such proceedings—the formalities and marks of precedence, the dancing and singing of the Indians, the banqueting, the curiosity of the townspeople. Marshe’s journal describes not only one of the most interesting but also one of the most crucial of all the treaties, and he gives the only pen picture available of Canasatego, now returned, more powerful than ever, to receive the answer to his ultimatum of two years’ standing: “a tall well-made man” who had “a very full chest and brawny limbs. He had a manly countenance, mixed with a good-natured smile. He was about sixty years of age, very active, strong, and had a surprising liveliness in his speech.”<sup>60</sup> By the time the conference closed, Canasatego was more splendid than ever, clothed in a scarlet camblet coat presented to him by the Virginia commissioners and in a gold-laced hat given by those from Maryland.

<sup>58</sup> Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, March 7, 1743/44, Peters Letter Book, VI; Peters Manuscripts, II, 1, 2, 3, Jan. 11 and Jan. 20, 1743/44.

<sup>59</sup> Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, May 31, 1744, Peters Letter Book, VI; same to same, June 7, 1744, *ibid.*; Peters

Manuscripts, II, 12, 14; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 21, July 12, 1744.

<sup>60</sup> W. H. Egle, ed., *Journal of the Treaty at Lancaster in 1744 . . . by Witham Marshe* (Lancaster, 1884), p. 12.



The critical importance of the treaty was enhanced by the news of the declaration of war against France received a few days before the Indians arrived. It was now imperative that they should be pledged to maintain their promise given in 1742 to support the English. Thomas Penn urged Governor Thomas to secure a positive declaration from the Indians and to send him a copy of the treaty by the first conveyance that he might print it "and give copies to the ministers that they may see the care you have taken of those provinces and the credit our Government has with the Indians."<sup>61</sup> The treaty was wholly successful in renewing the alliance with the Six Nations, in adjusting the claims of the Six Nations to lands in Maryland and Virginia, and in promoting peace negotiations between them and the southern Indians. There can be little doubt that, in the face of jealousies existing between all three of the provinces represented, the success of the treaty was largely due to the conciliatory diplomacy of Governor Thomas. Thomas Penn expressed great pleasure that the governor had brought the treaty "to so happy a conclusion," but at the same time he attributed some of the success to the proprietors' policy: "Though I shall never be inclined to lessen Mr. Thomas's Merit in every thing, it has been primarily owing to the just & kind Methods that my Father observed in his transactions with [the Indians] and our acting on that Plan ever since."<sup>62</sup>

More than once the treaty seemed destined to certain failure. At the very beginning Thomas Lee gave Weiser thirty pistoles to induce the Indians to negotiate with Virginia first, they having determined to begin with Maryland as being the first government that had invited them. Lee claimed the preference since Virginia was the older colony. Canasatego replied that "they would not put such an affront on Maryland as to postpone them to Virginia. It was nothing to them who was the oldest colony. If the Governor, as mediator . . . would order it so, they would act by his directions and then Maryland would know who put the affront upon them. When Colonel Lee saw their firmness and that the Governor Would not interfere they proceeded to the treaty and Maryland spoke first." This led to an embarrassing moment at the first meeting. Canasatego, probably as a diplomatic gesture, turned to Governor Lee and said that the Indians had "nothing to say to him at this time"—at which point Weiser paused in his interpretation and "Colonel Lee, in an haughty manner interrupted him and said 'Then tell them if they have nothing to say to us we have nothing to say to them,' which occasioned a sort of confusion in Conrad Weiser, and after a little time Canasatego, repeating what he had said, Conrad Weiser interpreted the whole sentence in the manner it stands in the treaty." Whereupon Lee thought Canasatego had said the

<sup>61</sup> Thomas Penn to George Thomas, May 5, 1744, Penn Letter Book, II, 89; to Peters, June 4, *ibid.*, II, 94.

<sup>62</sup> Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, June 7, 1745, Penn Letter Book, II, 129. Governor Thomas received the following appreciative comment from Penn: "I am very well assured the commissioners without you would not have come to an amicable agreement, as I know the haughty behaviour of the gentlemen of a certain country, a very improper ingredient in

the entering into a treaty with Indians, and I am fully convinced without your mediation they never would have brought it to a happy conclusion, though it is a matter of the greatest consequence to the English interest in North America in general, as well as ours in particular." March 7, 1744/45, Penn Letter Book, II, 118; see also, *ibid.*, II, 98-99, 102; *Pa.C.R.*, IV, 680-85.

Indians' had no land claim on Virginia, but that Weiser had given the sense wrong and he ordered Weiser not to "mention a word of the land to the Indians." When Weiser learned of Lee's suspicion, he declined to sit in the Indians' councils as he was accustomed to do. This created some uneasiness among the Indians and about thirty of them came to Peters. There Canasatego "complained they were ill-used by the Virginia strangers who had been so indiscreet as to tell them they were come to be paid for land they had no right to. They said it was not likely they should agree with Virginia or Maryland and . . . that should they quarrel with the commissioners they desired I would inform the Governor that they would manage that quarrel so as not to prejudice Pennsylvania and to assure Brother Onas that they had a grateful sense of his friendship and honorable dealing with them and would . . . take his country into their care and prevent any harm from coming to it."<sup>63</sup> Peters diplomatically explained the indiscreet remarks of the young Virginia gentlemen and assured the Indians that the commissioners were well disposed. They then asserted their right to one-half of Weiser and desired him to sit in their councils; this request they made in Peters' presence and enforced with a bottle of gin. Weiser accepted this urgent invitation. A more serious breach occurred when the commissioners, thinking the Indians' claim to lands unsound, determined "to bury it with an high hand and try if they could not fright the Indians into a renunciation of their claims in Virginia." "In this temper," wrote Peters, "the Commissioners . . . came to Philadelphia and in their first conference with the Governor treated the Indians with great contempt, spoke in rapturous terms of Colonel Spotswood's management at Albany and proposed to imitate his example. The Governor gave them full scope to vent all they had on their minds of this sort and that in a strain between raillery and earnest, he played their hero Spotswood off and was able to give them such a history of that treaty as put Spotswood into the contemptuous light they endeavored to place the Indians in. In two or three days he brought them to alter their opinions, and when he had convinced their understandings, he then showed them Colonel Gooch's letters wherein he had in express terms agreed to pay the Indians for their lands" and had solicited his and Governor Clarke's good offices to this end.<sup>64</sup> Lee in the meantime had been writing to the commissioners for Indian affairs at Albany to get an interpreter to replace Weiser and also to inquire about the Indians' land claim. To the first request the commissioners at Albany made no reply, but they inquired of the Iroquois concerning the land claim and found the Indians there made no such claim. Lee had also borrowed from Thomas all of Governor Gooch's letters, and when he received the reply from the Albany commissioners he returned these letters to Colonel Beverly to give to Thomas, "and the Governor looking them over the moment Colonel Beverly left the room, he found all returned except that one which contained Colonel Gooch's

<sup>63</sup> Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Aug. 2, 1744, Peters Letter Book VI.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*



promise to give the Indians satisfaction for their land.” Both Lee and Beverly asserted they had returned all the letters, but Peters and Thomas were “very well persuaded that Colonel Lee fraudulently kept back that letter that it might not stand in the way of their first project.”<sup>65</sup> However, Governor Thomas had kept a copy certified by Weiser, which he read before all the commissioners. “When the Commissioners of Maryland heard this they put Colonel Lee in the wrong and concurred very steadily and warmly with the Governor, who did not spare Colonel Lee, and at last it was agreed that the part of our Governor’s speech relating to the satisfaction to be made to the Indians by Virginia for land should not be spoke but was agreed to be true and should be entered in the minutes.” “This wrongheadedness created many disputes,” concluded Peters.<sup>66</sup>

A number of Friends attended this treaty, among them James Pemberton, who paid tribute to Governor Thomas: “Marylanders and Virginians seem to be Entire strangers to the Indians Disposition & was not our Governor here [I] believe no business would be done. They [the Indians] are but indifferently provided for and don’t seem to like it.”<sup>67</sup> He also spoke of Canasatego who was “so much admired for his Eloquence.” Peters ranked the diplomacy of Canasatego above that of the commissioners: “I make no doubt that the Indian treaty will give everyone pleasure that reads it and as the Indians really appear superior to the Commissioners in point of sense and argument, it will raise people’s opinions of the wisdom of the Six Nations and give the government at home higher notions of their consequence than they could have before.”<sup>68</sup> Governor Thomas, being a man of sense himself, said that Colonel Lee was: and the Virginia commissioner, finding his suspicions of Conrad Weiser turned into genuine admiration for the Indian diplomat, proved himself one. On his return to Virginia he opened up a spirited correspondence with Weiser, asking him numerous questions about the customs, manners, religion, social and civil institutions of the Indians, and concluding almost every letter with an urgent request to send the Indian songs that Weiser had promised. “You have so much trouble in these affairs,” he wrote Weiser, “and have done the King and the three colonies so much service, with faithfulness to the trust the Six Nations have in you, that I think you ought to have a pension for life.”<sup>69</sup>

The treaty was not only one of the most important ever held in Pennsylvania but one of the most effective. The Six Nations had promised neutrality during King George’s war. And in the agreement to pursue efforts to conclude a peace between the northern and southern Indians, the influence of Weiser and Thomas was felt and appreciated even in South Carolina. When Governor Gooch urged peace upon the Catawba, they replied that they earnestly desired it but as their own overtures

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*; William Gooch to George Thomas, Feb. 8, 1742/43, Peters Manuscripts, I, 109.

<sup>67</sup>James Pemberton to Israel Pemberton, Sr., June 24, 1744, Pemberton Papers, III, 120.

<sup>68</sup>Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Feb. 8, 1744/45, Peters Letter Book VI.

<sup>69</sup>Thomas Lee to Conrad Weiser, Aug. 30, 1744, Peters Manuscripts, II, 19. See also Penn Letter Book II, 98-99, 99-100; Peters Manuscripts, II, 22, 39, 40, 60, 70, 71, 78.

had been met with insult, they desired Governor Thomas and Weiser to induce the Six Nations to recall their warriors. Thomas again accepted the rôle of mediator and Weiser again made an arduous journey to Onondaga in behalf of the British interest, although neither Thomas, Weiser, nor the Six Nations had any faith in the sincerity of the Catawba plea. Addressing himself to "Honest Conrad," Thomas wrote as to one who had a better appreciation of Indian policy and its requirements than the King's ministers: "It has indeed been a reproach upon the King's Governments in North America that they have not interposed more effectually with Nations of Indians that are equally under the King's protection. I am convinced that the Six Nations are as desirous of peace as the Catawbias, but by the confession of the latter they have been treacherously dealt with. . . . With a little of your good management . . . the Six Nations may be brought to send deputies to meet some of the Catawbias at a third place."<sup>70</sup> "Our Governor," wrote Richard Peters, "is everywhere acknowledged to have the greatest influence over the Councils of the Six Nations that has ever been acquired, and it is happy for us and our neighbors that it is so."<sup>71</sup> The center of Indian influence had shifted from New York to Pennsylvania; at this time the Indian commissioners of Albany, under the control of the DeLancey faction of the Assembly, felt their authority undermined by Governor Clinton's promotion of Colonel William Johnson, and amid such conflicting counsels the Indians could find no authoritative voice as in Pennsylvania.<sup>72</sup> But Johnson, probably the greatest of all Indian agents, would soon be heard.

Canasatego and his two hundred and fifty followers returned to Onondaga laden with gold and goods, lavished on them more liberally than at any other treaty. They had promised to remain neutral during the war, but the governor of Canada had invited them to Montreal, and they had accepted his invitation. In so doing they entered upon four years of struggle to preserve their neutrality. As long as they could maintain their precarious balance of power, being courted on either side, they could continue to command expensive gifts, continue to deliver threats and force compensation for land claims based upon flimsy rights. Canasatego, powerful as he was after meeting on equal terms the deputies of three colonies, had a difficult rôle: while struggling to maintain the balance of power between England and France, he was faced with a similar struggle within his own far-flung confederacy. For on his eastern hand were the Mohawk, under the influence of Johnson willing to fight with the English; on the western end of the Iroquois Long House were the Seneca, strongly inclined to fight with the French under the influence of the Joncaires. Still farther to the west, on the Ohio, were the Shawnee, whom the Six Nations had not drawn in as Logan had repeatedly sug-

<sup>70</sup> Jan. 31, 1744/45, Peters Manuscripts, II, 23. See also, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Aug. 2 and 23, Nov. 8, 1744; William Gooch to George Thomas, Nov. 22, 1744, Peters Manuscripts, II, 24, with enclosure of message from the Catawba and Thomas' reply, *ibid.*, II, 25, 26; and Thomas' instructions to Weiser, *ibid.*, II, 29.

<sup>71</sup> Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Feb. 8, 1744/45, Peters Letter Book VI.

<sup>72</sup> Cadwallader Colden, MS. "Present State of the Indian Affairs," Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 79.

gested, and now Peter Chartier had won over a considerable body of them to the French, an act which brought Chartier attainder of treason from Pennsylvania but which weakened Canasatego's following. In the center his own Onondagas, flanked by the Cayugas and Oneidas, were strongly in favor of the neutrality policy: their thirst for war—along with their military strength—was being lessened by continued warfare with the southern Indians. Canasatego won his struggle, except for some desertion among the Mohawk to the English and some among the Seneca to the French. He won it against the combined efforts of Pennsylvania, New York, and the New England colonies. But the victory left his people with only a portion of their former power: after Aix-la-Chapelle the fulcrum of the balance shifted from Onondaga to the Ohio.

The issue before the Albany treaty of 1745 was that which Thomas Penn hoped would have been settled at Lancaster in 1744: a declaration of war by the Six Nations against the French. Two of the three commissioners appointed from Pennsylvania were members of the assembly and of the Society of Friends and while Governor Thomas, following Penn's directions, expressed a personal preference to have them "join with the Government of New York in urging the United Nations to an open Declaration against the French, & in promising them in that case an Aid of Men, Arms, & Ammunition for their Defence,"<sup>73</sup> he did not venture to make this a part of the commissioners' instructions as the assembly might not agree and might decline voting supplies for the Indians. The commissioners were instructed to take up with the Six Nations other matters that were regarded as violation of the neutrality agreed upon at Lancaster: the continued warfare with the southern Indians in disregard of the promise of a cessation of arms made to Weiser at Onondaga the preceding spring; the robbery of some Pennsylvania traders committed by Chartier on the Ohio; and especially the report that the Six Nations had received a wampum belt with a hatchet woven into it from the French governor at Montreal.<sup>74</sup>

The Treaty of Albany of 1745 furnished a good example of inter-colonial jealousies—and of Canasatego's sagacity. The Pennsylvania commissioners declined to join with Massachusetts in urging an outright declaration of war; in the New York version of the treaty they are recorded as urging their religious principles as a reason and as stating that, while they would treat with the Indians separately on matters affecting Pennsylvania, they would say nothing to them contrary to what was agreed upon for the general interest, but "rather to enforce and give aid to it by observing to them the union of these several colonies." In their own report to Governor Thomas they omitted the religious motive but gave other reasons. From the beginning of the treaty the Indians displayed a resentment toward

<sup>73</sup>*Pa.C.R.*, IV, 775-77; Thomas Penn to George Thomas, May 5, 1744, Penn Letter Book, II, 90.

<sup>74</sup>Instructions to the commissioners, *Pa. C.R.*, IV, 775-77; their report, *ibid.*, V, 7-26; Weiser's journal, Penn Manu-

scripts; Indian Affairs, I, 49-50; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 16, Aug. 1, Sept. 12 and 19, 1745; *N.C.T. C.D.*, VI, 289-305; Peters Manuscripts, II, 30, 36, 37, Peters to Thomas Penn, May 5, 1745, Peters Letter Book, VI.

Governor Clinton and a strong antipathy toward the New Englanders. When Clinton angered them by seeking privately to discover the originator of the rumor that the English were about to cut off the Mohawk, Weiser smoothed over the difficulties. When Clinton asked them about the Montreal treaty, Canasatego gave a categorical denial, but he was franker with the Pennsylvania commissioners and even more so with Weiser. The Indians were quick to notice the conflicting counsels of the various commissioners, and Canasatego urged them to be united in speech. When they noted the absence of the Pennsylvania commissioners the day the hatchet belt was thrown at their feet by Clinton, they inquired of Weiser the reason for it: "I told them that I could not well tell their reasons but believe it was because they were peaceable people and quite averse to war and did not care to see the Indians engage in a war on behalf of either of the contending powers, but chose they should altogether remain neuter and observe punctually what was agreed upon at the treaty of Lancaster last year." Canasatego revealed to Weiser that he understood very well the Indians had no concern in the quarrel, that "the white people increasing saved themselves and . . . the Indians decreased," and that, as for taking up the hatchet because Governor Shirley had declared war against the New England Indians, "the New England people were much worse than Indians for they made no more of killing an Indian, though in alliance with them, than they do to a dog."<sup>75</sup> When the Indians replied to Clinton's hatchet belt with the statement that they would deliberate on it, one of the Massachusetts commissioners, before all of the Indians, expressed dissatisfaction with the reply and said Massachusetts wanted "no Indians' satisfaction which would only consist in a couple of skins." Clinton replied warmly and two Massachusetts delegates joined in. Canasatego then urged the representatives of the colonies "to be all of one mind, one heart, and one body," a speech which the British Ministry would have echoed. "Everything by this time was in confusion," wrote Weiser, "and the Governor [of New York] answered the last two articles immediately out of hand without consulting the commissioners, at which the Indians were altogether displeased. The Governor begun to hurry away and the Indians asked him for a barrel of beer to drink. He damned them and said he ordered them some the other day." But he gave them the beer.

The treaty had secured a contingent promise from Canasatego to take up the hatchet, and Clinton had "made large promises . . . of assisting them with ammunition, clothes, and provisions and in short the interpreter added all whatever they wanted."<sup>76</sup> Thomas Penn, who consistently regarded any action urging the Indians to war without giving them support as a sort of betrayal, was angered at this. He was even more concerned because Governor Gooch of Virginia had lost interest in bringing about peace between the Six Nations and the southern Indians, a negotiation which was not furthered at this Albany conference. As for Clinton's

<sup>75</sup>See Weiser's journal, *passim*.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*

treatment of the Indians, he wrote: "I am much concerned the Governor of New York should act so ill a part by the Indians. While such an administration is continued we must expect nothing but confusion."<sup>77</sup> During the winter of 1745-1746 continual reports came in that the Six Nations would join the French, and a report from the Minisinks led the frontier inhabitants to believe the province would be attacked as soon as the snows came. In presenting the commissioners' report to the assembly in January, 1746, Thomas expressed the opinion that "it seems next to impossible for them [the Six Nations] to maintain their Neutrality much longer." During the spring the governor sent Weiser to visit Shikellamy at Shamokin to learn the true status of affairs. The report was encouraging, but Thomas was dubious: "If Shekalimys account be true, we shall soon hear that the Six Nations have taken up the Hatchet against the French. I for my part do not believe that they will unless they could have the strongest assurances from all the colonies of being supported with everything necessary for carrying on the War. They know the people of New York too well to trust to their words only."<sup>78</sup> But when Governor Clinton and the New England colonies kept pressing Thomas to attend another treaty in Albany to try once more to gain the Iroquois over, the governor went to the assembly. That body frankly told Thomas that "Men of our peaceable Principles cannot consistently therewith join in persuading the Indians to engage in the War."<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, if a present would be of service and if the governor's health and business would permit him to attend in person, the assembly would be willing to pay the necessary expenses. Governor Thomas did not attend the treaty held in Albany in August, 1746, but reports soon came back that, while the Six Nations had kept their promise of the year before and danced the war dance, they were ill treated, still unsatisfied about their land and other grievances, and only a small number of Mohawk and some of the younger warriors of the other nations entered with spirit into the expedition against Canada. "The account you give me," wrote Penn to Governor Thomas, "of the little care that was taken of the Indians at Albany, and also of their engaging them to declare war without a proper support, I am apprehensive will have very bad effects, and estrange those people from us."<sup>80</sup>

It was at this treaty that William Johnson came into prominence; the Albany board of Indian commissioners ceased to function, and Johnson took sole charge of Indian affairs in New York. While Johnson's power was in the ascendancy,

<sup>77</sup>Thomas Penn to George Thomas, Feb. 1, 1745/46, Penn Letter Book, II, 151; *ibid.*, II, 143, 146, 149, 150, 155, 158; Peters Manuscripts, II, 43, 44, 51, 53, 54, 55; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 26, 1746; George Clinton to George Thomas, Aug. 24, 1745, Peters Manuscripts, II, 41; *Pa.C.R.*, IV, 770. On Oct. 16, 1747, Penn wrote to Peters: "I think it is really to be wondered at that the Governors of New York and New England should be made to believe the Six Nations have declared war against the French, unless they saw it was done by order of their united Council; I should be much concerned to see these people so exposed to the resentment of the French, as they must be, if they declare

war before they are sure to be well supported." Penn Letter Book, II, 212.

<sup>78</sup>George Thomas to Conrad Weiser, May 15, 1746, Peters Manuscripts, II, 56; *ibid.*, II, 46, 48, 49, 50, 57, 58, 59, 63, 68; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Dec. 24, 1745; Penn Letter Book II, 164; *Pa.C.R.*, V, 1-2, *passim*; Richard Peters to the proprietors, Nov. 19, 1747, Peters Letter Book VII.

<sup>79</sup>*Pa.C.R.*, V, 49; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 3, 1746.

<sup>80</sup>Thomas Penn to George Thomas, March 5, 1746/47, Penn Letter Book, II, 180; *ibid.*, II, 168, 172; *N.T.C.D.*, VI, 317ff.; Walton, *op. cit.*, 146ff.; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jan. 28, 1745/46; Sept. 4, 1746.



Pennsylvania's influence in Indian affairs began to decline. Governor Thomas, in ill health, departed for England in 1747. Logan died in 1751. Weiser lost much of his influence with the Iroquois upon the death of the old warrior Shikellamy in 1748, and he was now disgusted with Indian affairs anyway. Canasatego died in 1750, being succeeded by a Catholic convert and a French sympathizer. The strong coterie of able Indian diplomats who had shaped Pennsylvania policy for the past ten years was disintegrating, and a new group was coming into power, dominated to a large extent by the growing prerogative of the assembly: of the older group only Peters was left, a tower of strength for the proprietors' policy. The Six Nations, too, after the death of their strong leader came under new influences: Hendrick Peters, the Mohawk chieftain, was now in the ascendancy and directly under the shadow of Colonel Johnson. The Iroquois now looked more to New York than to Pennsylvania. But in Philadelphia attention was turning to the West, not merely to the Forks of the Ohio, but beyond to the rich fur regions of the Michigan peninsula, to the Scioto and even to the Wabash. Trade, the western lands of the province, and military strategy were the magnets that drew attention to that all-important area.

"The accession of the Nations of Indians on the Lakes," Thomas Penn wrote Peters on October 16, 1747, "is a matter of great importance, and if they are sincere may be a means in time to prevent the communication between Canada and Mississippi."<sup>81</sup> James Logan had long ago sensed the importance of the western lines of communication. Weiser likewise, having an expert knowledge of the westward shift of Indian power, realized the need of cultivating tribes several hundred miles west of Philadelphia. But the chief impetus came from the traders in the West and of these George Croghan, an Irish immigrant of barely six years' standing, was the acknowledged leader.

The French ministers had also turned their eyes to the West. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had barely been signed when the struggle for control of the peltry trade of the Ohio and Illinois country began—an economic conflict that merged almost imperceptibly into the final clash of arms that is usually regarded as having begun with Washington's adventure on the Ohio. Pennsylvania traders had firmly established themselves in this region during King George's War. Hanna lists, tentatively, nearly three hundred such traders, and Croghan was described as having "Stores on the Lake Erie, all along the Ohio . . . all along the Miami River, and up and down all that fine country watered by the branches of the Miamis, Sioto, and Muskingham Rivers, and upon the Ohio from . . . near its head, to below the Mouth of the Miami River, an Extent of 500 Miles, on one of the most beautiful Rivers in the World."<sup>82</sup> Pushing their pack-horse trains westward from Lancaster, along the

<sup>81</sup> Penn Letter Book, II, 211-12; *ibid.*, II, 170, Walton, *op. cit.*, 149ff.; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 16 and Sept. 10, 1747; Peters Manuscripts, II, 81.

<sup>82</sup> A. T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement*, 38; Walton, *op. cit.*; C. A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*.



Juniata-Conemaugh route to the Ohio, the adventurous traders—most of them hard-bitten characters who had little respect for English or Indian authority—carried their rum, cloth, knives, kettles, traps, lace, women's stockings [“red, yellow, and green” preferred], jewsharps, whistles, looking glasses, and trinkets to the Delawares, Shawnee, Hurons, Wyandots, and the powerful Twightwee.<sup>83</sup> These, as Franklin pointed out to the House of Commons in 1766, were English manufactures. The chain of credit that sustained this trade extended from the Indian setting his trap for beaver on the Miami to the trader to the Philadelphia merchant to the London merchant to the English manufacturer: and if something occurred to prevent the Indian from setting the trap, its effects would be felt all along the line.<sup>84</sup> That something occurred in 1749 when France began a determined effort to recapture the trade that had been lost during the war. Bankruptcy, complicated relations with the Indians, and war followed.

Philadelphia merchants had furnished the traders with capital and goods but the British navy had as much to do with establishing the Pennsylvania trader in the Ohio-Illinois country as anything else. By controlling the seas, England made it almost impossible for French *coureurs de bois* to obtain articles for barter. Prices during the war advanced as much as one hundred and fifty per cent. The Indians were not long in finding out that a beaver skin would buy more from Pennsylvania than from French traders, and they even crossed the lakes in order to do business with them. The result was that tribes that had long been sympathetic to the French now turned to the English: as an extreme example, Weiser records an instance of a French trader offering a single charge of powder and one bullet for a beaver skin, whereupon “The Indian took up his Hatchet, and knock’d him on the head, and killed him upon the Spot.”<sup>85</sup> Philadelphia merchants such as Shippen and Lawrence, Jeremiah Warder and Company, and others prospered as Croghan and his fellow traders prospered.

This was the situation in the spring of 1747 when Croghan wrote, and probably inspired, a message supposedly coming from three Iroquois chiefs near Lake Erie, transmitting a French scalp, one of five taken near Detroit. About the same time Croghan wrote Peters that the Indians “Dwelling on the borders of Lake Arey” had turned to the English and that this afforded an excellent opportunity to gain further allies by means of a small present of powder and lead. Governor Thomas laid the matter before the assembly in June, and urged an appropriation, “as . . . it may be of great service to encourage such Applications.”<sup>86</sup> Croghan, impatient at the delay, wrote on September 18 to one of his partners, Thomas Lawrence, a member of Council, and thereupon Lawrence’s firm was authorized to lay out £200 for the purpose in suitable goods. It was at this juncture that a sig-

<sup>83</sup> Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 30.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 59-60; *Pa. Arch.*, 8th ser., “Votes and Proceedings,” IV, 3140; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 4, 1747; Peters Manuscripts, II, 72, 79, 83, 84; Penn Letter Book, II, 214; Pa. State Lib. Prov. Papers, X, 17.

nificant turning point in Pennsylvania Indian relations was reached: the appearance in Philadelphia of some Iroquois representing five hundred Indians on the Ohio—the first official visit any Ohio Indians had ever made to Pennsylvania. The council, surprised, turned to Logan and Weiser for advice. Had they known it, advice from the proprietors to the president and council, almost a month old, was on its way: “We are well pleased to find by your minutes that some considerable nations of Indians on the lakes, are come over to the English interest and into confederacy with the Six Nations. We recommend it to you to encourage such inclinations in them, and as you have given, that you will continue to give the necessary orders for keeping up a good correspondence with the several tribes with whom we are allied, and who having ever been faithful friends to us are justly entitled to our regard, as well as that in point of policy their further friendship may be of great use. We observe complaints have been made of the injustice of the Indian traders towards some of that poor people, and desire you will cause the most speedy and effectual inquiry to be made into that business, that justice may be done to them, the most exact performance of which is the only basis on which a firm union can be established.”<sup>87</sup> Logan and Weiser both gave approval to the proposed present for the Lake Erie Indians, but Weiser felt the Indians of the upper Ohio deserved equal if not greater recognition.

This treaty of November, 1747, impressed Philadelphia. It was not such a grand spectacle as the city had seen in 1736 or 1742, with scores of men, women and children. There were only ten warriors present. There had been many conferences in past years larger than this but Franklin had not troubled to issue their proceedings in pamphlet form. This conference caught his imagination: not only did he print the treaty at once, but the *Pennsylvania Gazette* ran several accounts of the Indians and the messages of the governor and assembly relating to them. Logan wrote Weiser for detailed information concerning the warriors and their tribes.<sup>88</sup>

The head of this delegation was Scarouady, the Half-King. In a private conversation he told Weiser that if Pennsylvania should give them encouragement, they intended to build a Council Fire on the Ohio in the spring, to which all the Indians around Lake Erie had already consented to come. But he insisted that “The Pennsylvania Government should be plain and tell them so, or should tell them that they would not encourage them, that they might know how to take their measures.”<sup>89</sup> “The Council and indeed Mr. Logan,” wrote Peters, “was at first of opinion that they should be told this government never advised them to take up the hatchet, that there was no kettle hung on in this province, that they were out of their road and should have gone to Albany, but in consideration of the scarcity and

<sup>87</sup>Oct. 16, 1747, Penn Letter Book, II, 214; Richard Peters to the proprietors, Nov. 19, 1747, Peters Letter Book VII.

<sup>88</sup>Logan to Weiser, Nov. 13, 1747, Peters Manuscripts, II, 85; James Logan Letter Book, 1748-1750, p. 3; *Pa.*

*Arch.*, I, 762; *Pa.C.R.*, V, 138-39; Penn Letter Book, II, 222, 224-25; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 12 and 19, Dec. 3 and 15, 1747; Jan. 12, 1747/48.

<sup>89</sup>Richard Peters to the proprietors, Nov. 19, 1747, Peters Letter Book, VII.

dearness of goods and many other difficulties incident to a time of war, they would make them a present of powder and lead and clothing. But on Mr. Weiser's reporting the conversation had with the Indians that they expected at least to have their conduct approved, another sort of an answer was framed, such as you see in the copy." It was also debated whether a present should be sent to the Shawnee, but "as they had often been invited after their defection and return to come down to see the Governor and had never thought it worth their while to do so, on second thoughts it was judged better to let it alone till the spring, when Mr. Weiser (on his own motion, and to come to the true knowledge of all the Indians in those quarters) is to go to Ohio with a larger present to be distributed among all the Indians. If this turns out as is expected, this province will have a fine barrier to the westward."<sup>90</sup>

President Palmer warmly recommended that the assembly adopt Weiser's suggestion and provide funds for the present: "This is an extraordinary event in our favor which ought to be improved to the greatest advantage. They [the western Indians] are mostly within the limits of the government and are capable of doing or preventing the greatest mischief. From what passed at a conversation between them and the interpreter there is reason to apprehend that without encouragement . . . they may be seduced by the French to go over to their side, whereby the lives of the back inhabitants will be in the utmost danger."<sup>91</sup> The assembly supplied the funds necessary for the gift, but advised the governor to urge these Indians to take the advice of their older men not to go to war, for, they added, "most of us . . . are men of peaceful principles and the presents we gave and those formerly given on behalf of this government so far as we have understood would supply them with necessities towards acquiring a livelihood and cultivate the friendship between us and not to encourage their entering into a war. This we think most for the King's interest and the peace and safety of his colonies in America, it being well known that wars once begun amongst them are not to be ended without great difficulty"—an observation that might well have been taken from Canasatego's speech at Albany in 1745.<sup>92</sup> The assembly voted only £500 for the Indians; they had just declined voting any sums for defense of the city, and Norris told William Logan that in light of this "they should be liable to disadvantageous remarks for giving so large a sum to the Indians for the defense of the frontiers." Norris himself "spoke warmly for £1000."<sup>93</sup> Some members, at least, must have realized that the lead and powder bought with the former appropriation would not be used solely for hunting. In order to make the present more impressive, the governments of Maryland and Virginia were invited to contribute to the sum. While waiting for answers from these two provinces, Croghan was dispatched to the Ohio in April, 1748, to distribute an initial present of £200 worth of goods.

The treaty held at Lancaster in July, 1748, was similar in form to the one of

<sup>90</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>91</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Dec. 15, 1747, and Jan. 12, 1747/48. See also, *ibid.*, March 1, 1747.

<sup>92</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jan. 12, 1747/48.

<sup>93</sup> Richard Peters to the proprietors, Feb. 1, 1747/48, *Peters Letter Book*, VII; *Penn Letter Book*, II, 231-36.

the preceding November. Scarouady had returned with a following of some fifty-five Shawnee and Twightwee, but the province was represented by four commissioners who were new to Indian affairs. Richard Peters' name does not appear in the official report, but it was he who had charge of the management. For the past ten years he had "with an unwearied assiduity endeavoured to gain the esteem of the Indians," and he had been rewarded by Weiser's telling him that he had "succeeded so far as to be considered as a young Logan that does not want affection for the Indians and in time may understand to do their business honestly for them."<sup>94</sup> The four commissioners who were authorized to receive the Twightwee into the alliance of friendship did not stand high in Peters' estimation: "You may easily judge," he wrote the proprietors, "by the persons who were appointed that the Board depended on me to do the business, and I did it as well as I could though not so well as it might have been done had I not been affected with the heats of the season and the fatigue of restless nights occasioned by unclean beds."<sup>95</sup> He considered the treaty "of great consequence to this province." The Twightwee were reported to have, with their allies, twenty towns and a thousand fighting men. Not only, he reported, did the Twightwees control an important path used by the French to the Mississippi, but they were in the heart of a rich trading country, "a plain, champagne country of an excellent rich soil and abounds with all manner of game, and if they are well used by our traders they will bring all their peltry to this market which will make a very considerable addition to the articles of remittance."<sup>96</sup> The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, in announcing the alliance with the Twightwee and the renewal of friendship with the Shawnee, likewise emphasized the relation between this treaty and western trade: "We are informed that some of the more distant nations wait only to hear what reception the Twightwees meet with, being strongly inclined to throw themselves into the arms of the English, who have since the war furnished goods to their allies cheaper than the French could do. Had the war continued a few years longer, probably the greatest part of the French Indians would have been brought over to the English interest and the trade accordingly have fallen naturally into the hands of the British nation."<sup>97</sup> Penn welcomed the Twightwee alliance, but did not like the idea of having the troublesome Shawnee intercede for them "when they were but barely pardoned themselves." He thought Indian expenses were high, but cheaper than the sum required for supporting an Indian war, and he hoped that "the increase of the trade will compensate the Ohio treaty."<sup>98</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Richard Peters to the proprietors, May 11, 1748, Peters Letter Book, VII; Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 63.

<sup>95</sup> July 27, 1748, Peters Letter Book, VII. <sup>96</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>97</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 28, 1748.

<sup>98</sup> Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, Oct. 12, 1748, Penn Letter Book, II, 248; Peters Manuscripts, II, 108; see also *Pa.C.R.*, V, 322; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 8 and 15, 1748. In another letter, Penn commented to Peters: "We are well pleased with your management in the treaty at Lancaster and think if the Twightwee nation of Indians prove faithful it may be of great use to us, but we do not so well like the

Indians of the Six Nations dividing themselves and settling colonies which are not to depend on their council at Onondago. It is our interest to unite them that we may have but one body of them to treat with and make presents to, and advise them to increase their alliances, for it will be extremely troublesome to treat with every nation of Indians, and expensive to give them frequent presents; so that if the Five Nations can do it we ought to put them on making alliances and make them sometimes a considerable present for that purpose. But if they lose their influence we must treat with their allies ourselves." Penn Letter Book, II, 246-47, Oct. 12, 1748.

While events had thus opened auspiciously to give Pennsylvania a pre-eminent claim to the trade and friendship of the western Indians, difficulties were experienced with the matter of fulfilling the promise made the preceding summer to send Weiser with a large present. Weiser himself alarmed Peters and Logan by asserting his unwillingness to undertake the journey—one that he himself had suggested. This was most disturbing, and Logan wrote Weiser an urgent letter: “Richard Peters lodging with me two nights ago surprised me by showing me a letter of thine declaring thy unwillingness to undertake the journey to Ohio, for which I certainly thought thee very well disposed, but both of us concluded that as thou formerly joined with the absolute necessity of thy going, there was no room now to dispute it, and when thou sees thy instructions from the Council thou will freely acknowledge this necessity.”<sup>99</sup> Both the Virginia and the Maryland assemblies declined to add to the present, but Governor Gooch raised £200 to be presented in the name of Virginia. Governor Ogle of Maryland, wrote Peters, was “really hearty as well as his Council in favor of a present from that government to be added to ours and urged it cordially and handsomely to his Assembly. But they would not hearken to him, being of opinion Lord Baltimore should furnish these expenses out of his revenues.”<sup>100</sup> When President Palmer laid the same matter before the Pennsylvania assembly, that body had a similar feeling. Peters was surprised that the assembly had not made such a suggestion formerly, and attributed it to John Kinsey “that they have been kept so long from this public declaration. To do the Assembly justice, they have behaved well in Indian affairs, and Mr. Kinsey told me they thought this branch of business was well conducted.”<sup>101</sup> James Logan exhibited a remarkable interest in this western mission, and contributed £100 worth of goods, including two barrels of gunpowder, five hundred weight of lead, one thousand flints, and six dozen knives—evidence that the aged Quaker knew what was needed. “By this,” he wrote Weiser, “thou sees some part of my zeal for the public, and I would yet give more out of my small estate . . . but it would appear vain, and the utmost I could spare would be little in comparison with the public if they had the spirit of giving.”<sup>102</sup> A further delay appeared imminent in the indication that some Six Nations Indians wished to come to Philadelphia to consult about a choice of a successor for Sassoonan, the deceased Delaware, and for this Weiser’s presence would have been necessary. But this visit did not materialize and at last, armed with full instructions, Weiser set out. With the pack train, accompanied by Croghan and Andrew Montour, was the nineteen-year-old son of Benjamin Franklin.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>99</sup> James Logan to Conrad Weiser, March 30, 1748, Peters Manuscripts, II, 100; Weiser to Peters, March 28, 1748; *ibid.*, 99; this letter of Weiser’s is printed in *Pa.C.R.*, V, 212-13, although the following postscript is omitted: “Shicklamy desires to be remembered to you and in particular to his old friend, James Logan.” See also Walton, *op. cit.*, 175-79.

<sup>100</sup> Richard Peters to the proprietors, July 27, 1748, Peters Letter Book, VII; see also, same to same, May 11, 1748, *ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> *Loc. cit.*, July 27, 1748; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 26, 1748; Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, Oct. 12, 1748, Penn Letter Book, II, 246-47.

<sup>102</sup> March 30, 1748, Peters Manuscripts, II, 100.

<sup>103</sup> Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 66-67; Weiser’s Journal to Ohio (photostat from copy in Library of Congress) in H.S.P.; Pa. State Lib., Prov. Papers, X, 33, 34, 38, 39, 42, 43; Peters Manuscripts, II, 106; *Pa.C.R.*, V, 290-93; Penn Letter Book, II, 241.



Weiser's treaty at Logstown in 1748, reinforcing and strengthening the last treaty at Lancaster, opened up trade possibilities with the western Indians all the way to the Mississippi and from the Michigan peninsula to the Kentucky region. This negotiation with the Delawares, Shawnee, and Iroquois Indians at Logstown marks the height of the English influence in the Ohio region until after the peace of 1763. One marked result was a decided increase in the exports of furs and skins from Philadelphia. Weiser's journal of this expedition was read thoughtfully by Thomas Penn in England, by Thomas Lee in Virginia, and by the agents of the proprietors in Philadelphia. But what Weiser had to say unofficially stirred the leaders in Philadelphia more than what he had written. His comments on the untapped riches of that almost unknown transmontane region created in Philadelphia a speculative boom. "One of the most important discoveries made by Mr. Weiser," wrote Richard Peters, "is this—that the moment you leave the last ridge of hills, the lands are exceeding good and continue so interruptedly. He says, what I can't believe, that the body of the lands for many miles together, sixty or seventy together at least, is as good as Conestoga lands. He talks in raptures about the soil and waters." As for the Indians there, they were numerous but, except for the Wyandots and Twightwee, "the scum of the earth." Although they were a "mixed, dirty sort of people," they would be of great consequence to the "trade and security of this province."<sup>104</sup>

Carried away by Weiser's glowing descriptions, Peters was seized with the speculative fever. The treaty of Lancaster, 1748, had brought about renewed efforts to regulate the Indian trade, particularly in rum. Peters was deeply immersed in this problem, and had just suggested to Penn that the proprietors ought to back William Trent in the Ohio trade, as soon "all the world will be running now into the Indian trade."<sup>105</sup> That was in July. In October Weiser returned, and Peters again urged upon Penn that "some of your friends, Mr. Hockley, for instance, and some others that you could depend on, men of weight and authority . . . be employed immediately in the Indian trade." Within another month, Peters succumbed to the trade fever. William Trent before the war had carried on a successful partnership in the Indian trade with George Croghan. That partnership had been dissolved when Trent entered the army, but now he was back in Philadelphia, ready to engage with some of the leading merchants for trading on a large scale, and he asked Peters to recommend him to the proprietors. But Peters, without waiting for authority from Penn, could not resist the temptation. He induced Trent and Croghan to come into partnership with him and Richard Hockley, and then he informed Penn that he and Hockley had lent their names to the contract "freely to be made use of as you please, either as your trustee or the trustee of any other person you shall recommend." If this was not satisfactory, Peters would take up the obligation himself and

<sup>104</sup>To Thomas Penn, Oct. 24, 1748, Peters Letter Book, VII; Penn Letter Book, II, 254-55; Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 66.

<sup>105</sup>July 28, 1748, Peters Letter Book, VII.



would give bond to Penn for three years at five or six per cent in order to become a partner in his own right. But Thomas Penn was remote from the feverish talk of trade in the Philadelphia taverns, and declined to enter the partnership or to permit Peters to do so. His decision was wiser than he knew. He saved Peters from bankruptcy and when ten years later Franklin in London told Penn it was rumored that Peters was engaged in Indian trade, a thing many Pennsylvanians thought improper for a proprietarial official, Penn was able to give a categorical denial.<sup>106</sup>

But Pennsylvania's auspicious lead in the Ohio region was threatened from Virginia. Months before the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle Virginia had begun to make large grants of land in the northwest, even as far as the Ohio. On February 13, 1748, Colonel Thomas Lee wrote Weiser that he was interested in one of these "which when we begin to settle I shall hope for your help to make it agreeable to the Indians."<sup>107</sup> Virginia's contribution to the presents made at Logstown was inspired partly by the hope that the Indians "will protect and not disturb our back settlements."<sup>108</sup> Even before Weiser's journey westward, Lee had written him that he was concerned "with Colonel Cressap in a company to settle by grants from the King on some part of Ohio with the consent of the Indians and my purpose is to carry a fair correspondence with them and I hope you will be so good as to recommend us to your friends. As I am known to some of them you may mention me being one of the company."<sup>109</sup> Peters learned of this immediately, and wrote urgently to Penn to inquire what moves the Virginia people had made to enlist the support of the ministry. "That vile fellow Cressap," he wrote, "has proposed a scheme to Colonel Lee and some other great men in Virginia to make trading houses at Allegheny in order to take advantage of the disposition shown by the Twightwees and other Indian tribes to trade with the English, and I believe Colonel Lee has engaged with Cressap and he is gone to try where to make suitable settlement. This will undoubtedly rob this province of great advantages and probably they will not stick to settle lands that may be within your limits and so create new squabbles. Colonel Lee who has a plotting head, has I am told, sent a scheme to the Ministry to build forts on the frontiers of Virginia on some of the waters of Ohio and has set forth the vast advantages of such forts as if thereby all the country might be secured to His Majesty up to the Mississippi."<sup>110</sup> Peters then urged Penn to support Trent and Croghan to "disappoint all the prejudicial schemes of the Virginians," for they "can do more with the Indians than all the other traders put together." The rivalry between the traders of the two provinces had already started; one Hugh Parker, a trader representing Colonel Lee's Ohio Company, was robbed and Lee charged that this was caused by the "irregularity"

<sup>106</sup> *Loc. cit.*, Oct. 24 and Nov. 24, 1748; Volwiler, *op. cit.*; Peters Manuscripts, II, 112, 114, 120; VI, 88, 89, 90.

<sup>107</sup> Feb. 13, 1747/48, Peters Manuscripts, II, 89.

<sup>108</sup> Thomas Lee to Conrad Weiser, May 14, 1748, Peters Manuscripts, II, 102.

<sup>109</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>110</sup> Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, July 28, 1748, Peters Letter Book, VII.

of the Pennsylvania traders. Lee told Weiser that such rivalry between the two provinces would enable the French to come in and regain the trade, a prophetic but futile statement. Thomas Penn refused to share Peters' alarm. He was a friend of the Duke of Bedford and John Hanbury, the great London merchant, who were two of the leading spirits in the Ohio Company. Hanbury assured him that they would not settle within Pennsylvania's bounds, and that was the chief point that would have disturbed Penn. As for the Indian trade, "I have nothing to say to it, but that if our province cannot furnish the Indians so cheap as the Virginian, they must lose the trade."<sup>111</sup> This was discouraging to Peters, who believed that, as the principal men in the government of Virginia were concerned in the Ohio Company, they should be offset by men of similar standing in Pennsylvania.

The flourishing condition of the western trade in 1749 also brought concern to Peters from another quarter — Montreal. "Since the treaty held at Lancaster with the Twightwees," he wrote the Penns on July 5, 1749, "there has been a large extension of the Indian trade which will undoubtedly be soon known at Canada, and vigorous efforts will be made by the French to regain this important nation, if not for the sake of trade, yet for the conveniency of the River Mississippi, and this will occasion great disturbances among the Indians."<sup>112</sup> The government of Canada had indeed already set in motion their plans to recapture the trade and the friendship of the Indians in this great valley which was, in the words of a contemporary, "as great a Prize as has ever been contended for, between two Nations."<sup>113</sup> Governor Hamilton dispatched Croghan to the Ohio to observe movements of the French, and there, in the summer of 1749, he learned of the first determined efforts of the French to "send the English Treaders home."<sup>114</sup> Celoron de Bienville, on his famous journey among the Indians in 1749, burying leaden plates as he went in order to establish French claims, found the Twightwee and the Shawnee inclined toward the English. But within five years the Pennsylvania traders had lost their monopoly, the western Indians had abandoned their new-found friends in Pennsylvania, and New France had pushed her wide-flung frontiers across the western end of the province. That this could have been accomplished is little short of amazing. For in all of New France, stretching in a chain of forts and trading posts and villages along a great semi-circle almost four thousand miles in length, from Cape Breton to New Orleans, the total number of Frenchmen was less than half the number of Europeans in the province of Pennsylvania.<sup>115</sup> It was the hunch-backed governor of Canada, the Marquis de la Gallissonière, who saw the necessity

<sup>111</sup> Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, Feb. 20, 1748/49, Penn Letter Book, II, 254-55; *ibid.*, II, 128, 135, 276; Thomas Lee to Conrad Weiser, Dec. 11, 1748, Peters Manuscripts, II, 115; Weiser to Peters, March 10, 1748/49, disclosing part, but not all, of Lee's letter of Dec. 11, *ibid.*, II, 116; Volwiler, *op cit.*, 68; Peters to Penn, July 28, 1748, Peters Letter Book, VII.

<sup>112</sup> Peters Letter Book, VII.

<sup>113</sup> Lewis Evans, *Analysis of a Map of the Middle British Colonies* (1755), 31.

<sup>114</sup> Peters to the proprietors, July 5, 1749, Peters Letter Book, VII; Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 68; an account of Croghan's return is to be found in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Aug. 1, 1749.

<sup>115</sup> The combined number of French and Iroquois was probably less than 100,000. An estimate for Pennsylvania and Delaware in 1749 placed the figure at 250,000; Greene and Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1930), 5, 115.

for drawing this tenuous cordon around the British colonies in order to restrict the growth of English trade and naval power.<sup>116</sup> Nature provided him with his first line of defense in the Appalachian chain of mountains.

Celoron was polite but unequivocal. "Our Commandant-General," he said to the traders, "would be very sorry to be forced to use violence; but his orders are precise, to leave no foreign traders within the limits of his government."<sup>117</sup> At the site of Pittsburgh and again on the Scioto, Celoron was met with discharges of powder and ball, furnished the Indians by English traders. Nevertheless, his expedition had discovered the influence of the English over the western Indians and he had secured the promise of some of the traders to withdraw. He was not deceived by these promises, and within a few months the governor of Canada found it necessary to use force. Peters expected the French government to make a remonstrance against Pennsylvania that would come before the English ministry and he warned Penn that "unless the Ministry be beforehand fully informed of the situation of the Indian countries, and how far the waters of the Mississippi extend to the eastward into Virginia and this province, and of the vast importance of the Indian trade, they may be off their guard and make concessions very prejudicial to the English nation."<sup>118</sup> Peters anticipated a larger French force on the Ohio waters the next year, but this did not disturb him so much as the fear that "the French court may surprise ours into some hasty, hurtful instructions to the governors in America . . . [This] may be much better understood in England, yet it may not be attended to, unless the proprietaries in time and with care and pains set people of consequence to think beforehand of it." In his concern for the general British interest, Peters asked Penn to send him a copy of Charlevoix and in return he would send Penn a copy of Douglass' *Summary*—a work that he thought might be useful but which contained a pernicious sentiment, one that others had adopted: that at the next treaty with France the Appalachian Mountains should be fixed as the boundary between the two nations. "Surely," he added, "neither he nor any of the espousers of this doctrine know the . . . situation of those hills. If they did they would not give up to the French the greatest part of each English province in America."<sup>119</sup> Thomas Penn was alarmed by this news in Peters' letter, and at once communicated it to his friends the Duke of Bedford and Lord Halifax, together with a copy of Celoron's letter. He thought that something should be done immediately about taking possession of this region with the consent of the Indians. For this purpose he suggested the building of a strong house or fort on the Allegheny, even going so far as to outline its construction and dimensions, and promised to give £400 toward the cost of erecting the building and £100 a year toward main-

<sup>116</sup>La Gallissonière, *Mémoire sur les colonies de la France dans l'Amérique septentrionale*. Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, 37; a translation of one of Celoron's plates, in the handwriting of Benjamin Franklin, is in Provincial Council Records, H.S.P., dated Jan. 29, 1750/51; *Pa.C.R.*, V, 510-11.

<sup>117</sup>*Pa.C.R.*, V, 425.

<sup>118</sup>Peters to the proprietors, *ca.* Sept.-Oct., 1749, Peters Letter Book, VII.

<sup>119</sup>*Loc. cit.*

taining a small number of men in it. "However few the men are," he said, "they should wear a uniform dress that though very small it may look fort like." Such a structure would protect the trade with the Indians and would be a mark of possession; Hamilton was directed to take the matter up with the assembly. Had Penn's suggestion been acted upon promptly, the course of events might have been altered. By February, 1750, Penn wrote that the ministry had done nothing "and if the Province will not do something the trade may be lost."<sup>120</sup>

But the assembly declined Penn's offer to join with them in building a fort at Allegheny. The merchants in the assembly were faced with a dilemma: the Indian trade was of vital concern to them, but as Friends they could not join in a program of military defense. Nevertheless, they stood by their principles: "As we have always found that sincere, upright dealing with the Indians, a friendly treatment of them on all occasions, and particularly in relieving their necessities at some times by suitable presents have been the best means of securing their friendship, we could wish our Proprietors had rather thought fit to join with us in the expense of those presents, the effects of which have at all times so manifestly advanced their interest with the security of our frontier settlements." But the issues at stake were such that mere altruism was ineffectual as a policy: the balance of power in Europe was of the utmost concern to the French and at the root of their determined advance at the middle—and weakest—link of their long chain along the Mississippi, the Lakes, and the St. Lawrence Valley. Aggression could not be stopped at this stage by mere generosity or friendliness to the Indians. Within two years Thomas Penn turned from the province to Virginia for aid. On the basis of an agreement made with Mr. Hanbury in London, he directed Governor Hamilton to assist the Ohio Company in building a fort on the Ohio, with the written understanding that such a settlement would not prejudice the proprietors' rights in that region. While Virginia and Pennsylvania were rivals for the rich western trade—and would soon be rivals for the western lands—there was much more of an understanding between them as they faced the common enemy than has been supposed. Hanbury and the Duke of Bedford kept in touch with Thomas Penn in London about their plans, Thomas Lee carried on an active correspondence with Weiser and Peters, and both Weiser and Croghan gave official services to Virginia in her relations with the Indians. Peters' correspondence with Lee, however, was literary in character, and he was fully informed of all the activities of Weiser and Croghan on behalf of Virginia. Indeed, in this manner he secured much valuable information.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>120</sup>Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, Feb. 13, 1749/50, Penn Letter Book, II, 299; to James Hamilton, Feb. 12, 1749/50, *ibid.*, II, 294-95; Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 76-77; *Pa. C. R.*, V, 514-15.

<sup>121</sup>Message of the assembly, Aug. 21, 1751, Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 80; Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, March 9, 1751/52, and July 13, 1752, Provincial Council Records, H. S. P. (extracts authorizing joint action with

Virginia in erecting a fort on the Ohio); W. Neil Franklin, "Pennsylvania-Virginia Rivalry for the Indian Trade of the Ohio Valley," *Mitt. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XX (March, 1934), 463-80. This article, while it is an admirable summary of the forces back of the intercolonial struggle for control of the Ohio trade, fails to distinguish rivalries between traders from those between governments.

One bit of such information came to Philadelphia late in 1749. Hugh Parker, agent of the Ohio Company, had written a glowing account of the prospects of the company to Robert Smith, a young trader "att the Miamis Country," saying that he expected to receive momentarily about fifteen or sixteen thousand pounds' worth of Indian goods and that he would like to interest Smith in the Virginia enterprise. Such a trade would not only be profitable but would commend "young men of spirit" to the governor and council of Virginia, "who are mostly interested in the undertaking, and you may also Depend upon being taken notice of in a Different manner from what Traders generally are in Pennsylvania, where I think after their great fatigue in getting Skins they are only Treated as Slaves by those who get most by them; but in Virginia I expect to see them Treated as Gentlemen. I have a Generall good will to young Men of Spirit and think there will be an opportunity for severall to make their fortunes by joining the Virginians in the Indian Trade." Parker had heard that Smith was influential with the Miamis, and he recommended that he bring their chiefs to Virginia at the same time that the Six Nations were expected in the spring of 1750. Virginia, he thought, was "the only Proper Government for them to come to, being the Chiefest of the English Governments on the Continent." This letter was probably intercepted by Croghan and sent by him to Peters. Croghan learned immediately of the invitation to the Indians and suggested to Peters that as this "May be a Determent to the Tread of pensilvanie . . . I can put a Stop to thire going Down if you think itt convenient."<sup>122</sup>

Meanwhile, during the summer of 1749 the proprietarial officials were troubled by the perennial problem of squatters. The pressure of population westward had for thirty years embarrassed the proprietors in their relations with the Indians. Every effort had been made to keep the settlers from crossing the bounds of Indian purchases: cabins had been burned, magistrates' authority had been invoked, proc-

<sup>122</sup>Dated at Old Town, Dec. 1, 1749. This interesting letter is in the possession of Mrs. Augusta Smith of Martinsburg, Pennsylvania, who graciously permitted me to quote from it. George Croghan's letter to Richard Peters, also in the possession of Mrs. Smith, is dated Nov. 25, 1749, and is worth quoting in full: "Yesterday I was att a Councell held by the Six Nations & Several other Nations of Indians within about fifty Miles of Lake Ery att an Indian Town where I now live. The Indians Received a Mesidge from the Commander of Fort De Troath Importing that the Governor of Cannada was much Displeased with the usage his Solgers received from all the Indians that was settled on Ohio & To Lett them now that if he Did nott imaidettly Send the English Treaders home from Amongst them and charge them never to return that he was Determined to Disown them for his Children & To send a party of his Men by the first of June next which wold Lay all there Towns in Ases & Distroye them of the face of the Erth the Indians received the sd Mesidge with a Great Dale of Content & is Determined to Give them battle if they come. The Indians in Genaral hear Complain very much that the Governor Dont putt a stop to his Treaders bringing outt Spirats to Sill after the Many Complants Made on that Acount there has been many Indians kild in Drinking Spills Debaching whether the french or English was best some for the English & Some for the french

I believe the Most of the Indians hear are for the English att present butt if there be Nott a Stop putt to the bringing of Liquor Out Amongst them that two thurds of them will go to the french this Spring there are severall Treaders Now in the Woods that brings nothing Else butt Liquer & Makes the Indians Drunk So that I have Anouff to Do to keep them from killing one another. I hope the Governor will putt [a] Stop To any Liguers Coming outt this Spring the Month of March itt is Comon for the Treaders to Send Down for Liguers & I think any of the Justus in the South Valley Might putt a stop to thire bring any as itt is brought throw that Valley.

The Indians hear has received an Invition [*sic*] from Coll. Crisp & Mr. Hugh Parker to go Down to see the Governor of Maryland which perhaps may be a Determent to the Tread of pensilvanie as the want to Enter into the Indian Tread I can put a Stop to thire going Down if you think itt convenient So I Desire the feaver of you to give me your advice how I shall behave if the French shold come. Capt. Trent can further a Letter to Me att any Time you send it. Sir I am with Due respects your Most obedient humble Servant.

Geo: Croghan

Sir Plese to acquaint the Governor that some of the Chiefs of the Indians hear intend to pay his honour a visett this Spring."



clamations had been issued by the governors. The Indians in 1742 and at other treaties had complained against such encroachments on their lands and the Penns had sought to alleviate the pressure on the Indians' lands by making additional purchases. All this was ineffectual. In 1749 the matter became acute and threatened to develop into a serious issue that would embarrass the friendly relations of the province with the Six Nations. Squatters' cabins and clearings dotted "the lands at Juniata and all along the road to Allegheny."<sup>123</sup> Ten thousand German immigrants were expected to arrive that year. It was therefore urgent that immediate action should be taken. Early in the spring Peters had been directed by the governor to advise Weiser that another proclamation would be issued and that the settlers at Juniata would be turned off the Indians' land. Weiser, however, thought it would be unwise to use force "till some of the Six Nations' Chiefs come down, when all proper means ought to be used to make a purchase from them . . . at least for some part of that land between the . . . Endless Mountains and Allegheny Hill, in order to build a couple of villages for the good of the trade with the Indians, as Virginia is about to establish an Indian trade on Ohio. Our people by having a settlement somewhere on the east side of the Allegheny Hill . . . would far outdo Virginia [and would produce] several other advantages not to be mentioned here."<sup>124</sup> This advice was transmitted at once to Thomas Penn for instructions regarding a new purchase. Hamilton, Weiser, and others thought that this would have to be done soon or the peace would not be preserved. Peters was more urgent: "I must say that it will be impossible to preserve the peace or to prevent numbers settling all over the Indian countries; or to take up any valuable land for you, unless an Indian purchase be made soon. . . . I beg you will write to the Governor on the subject of the Indian purchase by all opportunities. The thought is quite new. I assure you it took its rise from Conrad's letter."<sup>125</sup> Weiser also secured a delay in adopting force against the Juniata squatters because he thought the governor's proclamation would carry more weight if it were issued as a result of the complaint on the part of the Indians that were expected to come down from Onondaga that summer.<sup>126</sup>

Three Seneca and some Onondaga arrived in Philadelphia on July 1, coming as they said, to reply to a message concerning peace with the Catawba and to meet the new governor. They stated that all of the Six Nations had planned to send deputies for the treaty, but the others had not met them at the rendezvous at Wyoming and they had decided to come on alone. James Hamilton wrote Weiser, under an injunction of secrecy, to sound these Indians on an Indian purchase and, if they thought the overture would be agreeable, to charge them with a message for that purpose to the Onondaga Council. Hamilton urged Weiser to manage the affair so that the proposal for a sale should seem to come from the Indians, "for

<sup>123</sup>Richard Peters to the proprietors, April 19, 1749, Peters Letter Book, VII.

<sup>124</sup>Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, May 16, 1749, Peters Letter Book, VII.

<sup>125</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>126</sup>Richard Peters to the proprietors, July 5, 1749, Peters Letter Book, VII.



should the Indians discover that the proprietors want to buy and that they are the first movers, they would be the more averse and insist on higher terms." The purchase should also be large enough to take care of the "natural increase of the inhabitants and the multitude of foreigners which may be expected to come over now a peace is concluded." Its situation, too, should be such as to forestall the Maryland and Virginia encroachments and to enable the proprietors to establish their southern and western bounds. The governor and council also gave Weiser secret instructions to the same effect. The reason for this secrecy was the fact that a new danger had appeared in the problem of the squatters: "That they will become tributary to the Indians and pay them yearly sums for their license to be there. He [Weiser] says positively that they are got into this way on the east side of Susquehanna beyond the Hills and receive acknowledgments and are easy about those lands, and that if they do the same on the west side of that river, the proprietors will not only have all the abandoned people of the Province to deal with, but the Indians too, and that they will mutually support each other and do a vast deal of mischief. This consideration," added Peters, "has alarmed me more than any other."<sup>127</sup> Only Weiser, the governor and Peters knew of this threat. Weiser succeeded in sending a message by the Seneca to Onondaga respecting a new purchase of land. The Indians at the conference had also complained about the Juniata settlers and Governor Hamilton immediately issued his proclamation and took steps to remove the squatters. Thomas Penn did not approve of Weiser's strategy in delaying the proclamation until the Indians had complained.<sup>128</sup>

Scarcely had the Seneca departed with their presents before word came that the remainder of the Six Nations' delegation was at Weiser's and would soon be at Philadelphia, thus, as Peters said, putting "the Governour and myself . . . under one of the greatest dilemmas in the world from a thing quite unforeseen."<sup>129</sup> The three Seneca deputies had been told by Weiser to advise the other party of Indians that their visit would not be well received in Philadelphia as the present had already been given and as they had no particular business to negotiate. "But in very wantonness," wrote Peters, "[they] pressed into their company most of the Shamokin Indians, Nanticokes, Tuteloes and Delawares, so that when Mr. Weiser met them they made a formidable appearance amounting to 280."<sup>130</sup> Canasatego was at the head of this embarrassing deputation and the imperious old warrior was not to be turned aside on his first visit since 1744. Weiser met him and refused to shake hands

<sup>127</sup> *Loc. cit.*; James Hamilton to Conrad Weiser, July 7, 1749, Peters Manuscripts, II, 121; a rough draft of the instructions to Weiser, dated July 7, 1749, in Richard Peters' handwriting, is in Provincial Council Records, H. S. P.—one paragraph, authorizing Weiser to offer his services to settle between the Indians and the proprietors the question of the quantity of land, its situation, and the price, was deleted from the instructions. The fair copy of the private instructions for Weiser was dated July 24, 1749; Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 54. Minutes of Conferences with the Indians at the State House, July 1-4, 1749, *ibid.*, I, 53; *Pa. C. R.*, V, 388-94. Three Greenlanders, Moravian converts, appeared in

Philadelphia at this time and offered an opportunity for interesting ethnological observations; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 15, 1749.

<sup>128</sup> Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, July 31, 1749, Penn Letter Book, II, 272-73; and to Peters Oct. 9, 1749, II, 283, 289, 290. Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Aug. 7, 1749, Peters Letter Book, VII; *Pa. C. R.*, V, 394-95; Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 55.

<sup>129</sup> Richard Peters to the proprietors, Sept. 11, 1749, Peters Letter Book, VII; to Thomas Penn, Aug. 7, 1749, *ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> Peters to the proprietors, Sept. 11, 1749, Peters Letter Book, VII.

until Canasatego should explain the business and purpose of his unsolicited visit. The result was that high words passed between the old friends — and Canasatego had his way. "When we went to Philadelphia [formerly]," he said, "[I] . . . never have been reprimanded for it after this manner. Perhaps it is because you got all our lands that you wanted from us, and you don't like to see us any more, and consequently our fate is the same as our cousins, the Delawares and Mohicans."<sup>131</sup> Canasatego then demanded that Weiser produce the governor's orders commanding them to turn back; they would then know what to do. This alarmed Weiser, but he was fortunately extricated from his position by the arrival of a letter from Peters, reporting a conversation between the governor and the speaker of the house, wherein it was agreed that the Indians should not be pressed too hard to return without completing their mission. The Indians proceeded on their journey and arrived in Philadelphia early in August.

There, in one of the longest speeches he ever made, Canasatego showed that he had business enough to talk about. He boasted that "We are a frontier Country between your Enemy and you, so that we have been your Guard, & things have been managed so well as to keep the War from your doors." He had seen the governor's proclamation for removing the Juniata settlers; this would not be enough — force would have to be used. He complained of the murder of one of his relatives by someone in Pennsylvania. He spoke about the mistreatment of the Nanticoke in Maryland and urged Governor Hamilton to interpose. He replied to the messages of the governor of Virginia made in 1745 respecting the Catawba, and, without laying stress on the matter, he urged that the present disposition of the Catawba be inquired into. Although it is not in the recorded version of Canasatego's speech, Peters wrote Thomas Penn that, fearing they would receive no present, Canasatego proposed that the proprietors should pay them for the lands already sold and for which they had already received compensation. "On this unexpected piece of knavery, Mr. Weiser broke from them and would not be prevailed on to sit any longer in Council. On this they trumped up a speech the best they could without Conrad's assistance, and for fear lest the government should give them no present, they of their own head proposed to sell some lands to the east side of Susquehannah as far as Thomas McKee's house, which is about ten miles from the Blue Hills and left to the governor to say what they should receive for those lands. Here then was the dilemma." On the one hand, the people had been clamoring for an Indian purchase; the assembly had contributed £500 for a present to Canasatego and his followers, expecting the proprietors would give as much or more; the Indians, in making the offer, had required the Juniata settlers to be turned off, and if this were done they would have no place to go unless a new purchase were made; if the offer were declined, Canasatego might, on his return to Onon-

<sup>131</sup> Memorandum in the handwriting of Conrad Weiser, Aug. 7, 1749, of conference held with Canasatego and about 38 Indians; Peters Manuscripts, II, 122.

daga, oppose the proposal for another purchase already sent by the three Seneca. On the other hand, the lands offered were "not worth, comparatively speaking . . . one six-pence, being broken, stony Mountainous and almost impassable"; there were no directions from the proprietors to purchase; the governor had no power to order payment of the money; and, in the same speech in which Canasatego offered the land, he had "put a bar to asking for the lands on the West side of Susquehanna." The proprietarial officials tried to get Canasatego to sell all lands east of the Susquehanna below a line extending from Shamokin on the Susquehanna to the mouth of the Lackawaxin on the Delaware, but this Canasatego peremptorily refused.<sup>132</sup>

This dilemma caused almost a week's deliberation. But at last the council, on the earnest recommendation of Weiser and Peters, authorized the purchase for £500 in addition to the £500 in goods to be presented by the assembly. The deed was thereupon executed and a map attached to it in which two significant features were omitted lest the Indians should fail to sign: the north branch of the Susquehanna was carried only a short distance beyond Shamokin so that the Indians would not realize how close the northern line of the purchase came to Wyoming; and the line from the end of the Walk in the purchase from the Delawares in 1737 was not run out to the Delaware. The deception thus practised in 1749 was more glaring than any apparent in the Walking Purchase and the whole transaction attended with more animosity. The era of good feeling between Pennsylvania and the Iroquois was definitely ended. This was partly due, so Peters thought, to the fact that the Six Nations "had in the course of the war been so imprudently managed by the Governor of New York that they were grown as irregular and dishonest in Council as out."<sup>133</sup> It was partly due, also, to the fact that Pennsylvania, since the peace, had directed all of its attention in Indian affairs to the western allies and tributaries of the Six Nations, a policy which Thomas Penn did not wholly approve. But the immediate cause was that Canasatego, continuing the shrewd diplomacy practised upon Maryland and Virginia in 1744, had impaled the proprietarial officials on the horns of a dilemma.

To say that Thomas Penn did not approve of these negotiations would be to understate his feelings. As for the efforts to keep Canasatego from coming to Philadelphia, he felt, with reason, that the Indians would long remember it: "I am satis-

<sup>132</sup>Canasatego's speech is in *Pa. C. R.*, V, 399-403; Richard Peters to the proprietors, Sept. 11, 1749, Peters Letter Book, VII; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Aug. 17 and 24, 1749.

<sup>133</sup>Richard Peters to the proprietors, Sept. 11, 1749, Peters Letter Book, VII. Peters added this postscript to his letter: "You will perhaps wonder that you do not see in the map the line from the end of the Walk [of 1737] to Delaware. It is really in the original map but Weiser knowing that this was only a grant from the Delawares not from the Six Nations, advised us to say nothing about it." The deed of 1749, signed also by some Delawares and Shawnee, is in *Pa. Arch.*, II, 33-36. Penn was surprised that the Six Nations

allowed Nutimus, a Delaware, to receive some of the purchase money. Edward Scull's men, in surveying the lands in the purchase of 1749, met some opposition from "King Tattanhick" who informed Scull that the "Land on the Lechawacksein and a considerable distance to the Southward belonged to him and his people, that if the Mohocks had disposed of it, they had done what they had no right to do." Tattanhick thereupon forced Scull to abandon his surveying on that creek and its tributaries; deposition of John Williams, Philip Dewees, and John Fish, Nov. 7, 1750, in Provincial Council Records, H. S. P.

fied they were never so slighted since my father settled the country.”<sup>134</sup> He modified this opinion somewhat when he learned more of the facts, but he still felt that the Indians, in selling a worthless piece of land, had received more for it than in 1744 when they released their claims to all lands in Virginia and Maryland. This negotiation likewise instilled in Penn a growing feeling of distrust toward Conrad Weiser, the one he had once considered “as necessary a Man to the Province as any in it.”<sup>135</sup> Weiser, growing old, was thinking more and more of creating an estate for his family and his actions did not appear so disinterested as formerly. Thus when the Indians signed the deed of 1749 they stipulated as a condition that Weiser should have, as Peters put it, “a tract of noble land” of some 1500 acres near Shamokin, this to be surveyed even before any lands were surveyed by the proprietors. Penn finally consented to this but he gave strict orders that it should not be allowed to happen again. When Peters, Weiser, Croghan and some local officials turned the squatters off the Juniata lands and burned some of their cabins in accordance with Canasatego’s demands, Penn thought this was “executed with an hussar spirit, nothing less than which will do with these people.”<sup>136</sup> As for the purchase itself, Penn met with another disappointment. The deed of 1736 had included all of the lands on the Susquehanna below the Kittatinny Mountains but its ambiguous phrasology had led Penn to believe that it included also all of the lands west of the river and south of an east-west line drawn from the point where those mountains crossed the Susquehanna; this would have included the Juniata lands and Penn now insisted on this interpretation — until Peters and Weiser informed him that the Indians meant the western bounds to follow the mountains in the curving line from the river to the Maryland border to the southwest.<sup>137</sup>

Back in 1745 Governor Thomas had suggested the need of union among the colonies if Indian affairs were to be effectively managed. The events of the years from 1749 to 1754 not only prepared the way for war but, out of trade rivalries, internal political dissensions between governors and legislatures, and intercolonial jealousies, the realization grew upon thoughtful men in the English colonies that their ten to one numerical preponderance over the French could not be effectively mustered until there was some unity of counsels. “I think it would be of the greatest advantage to the English interest,” wrote Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, “for several colonies to join in the management of Indian affairs and appoint, as you suggest, deputies from each of them to manage the whole, agreeing upon a proportion

<sup>134</sup>Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, Feb. 13, 1749/50, Peters Manuscripts, III, 4; and July 18, 1750, Penn Letter Book, III, 9-11; to Hamilton, same date, and also Feb. 12, 1749/50, *ibid.*, II, 293; III, 10-11.

<sup>135</sup>Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, Sept. 14, 1746, Penn Letter Book, II, 170; and also May 30, 1750, *ibid.*, II, 311, 312. “This I assure you,” wrote Penn, “much lessens Conrad in my esteem and will make me less cordial to him. . . . I think if Conrad had not suggested this to the Indians, they would never have thought of it. I think it cannot now be refused to him, but I desire you will tell him I expect to have no more Indian recommendations”; Feb. 13, 1749/50,

*ibid.*, II, 298. See also Peters to Penn, Feb. 16, 1749/50, Peters Letter Book, VII.

<sup>136</sup>Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, Aug. 27, 1750, Penn Letter Book, III, 16-22. Peters and Weiser acted “on this as a certain Truth, that if we did not in this Journey entirely remove these People, it would not be in the Power of Government to prevent an Indian War.”; *Pa. C. R.*, V, 447-48. But this “Hussar spirit” drove some of the squatters into hostility—Simon Girty was one. Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 70-71.

<sup>137</sup>Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, Aug. 27, 1750, Penn Letter Book, III, 16-22; to Hamilton, July 18, 1750, *ibid.*, III, 10-11.

that each colony will bear of the expense.”<sup>138</sup> Archibald Kennedy and Benjamin Franklin in 1751 urged the need of union in the face of the French. Others were sharing these thoughts. Governor Glenn of South Carolina, urging a conference between the Catawbias and Iroquois at Williamsburg, said: “The French are united in all their councils, which gives them advantages that they could not have if the King’s Governors on the Continent were to act on the same principle.” Peters, in replying, touched on the basic cause of the diversity between the colonies: “The larger the trade is & the more of the colonies who reap the benefit of it, the more it strengthens the general interest, and at the same time there is more than ever required a union of hearts as well as purses to defeat the indefatigable industry of the French.”<sup>139</sup> All seemed to be agreed upon the need for unified action, yet these years saw only increased rivalries and divisions.

Pennsylvania, to be sure, furnished some evidences of an earnest desire to secure intercolonial action and to remove causes of friction. At a conference with some Indians at Croghan’s in 1750, Peters was asked about trade and he gave emphatic advice that “the Indians . . . ought to buy their goods where they can best be served. The People of Maryland and Virginia who deal in this Trade may serve you as well as any others from Pennsylvania or elsewhere . . . It will be agreeable to the Proprietaries and this government that the Indians trade wherever they can be best supplied.”<sup>140</sup> But however closely the two governments might have coöperated in the effort to reduce friction in the Indian trade, there can be little doubt that the Pennsylvania trader as an individual endeavored to turn the Indians against his rival traders from other colonies as much as he did to influence them against the French—and the Maryland and Virginia traders used the same device against their Pennsylvania rivals.<sup>141</sup>

At the same time that the Pennsylvania government was following this liberal trade policy, Governor Hamilton was seeking to enlist the interest of other colonies in strengthening their influence over the western Indians. In September, 1750, he wrote Governor Clinton and the governors of Maryland and Virginia that as large numbers of the Six Nations had left New York and settled in the West and “are become more numerous there than in the Countries they left,” and as these Western Indians seemed to be “now upon the Balance,” the governors of the English colonies would do well to consider what should be done.<sup>142</sup> Clinton laid this statement before the New York assembly, and that body rehearsed some recent history for the benefit of the Pennsylvania government: during the last war, it pointed out, New York’s frontiers had borne the brunt of the French and Indian threat, with little assistance from Pennsylvania—and now that the scene had shifted to that colony’s back country, let her take her turn in providing defense. In August

<sup>138</sup> Feb. 24, 1750/51, *ibid.*, III, 37-53.

<sup>139</sup> *Pa. Arch.*, II, 59.

<sup>140</sup> *Pa. C. R.*, V, 439-40.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 422-25.

<sup>142</sup> Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 59, 60; *Pa. C. R.*,

V, 463-64, 480-81; the rough draft of this letter is in Provincial Council Records, H. S. P. Cf. the message delivered by Andrew Montour to Governor Hamilton from the Six Nation Indians on the Ohio, Sept. 11, 1750; Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 58; *ibid.*, I, 63, 65.



Hamilton had urged the assembly to send a present to the Twightwees since they had made "so large an addition to the Trade of the Province," and the assembly had readily complied. But as succeeding weeks brought news of the increased activity of the French, Hamilton took up the crisis in Indian affairs with the new assembly as soon as that body was organized: the French were building up war stores at Detroit, Weiser had just returned from Onondaga with news that Canasatego was dead and that he had been succeeded by a Roman Catholic convert who was wholly in the French interest, and the Ohio Indians were in immediate need of assistance. The assembly promptly responded with another present, admitting the need for speedy action, expressing approval of the governor's alertness to the problem, and asserting that "the prosperity of the trade of the province and peace and safety of our remote inhabitants are essentially concerned in preserving the Indians in our alliance steady in their friendship with us."<sup>143</sup> But at the same time they repeated their request that the proprietors should bear some of the costs of Indian expenses. Weiser, at the urgent request of the governor, attended the meeting of the council and assembly at this time. "Indian affairs are in a most lamentable condition," Peters wrote him. ". . . It seems to me that our only game to play now is with the Ohio Indians and the Twightwees."<sup>144</sup>

During the preceding summer Governor Hamilton had dispatched George Croghan and Andrew Montour to the Ohio to invite all of the western tribes to attend a treaty the following spring. In January, 1751, he laid before the council a letter from Croghan saying that Joncaire was on the Ohio preparing to build a fort, that some of the Indian chiefs had expressed the opinion that the English ought to build a fort there to protect their trade. At the same time the council considered Governor Clinton's letter to all of the British governors in America, calling upon them to meet in Albany the following June to concert measures in order to prevent the Indians' "wavering [under] dread of the French, which will ever influence their conduct as long as the colonies remain disunited."<sup>145</sup> These disturbing documents Hamilton sent at once to the assembly, but that body deferred a decision on Governor Clinton's invitation until its adjourned session.

<sup>143</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 61, 62; *Pa. C. R.*, V, 465, 480-84, 486-87; Clinton's letters to Hamilton of Sept. 8 and Dec. 18, 1750, are in Provincial Council Records, H.S.P. Hamilton to assembly, Aug. 8, 1750, *Pa. C. R.*, V, 454-55; assembly's reply, Aug. 15, *ibid.*, V, 460. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Aug. 30 and Nov. 1, 1750. James Pemberton to John Pemberton, Aug. 16, 1750: "Canasatego who was their Chief Speaker at the last Great Treaty and another Indian Chief who had great influence amongst them is lately dead and their successor, it is said, is a Roman Catholic, by which means the French have found it less difficult to carry their point and are taking great pains to enlarge their trade amongst them. By the account Conrad gives most of the Six Nations are Inclined to the French & their behaviour to him hath been very different at this time to what he hath formerly found it, tho' do not hear they allege any Complaints against the Pennsylvanians. The affair is now under notice of the Assembly"; Pemberton Papers, VI, 119.

The journal of Weiser's negotiations at Onondaga, Aug.

15-Oct. 1, 1750, is in *Pa. C. R.*, V, 470-80. Two variant copies of this journal are to be found in Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 66, 67. The latter is endorsed by Peters: "Rough draft of Conrad Weiser's journal of his journey to Onondaga intended for Colonel Lee, President of Virginia. He makes a separate one for this province which shall be copied and sent in Budden. This is only to let Proprietors see what a state the Six Nations Council is in." This copy is not in the handwriting of Weiser though it is called a rough draft. It contains Weiser's memorandum of "a friendly dispute" on theology between an Oneida and "Tahaswuchigony . . . a professed Roman at the head of affairs in Onondaga since the death of Canasatego." This discourse, not printed or included in the other versions of Weiser's journal, does not establish the Onondaga chieftain as a devout Catholic, but it does reveal his subtlety.

<sup>144</sup>Oct. 3, 1750, Peters Manuscripts, III, 20, 21.

<sup>145</sup>*Pa. C. R.*, V, 496-98; Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 71-72.



The message from Croghan, however, gave Hamilton an opportunity to converse privately during the winter with some of the leading members of the assembly concerning the proprietors' proposal to build a fort on the Ohio. But finding these members in private "extremely averse to it" Hamilton could only instruct Croghan to sound the Indians out on the matter. This he did in May when Croghan returned from the West, reported that in February, at Pickawillani, he had held a treaty with the chiefs of two tribes of the Twightwee nation and had presented them with goods to the value of £100. The assembly repudiated this treaty and warned Hamilton concerning agents in the Indian trade who exceeded their instructions—but by that time Croghan was on his way to Logstown with the assembly's present of £700 for the western Indians, a mission which stored up additional causes for the assembly's resentment toward Croghan. For, only two days after the treaty of Logstown opened late in May, Joncaire and a party of French, with forty Iroquois, arrived to disturb the conference with the Six Nations, the Delawares, the Shawnee, the Wyandots, and the Miami. Croghan laid up trouble for himself by accepting a letter from Joncaire to Hamilton stating the French claims and demands. The Indians, disregarding the private nature of his instructions respecting a fort, replied in open council: "We expect that our brother will build a strong House on the River Ohio, that if we should be obliged to engage in a War that we should have a Place to secure our Wives and Children, likewise to secure our Brothers that come to trade with us, for without our Brothers supply us with Goods we cannot live."<sup>146</sup> When this statement came before the assembly it was thought that Croghan had inserted the Indians' request for a fort in his journal, and that body investigated both Croghan's instructions and his conduct—a step which forced both Hamilton and Weiser to deny knowledge of or concern with instructions relating to a fort. The proprietarial officials were now feeling the embarrassment of placing Indian negotiations in the hands of an interested person: Croghan was not Weiser, and he was in desperate need at this time.<sup>147</sup> Nevertheless, when the assembly sought to evade the embarrassing request

<sup>146</sup>*Ibid.*, 76; *Pa. C. R.*, V, 498; 514, 515, 517-18, 522-25, 529, 547. On April 27, 1751, Hamilton sent Weiser a copy of the latter's journal to Ohio in 1748, advising him to give Croghan and Montour such extracts as they might need. Hamilton also expressed pleasure that Weiser and Croghan had settled the instructions for the Ohio journey and he returned a fair copy of them, omitting that part relating to the building of a fort. This was done, he said, because he had sounded some members of the assembly on this matter and he found no likelihood of their agreeing to it; hence it would expose the province to the contempt of the Indians if they were solicited for permission to build a fort and then the province found itself unable to execute the plan. Therefore Hamilton thought it better to have Croghan make the proposal as coming from himself; then it could be pressed on the assembly; Peters Manuscripts, III, 38.

Both Montour and Weiser felt that the Indians would not permit the building of a fort, thus causing the assembly to think this speech of the Indians had been "Misunderstood or misrepresented" by Croghan. Weiser denied any knowledge of instructions to Croghan about the fort and Hamilton denied

the fact that he had issued private instructions on this point; technically the latter was correct, for this matter had been deleted from the official instructions; *Pa. C. R.*, V, 547. Cf. Walton, *op. cit.*, 249. Actually Peters drew up the instructions, sent them to Weiser, and told him to take away from them or alter them in any way he thought proper; Peters Manuscripts, III, 35, 39, 47, 48.

<sup>147</sup>Croghan, Trent, and Hockley, in account with Richard Peters, Aug. 20, 1751, Cadwalader Papers. In a letter to William Trent, Nov. 13, 1750, Peters accused both Trent and Croghan of violating the partnership agreement with Hockley by using the company's resources in furtherance of their private trading; he stated also that the debts of the firm of Croghan and Trent amounted to three or four thousand pounds, part of which was for individual trading; *ibid.* A few months after Peters performed the "heavy task" of making these charges to Trent, he wrote again ordering company assets to the extent of £710 be turned over to Peters in order that they would not be liable to attachment for a private debt of Croghan's of £3500; March 11, 1750/51, *ibid.*, cf. Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 41, 45ff.

put by the Indians for a fort at the forks of the Ohio, and when Hamilton engaged in a discussion of the question of whether this area was in Pennsylvania, Thomas Penn was impatient. The larger question, he wrote, was the protection of His Majesty's interests and if the Forks of Ohio was beyond the limits of Pennsylvania, it was the duty of the assembly to assist Virginia or any other colony in building a fort—assisted by his donation of £400 for building and £100 annually for maintenance. But the assembly entertained no such broad view of the good of the British interest. By declining this proposal, the assembly took a fateful position: the Delawares and the Shawnee on the Ohio now looked to Virginia for assistance in defending themselves against the French. The Indian comprehension did not include an understanding of the fact that some men were principled against war. In the absence of understanding, contempt flourished.

Virginia was ready, and had been for two years, to assume the lead in western Indian policy. Thomas Lee, as head of the Ohio Company, had urged Weiser early in 1750 to bring the western Indians to a treaty at Fredericksburg, and he had assured the Pennsylvania officials that the plans of his company were for the advancement of the British interest in general and not for any particular colony. This convinced Peters and Hamilton, but not Thomas Penn, who relied more on the assurances given him by Hanbury and the Duke of Bedford. But now Lee was dead and in 1751 Dinwiddie, whom Penn regarded as an honest man, took over the Virginia government and immediately became deeply interested in the Ohio Company. For the next three years Thomas Penn continually urged Governor Hamilton to assist Dinwiddie in establishing settlements on the Ohio and in building a fortification; he transmitted Indian information to the British ministers, often before any official communications arrived from America; probably no one in England was better informed on Indian affairs or more aware of the need for unified action, and, because of his friendship with the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Granville, Lord Halifax, and the Duke of Bedford, Penn was able to emphasize again and again the need for imperial control of this problem. He urged intercolonial coöperation at the same time that he pleaded for imperial action: when Colonel Cresap, acting for the Ohio Company, made trouble among the squatters on the border, Penn went to Hanbury and obtained a promise that Cresap should be quieted; when news came to him that Pennsylvania traders were inciting the Indians against the Virginia and Maryland traders, he urged Hamilton to use his "utmost endeavours to prevent our traders from infusing such jealousies in the Indians for the future"; when the Indians, at the treaties conducted by Virginia at Logstown in 1752 and at Winchester in 1753, asked that colony to build forts on the Ohio, Penn was pleased and urged Hamilton to support Virginia. Croghan, Weiser, and Andrew Montour were permitted by Governor Hamilton to assist at these treaties. The English defensive was now assumed by Virginia, and not Weiser

or Croghan but young George Washington was sent in 1753 to warn the French at Venango.<sup>148</sup>

But it was too late. The governor of Canada now resorted to force instead of persuasion. An attack on the Indian town of Pickawillani in June, 1752, caused the traders to draw in their lines and establish themselves on the upper Ohio. The following year a French expedition set out to build forts at Presque Isle, Le Bœuf and Venango. The assembly met this threat by appropriating £200 for a condolence present to the Twightwee and £600 for "the Necessities of Life" for the other tribes on the Ohio—a euphemism for guns and ammunition which accommodated the peaceable principles of the assembly and which suggests the hand of Benjamin Franklin. This present was to be delivered to the Indians on their return from the treaty at Winchester, and Hamilton now departed from the usual practice by selecting from the assembly two of the commissioners who would have charge of the negotiations—a move that was displeasing to Thomas Penn, though the choice of Franklin as a commissioner modified his displeasure somewhat.<sup>149</sup>

Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, and Benjamin Franklin, not knowing why the western Indians wished a treaty with Pennsylvania, met them at Carlisle late in September, 1753. The Iroquois, Delawares, Shawnee and Twightwee, to the number of about one hundred, were led by Scarouady, the Oneida chief whose title of Half-King even Thomas Penn and some of the British ministers thought derisive, but the commissioners reported that Scarouady, who had conducted the Winchester treaty, was "a Person of great Weight" in the councils of the western Indians. The Oneida chief was skillful in hinting that the attitude of the western Indians toward the French would be determined by evidences of Pennsylvania's friendship in the form of goods. Weiser was urged by the commissioners to find out from his Indian friends the true disposition of the Ohio Indians, and he reported that "all Persons at Ohio would have their Eyes on the reception of those Indians now at Carlisle, and judge of the Affection of this Province by their Treatment of them."<sup>150</sup> The intended present, he added, was no secret among the Indians and he urged that the whole be given at once; but as the Virginia gift of arms and ammunition had been withheld to be delivered at Ohio, out of fear that the Indians who were present at Winchester might use them on the Virginia

<sup>148</sup>W. Neil Franklin, "Pennsylvania-Virginia Rivalry for the Indian Trade of the Ohio Valley," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.* XX (March, 1934), 463-80. Penn Letter Book, II, 302-303; III, 12-13, 33, 34, 35. On Feb. 24, 1750/51, Penn wrote Peters as follows: "I cannot agree with you that Col. Lee's attachment to Indian affairs would have been of general use. I believe he had not anything in view but to attach them to Virginia and to his new company at Ohio, and I am of opinion to have done that effectually would have run the hazard of drawing off their regard to the other colonies. What can the bribes to Conrad mean but to engage him to persuade them to measures that may be more for the interest of Virginia than of the Indians, else there were no

necessity for such very great gratifications, and this I take the liberty to think from the letter which Parker their principal trader wrote to one of ours"; *ibid.*, III, 37-53. For the Weiser-Lee correspondence and Peters' comments on it, see Peters Manuscripts, III, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 27, 28, 30, 50, 54, 55.

<sup>149</sup>Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 78-80; *Pa. C. R.*, V, 616, 687; Peters Manuscripts, III, 52, 57, 58, 60, 63, 67, 69, 75, 77, 78, 107.

<sup>150</sup>*Pa. C. R.*, V, 657-59, 665-86. The manuscript of the Winchester treaty of 1753, which has not been printed, is in the Library of Congress.

frontiers, the Pennsylvania commissioners rejected Weiser's advice and adopted a similar expedient. Although the commissioners tempered their decision by increasing the quantity of the goods, Scarouady and his followers were dissatisfied with the arrangements and the chief spoke plainly concerning abuses of the traders, the encroachments of settlers, the sale of rum, and the large number of trading posts, which he wished to reduce to three. During the treaty word was brought that the message of Scrunityatha, the Seneca Half-King, to the French had been contemptuously treated, reducing Scrunityatha to tears and causing him to warn the English traders not to cross the Ohio. This seemed to alarm the Indians, but Scarouady, with great cunning, addressed himself to the Delawares and Shawnee and urged them to be quiet until "We get home and I see my Friend and Brother the Half King, and then we shall know what is to be done." The chain of friendship was brightened at the treaty, but the noncommittal policy of Scarouady respecting the French was ominous, more so that it was addressed specifically to the Delawares and Shawnee. Without waiting for Franklin to print the first treaty in which he took part, Peters sent a manuscript copy off to Thomas Penn, who added to it some memoranda urging the building of forts on the Ohio and no doubt passed it on to some of his ministerial friends.<sup>151</sup>

The treaties of Winchester and Carlisle were wholly ineffectual in stemming the tide of French aggression. Within three months Governor Hamilton informed the assembly of the building of forts by the French, which he regarded as the most alarming occasion "since the first Settlement of the Province."<sup>152</sup> Too late the Ohio Company began the erection of fortifications on the Monongahela and at the Forks of Ohio. Too late the British ministry gave orders to repel French encroachments by force. Too late—and too ineffectual when it came—was the crystallization of the need felt by all for united counsels. Dissensions between governors and assemblies, intercolonial jealousies, trade rivalries were still too strong to be overcome by the efforts of men like Franklin, Kennedy, Colden, Penn, Peters, and others to secure some sort of colonial union against the French threat. The Albany Plan of Union of 1754, wrote Governor George Thomas, now ruling peacefully in Antigua, "smells strong of Pennsylvania."<sup>153</sup> Pennsylvania had had a leading hand in the events of three years leading up to the Plan, and Franklin of Pennsylvania was its architect, but it was not accepted by the colonies and never submitted to parliament. The treaty at which the Plan was drawn up indeed served only to drive another wedge between Pennsylvania and the western Indians, to drive deeper the wedge between Pennsylvania and the Six Nations at Onondaga. Thomas Penn had long counseled against neglect of the Iroquois at Onondaga, advising that control of the western Indians be secured by maintaining a firm friendship with their overlords in New York.

<sup>151</sup> Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 89-106; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 10 and 24, June 7, 1753, and April 18, 1754.

<sup>152</sup> *Pa. C. R.*, V, 658-59, 665-87.

<sup>153</sup> Jan. 15, 1755, Peters Manuscripts, IV, 1.

The western policy had been ineffectual; it had also been more costly. And now the commissioners from the various colonies had to face the withering scorn of the Mohawk sachem, Hendrick Peters:<sup>154</sup> "You have neglected us for three years past. [*Then taking a stick and throwing it behind his back.*] You have thrown us behind your backs and disregarded us, whereas the French are a subtle and vigilant people, ever using their utmost endeavours to seduce and bring our people over to them. You ask if the French have built their forts and invaded our land with our permission. I tell you, no. The Governor of Virginia and the Governor of Canada are both quarreling about lands which belong to us, and such a quarrel as this may end in our destruction. They fight who shall have the land. The Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania have made paths through our country to trade, and built houses without acquainting us with it. They should first have asked our consent to build there as when Oswego was built. For three years past your Council Fires have not burned for us. You have invited us to no treaties at Albany. You have not strengthened your cause by conquest. We would have gone and taken Crown Point, but you hindered us. We have concluded to go and take it, but we are told that it was too late, and that the ice would not bear us. Instead of this you burnt your own fort at Saraghtoga and ran away from it, which was a shame and a scandal to you. Look about your country and see, you have no fortifications about you; no, not even this city . . . Look at the French, they are men, they are fortifying everywhere. But we are ashamed to say it, you are all like women, bare and open without any fortifications."<sup>155</sup> Though this was addressed specifically to the governor of New York, the commissioners from Pennsylvania — John Penn, Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, and Benjamin Franklin — knew that their province was included in Hendrick's scornful blast. Weiser made as able a reply to these charges as could be made, but the commissioners of the colonies represented at Albany concluded that the Six Nations had been neglected, that the Indians had been injured in land and trade enterprises, that the traffic in rum had caused much dissension among the natives, and that the French, ineffectually opposed by divided and jealous colonies, were determined to absorb all of the Indian trade. While this was being said, actions were proving the conclusions correct: on July 6 the Pennsylvania commissioners purchased, with the approval of Colonel William Johnson, a large tract of land west of the Susquehanna, and the commissioners from Connecticut were silently sanctioning a purchase by Connecticut people, under the Connecticut charter, of an Indian claim to part of the same land, signed a few days later by some of the same Indians. The western Indians had for some time been dissatisfied because they received none of the goods for the lands purchased by Canasatego in 1749 and Scharouady

<sup>154</sup> A good sketch of Hendrick Peters is in O. J. Harvey, *History of Wilkes-Barre*, I, 264. See also Lyddcker, *The Faithful Mohawks*; *N. Y. C. D.*, IV, 281, 345, 364, 462, 472, 533; V, VI, *passim*.

<sup>155</sup> *Pa. C. R.*, VI, 80-81; *N. Y. C. D.*, VI, 853ff.



had in 1753 protested against the encroaching settlements west of Juniata. But with the frontier population crowding the limits of former purchases, the proprietors had for over four years been urging Weiser and Peters to conclude a new purchase. Now that it was done, the Susquehannah Company of Connecticut injected a new problem into the complicated maze of Indian affairs—a problem that was to continue for nearly half a century. Both purchases were made in private, both disturbed the Indians. Within a year two more land companies from Connecticut had invaded the province and purchased, from a set of obscure Delawares, almost all of the lands in the northeastern part of the colony. Even before these events gave meaning to his words, Hendrick had admitted to Governor Morris in January, 1755, that the Six Nations could no longer control their tributaries: the strong hand of Canasatego was wanting, and the equally strong hand of Weiser—now restrained by Johnson—was faltering. Even Scarouady exhibited a personal demonstration of the confusion in Indian councils when, at the same meeting with Hendrick, he promised to do what he could to nullify the Albany purchase of the Susquehannah Company. Two months later, “Sober and Undisguised” and to the astonishment of Thomas Penn, he signed the deed that he had promised to destroy.<sup>156</sup>

The storm broke in October of that year. Scarouady, who had served with Braddock and who had lost a son, made a final appeal to the Pennsylvania government to support the western Indians against the French. He came not as a supplicant, but as a proud warrior, representing the Shawnee and the Delawares, and he demanded that the governor and the assembly hear him. His address was made in the State House, before the governor, the council, the assembly, and a large audience. His appearance was the most dramatic spectacle that the State House saw prior to the Revolution—indeed it was in a sense the Declaration of Independence of the Delawares. Through him the Indians he represented inquired whether “this Government . . . would give them the Hatchet and fight themselves. If they would, he had something further to say. If not, they would soon know what to do.”<sup>157</sup> To the assembly he said: “We do, therefore, once more invite and request you to act like men, and be no longer women, pursuing weak measures, that render your names despicable.” To Governor Morris, he said: “One word of yours will bring the Delawares to join you.”<sup>158</sup> That word was not given. For, only a short while before Scarouady spoke, the assembly had presented Governor Morris with a bill appropriating £60,000—provided the proprietary estates were taxed, and the governor and the assembly were now at loggerheads over the

<sup>156</sup> Walton, *op. cit.*, 283; Susquehannah Company Papers, I, 115, 118, 101-21, 123ff., 207, 217-18, 221, 230-31, 293, 308-13; Weiser to Peters, Sept. 13, 1754; Provincial Council Records, II, H. S. P.; *Pa. C. R.*, VI, 110-29, 193, 204, 216-17; Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, II, 4-8; Peters Manuscripts, IV, 84. Minutes of Conferences with Scarouady, Dec. 20 and 24, 1754, Provincial Council Records, H. S. P.

<sup>157</sup> *Pa. C. R.*, VI, 685-6, Nov. 8, 1755.

<sup>158</sup> Aug. 22, 1755, *Pa. C. R.*, VI, 590; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Nov. 12, 1755, Peters Letter Book, 1755-1757. The governor and Council, on the advice of Weiser, told the Delawares and Nanticokes to await the action of the Six Nations; *Pa. C. R.*, VI, 591; [William Smith], *A Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania, for the year 1755* (London, 1756), 47ff.



question of defense, debating endlessly over prerogative while doom impended. A few weeks later the blow fell: settlements at the Big and Little Coves were wiped out, all inhabitants north of the Blue Hills lay exposed before the tomahawk and firebrand, and the frontiers of Northampton, Berks, and Cumberland rolled back on the settlements. Frantic appeals from the back inhabitants soon grew into threats against dilatory authorities, both proprietary and representative. Franklin in the assembly and Peters in the proprietary circle each tried to accommodate the differences. Peters in October even went so far as to inform members of the assembly of the state of Indian affairs when Morris declined to do so: "This is a private letter," he wrote Weiser, "to tell you that we all blame the Governor very much for not laying before the Assembly all the Indian news . . . The lives of people are not to be played with, nor thrown away because two parts of the legislature differ, at least I am determined not to be accessory to such a step."<sup>159</sup> When at last the legislature passed a supply bill and a militia act, on the announcement that the proprietors had contributed £5000 for defense, it was Franklin who managed the compromise, who headed the legislative committee charged with spending the money appropriated, and who took the field to erect defenses in the vulnerable passes along the mountain barrier.

It was while the Indian ravages were at their height that the assembly sought to throw the blame for the war on the proprietors. They passed a resolution calling for an investigation of the causes of the alienation of the Indians, specifically to inquire whether injustices had been done the Shawnee and other Indians "Principally in the late Proprietary Purchase."<sup>160</sup> This, the first hint that the proprietors had not treated the Indians with justice, met with Dr. William Smith's scornful comment in his *Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania*: "Suppose some of these Assembly-Men's Houses in Town be on Fire, and they come to you, in breathless Haste, calling for Buckets and Water: Then, instead of affording them what Help you can, suppose you should proceed leisurely and calmly to enquire of them, how the House caught Fire? Was it by Design of any Malicious Person, &c."<sup>161</sup> The assembly, after inspecting various treaties, declared "that they believe great care has generally been taken to do the Indians justice by the proprietaries in all their purchases and other public transactions; and that the proprietaries have done wisely, not only to purchase their Lands, but to purchase them more than once, for peace-sake, and that it appears the Shawonese could have but a slender foundation for any claim of satisfaction for lands in this Province."<sup>162</sup> But the charge had been hinted and it could not be killed by resolutions.

<sup>159</sup>Peters to Weiser, Oct. 18, 1755, Weiser Manuscripts, I, 53.

<sup>160</sup>Smith, *Brief View*, 51. "By this extraordinary Proposal," Smith wrote, "the Assembly hoped to throw the Odium of the *Indian Defection* upon the Proprietors, and not upon their own continued Refusal to put the Hatchet into the Hands of the said *Indians* at their repeated Solicitations."

<sup>161</sup>*Brief View*, 60.

<sup>162</sup>*Ibid.*, 52; *Pa. Arch.*, 8th ser., "Votes and Proceedings." Smith did not quote the assembly's statement precisely, but he did not violate its meaning; however, the assembly did charge that the complaint of the Shawnee at Carlisle in 1753 regarding lands had not been attended to; *Pa. C. R.*, VII, 746; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Dec. 11, 1755.

But if this dark hint was to plague the proprietors, it was also to harass the assembly, particularly the Friends [about thirty] who controlled it. Smith's *Brief View* was but one of several attacks, chiefly in the newspapers, but it was the most powerful and cogent one. As for injustice, Smith countered, "there is not perhaps a more flagrant Piece of Iniquity subsisting among any free People, than the Manner in which this Province is represented in Assembly. We have eight Counties, and out of thirty-six Members, the three old Counties where the Quakers are settled, return twenty-six of the Number . . . The Quakers are always a vast majority in the Assembly, altho' they are not near one fifth of the People in the Province . . . If the Back Counties were but fairly represented, it would be impossible to tie up the Hands of the People."<sup>163</sup> This, too, was a new grievance and it was to go unredressed long after the Friends had released control of the assembly. Smith argued cogently and persuasively but he argued as much against the Friends as for the back inhabitants.

While these legislative disputes were going on, and even before the supply bill was passed, the assembly presented the governor with a bill to regulate the Indian trade. Its terms made it perfectly clear that the intention was to wrest Indian affairs out of the hands of the governor and put them under the control of the assembly: commissioners were to be set up, who would direct and control agents and interpreters, and all gains from Indian trade were to be laid out in presents to be distributed under the direction of the assembly. "In short," wrote Richard Peters, "it is a New England Plan, with the additional Amendment of Excluding the Governor out of all Transactions with the Indians."<sup>164</sup> It is probable that the governor's reliance in recent years on traders such as Croghan and Trent, together with Croghan's habit of exceeding his instructions and his appropriations, was part of the motive for this bill. On this point the assembly was on surer ground, for not only were Croghan and Trent deeply concerned in trade, but their connections with some of the governor's circle were commercial in nature. In a larger view, however, this move by the assembly was a part of its effort to increase its own power and to decrease that of the governor, a move that soon sought to embrace the judiciary as well.

The attacks on the frontier had been led by the Shawnee and Delawares on the Ohio. Shingas, Pisquitomen, and three nephews of old Sassoonan had assumed leadership in these forays. The first had been chosen head of the Delawares on the Ohio at the Treaty of Carlisle in 1753 and, wrote Richard Peters, "he and all his Nation made the warmest Professions possible of their Love for us and received

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 53. Thomas Penn thought better of Smith's *Brief View* than of his *Brief State*. He felt that the latter "exposed too much the nakedness of the Province to the French," that it was too violent in expression, that it was too severe on the Friends and the Germans, and that it would not accomplish its object of bringing about imperial action (Penn Letter Book, IV, 55, 66-67, 176; Mabel P. Wolff, *Colonial*

*Agency of Pennsylvania, 1712-1757*, 171-75). On May 14, 1757, Penn wrote to Peters about his ardent but embarrassing young supporter in the province: "I think Mr. Smith does well to be persuaded not to write" (Penn Letter Book IV, 125).

<sup>164</sup> Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Nov. 13, 1755, Peters Letter Book, 1755-1757.

... a large present. They repeated these Professions to Mr. Weiser the very last year [1754] at Aucquick, the place that all our friendly Indians from the Ohio were ordered to resort to after the taking of Trent's fort and the defeat of Col. Washington. The Delawares came there and said they would live and die with us. I assure you, Sir, there is not the least Reason in the World for the Assembly's Insinuation as if they had any just cause given them of complaint. They have none, they have made none, but are bad people & corrupted by the Shawonese, & took this base turn after the defeat of the General, tho it is said that some of them engaged for the French before and fought in the action against the General."<sup>165</sup> Peters hoped that as the Delawares had declared war against Pennsylvania it would mean also that they had done so against the Six Nations. Scarouady and Montour were now sent to the Six Nations to inquire whether the Delawares had acted with their knowledge and direction and whether they would send the hatchet to the Indians on the Susquehanna to join Pennsylvania against the Ohio Delawares. Scarouady set out in high hopes on this second journey to Onondaga.

But Shingas was not the only Delaware who could forget his covenant of friendship. For on April 23, 1755, Governor Morris had held a conference with several Indians from Wyoming—led by "Teetusenng or Honest John"—at which "the Indians for their Tribes and the Governor for the People of this Province did ratify and confirm all former Treaties of Amity, Peace and Friendship and did mutually promise the continuance of their affection and Love for each other."<sup>166</sup> Tedyuscung, however, longing for the taste of battle, soon forgot his pledges and during the winter of 1755-1756 joined in the forays of their brethren from the Ohio. These renewed attacks caused Governor Morris in April, 1756, to yield to popular demand and declare war against the Delawares, offering bounties of \$130 for the scalp of every male Indian over ten years of age, and \$50 for the scalp of every Indian woman.<sup>167</sup> While this pitiless measure was urged by

<sup>165</sup>Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Nov. 15, 1755, *ibid.*

<sup>166</sup>Certificate signed by Richard Peters, April 23, 1755, that the Indians "Teetyusenng or Honest John, Packshincos, Mamalachtecka or Abraham, Quelpatanaceza, or John Combus, Massequa, Tepwicawagung, Gudtameek, or the Fish, living at Wyomink and other Places on the River Sasquehannah, did this day hold a Treaty with the Honourable Robert Hunter Morris." This significant document is in the possession of Mrs. Augusta Smith, of Martinsburg, Pennsylvania, who kindly permitted me to use it. At this treaty the governor gave the Indians a belt left for them by Colonel William Johnson, who desired that they "would not stir from home, but wait all together for a Message which would be sent to them by their Uncles the Six Nations and him thro' this Government, as soon as they should in Council have taken their Resolutions." Cf. *Pa. C. R.*, VI, 370-71. Governor Morris said Johnson's message would reach them about the time they arrived at Wyoming and he "requested that they would instantly comply with it." Presents were given to the Indians and passports issued to them.

<sup>167</sup>*Pa. C. R.*, VII, 88-90, April 14, 1756; Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 102; Walton, *op. cit.*, 322ff. Weiser's letters to Morris revealed the urgent pressure from the inhabitants for a scalp bounty: "They want to force us to make a Law, that

they should have a Reward for every Indian which they kill. They demand such a Law of us, with their Guns cocked, pointing it towards us." Nov. 24, 1755, *Pa. Arch.*, II, 511, 505. *Ibid.*, II, 619-20, 639, 641. Some scalps were brought in: "Last Monday . . . was brought to Town two Indian scalps, one of them taken in the Engagement wherein Mr. Thomas Cresap was killed, the other by a Party of Rangers under Colonel Cresap; for each of which the Commissioners paid the Reward of *One Hundred and Thirty Dollars*," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 24, 1756. After the expedition against Kittanning, Colonel Armstrong and his officers gave the money they received for scalps to the privates "as a Reward for their good Behaviour . . . and to encourage them to go out again against the Indians. An instance of Generosity this," concluded the *Gazette*, "which shews that these Gentlemen did not go against the enemy from a mercenary motive, but from a Regard for the Service of their King and bleeding Country." *Ibid.*, Oct. 7, 1756. The scalp of Captain Jacobs, for which the province had offered a special reward, was sent by Colonel Armstrong to Thomas Penn, who acknowledged the receipt of this "valuable trophy" on Jan. 14, 1758. "I have thought," he wrote, "of sending it to the British Museum with a plate engraved giving an account of the action [at Kittanning]." Peters Manuscripts, V, 15.

such leaders as James Hamilton and by many of the frontier inhabitants, the action aroused criticism in various quarters.

The nature of this popular demand of the back inhabitants for a scalp bounty in 1756 was similar to that of 1763 when one Anglican clergyman near the frontier wrote to another: "The general cry and wish is for what they call a Scalp Act . . . Vast numbers of Young Fellows who would not chuse to enlist as Soldiers, would be prompted by Revenge, Duty, Ambition & the Prospect of the Reward, to carry Fire & Sword into the Heart of the Indian Country. And indeed, if this Method could be reconcil'd with *Revelation* and the *Humanity* of the English Nation, it is the only one that appears likely to put a final stop to those Barbarians."<sup>168</sup> But in the autumn of 1755 John Harris and others on the frontier, witnessing the murder of their wives and children, the destruction of their houses and barns, the ruining of their unharvested crops, did not stop to ponder the requirements of Revelation or of the British character.

In the eastern part of the province, however, the Friends and others protested vigorously against the scalp bounty, though, as Richard Peters said, "they did not interpose till the Hatchet was put into the Hands of the Indians."<sup>169</sup> Aside from protests made on humanitarian grounds the most pertinent criticism came from the governor's own council: William Logan opposed the declaration of war and the scalp bounty as a Friend, but he also thought the measure hasty and premature and would interfere with efforts already under way to induce the Six Nations to interpose and bring the Delawares and Shawnee under control. For Sir William Johnson had held two conferences in December, 1755, with the Six Nations for this purpose and in February, 1756, he secured their promise to send a deputation to the Pennsylvania Indians to invite them to a conference at Onondaga the following summer. On March 21, Daniel Claus, Scarouady and Andrew Montour arrived in Philadelphia bringing a copy of this last treaty. The Pennsylvania authorities were therefore in full possession of this information and Logan, on April 12, called for a full meeting of the council, at which the petition of the Friends was presented. But the Friends' request that "full Time may be allowed for those Indians who still remain well affected to us, to use and report the Effect of their Endeavours to reconcile our Enemies" was denied. Scarouady was more influential than the Friends. In private conversations he and Montour informed the proprietary officials that they "did not Expect any good Effect would speedily arise from the Interposition of the Six Nations or that the Delawares would at Present be brought to desist and advised us to hasten the building

<sup>168</sup> Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, July 5, 1763, Peters Manuscripts, VI, 10.

<sup>169</sup> Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, April 28, 1756, Peters Letter Book, 1755-1757. The hatchet was given to Scarouady and Montour by the governor on April 8, 1756 (*Pa. C. R.*, VII, 74-75). On April 10 (*ibid.*, VII, 78-79) the commissioners altered the terms of the bounty; on April 12 the

Friends protested and Logan called for a full meeting of the Council that evening, where the address was read; *ibid.*, VII, 83-86; Minutes of the Friendly Association, April 12, 1756, H. S. P.; rough drafts of the Indian conferences of Feb. 26, March 27, 1756 (*Pa. C. R.*, VII, 46-50, 64-69) are in Provincial Council Records, H. S. P.

a Fort at Shamokin and to issue a Proclamation for Scalps."<sup>170</sup> The declaration of war was first made in a speech by Governor Morris to Scarouady and Montour, enforced by a belt of wampum. A week later the proclamation was read in the court house before a large number of people.<sup>171</sup>

Sir William Johnson had informed Governor Morris of his negotiations with the Six Nations and had sent his letter—a kind letter, Peters called it—by Scarouady. But Morris did not answer it until April 24, and by then he had learned from Sir Charles Hardy that the Onondaga deputation to the Pennsylvania Indians had returned and that the Delawares had not only agreed to meet Johnson in the summer, but that their young men who had joined the French had repented of their folly and rashness and that they would send Johnson's belt to the Indians on the Ohio "to prevail on those Indians to unite in the measures they had now agreed to." Morris went into a long explanation in his letter to Johnson to show that "the importunate demands of the enraged people" had caused him to adopt this measure. "Had I had the least notion that they could be stopped in the midst of their furious career," he wrote, "I would not have gratified the people."<sup>172</sup>

Johnson was already "very angry" with Pennsylvania, according to Peters, and when he learned of the declaration of war he was furious. "What will the Delawares & Shawanese think of such Opposition & Contradiction in our Conduct?" he wrote General Shirley. "How shall I behave at the approaching meeting at Onondaga, not only to those Indians, but to the Six Nations? These Hostile Measures which Mr. Morris has entered into, is throwing all our Schemes into Confusion, & must naturally give the Six Nations such Impressions & the French such advantages to work on against us, that I tremble for the Consequences. I think without consulting your Excellency, without the concurrence of the other neighboring Provinces, without my receiving previous notice of it, this is a very unadvised & unaccountable proceeding of Governor Morris."<sup>173</sup> Moreover, as Johnson reported to the Board of Trade, Morris had recently sent a war belt to the Six Nations, asking that they join Pennsylvania in the war against the Delawares, and at the same time the Friends were allowed to send a peace belt by the same messenger. Even the Indians, wrote Johnson, "Could not conceal their surprise that one Province should produce such contradictions."<sup>174</sup>

Shortly after the war belt was handed to Scarouady, the Friends had held several conferences with the Indians and Scarouady was informed of the proposal

<sup>170</sup>*Pa. C. R.*, VII, 64ff., especially 70-72, 74-86, 98, 106. The proclamation treated the Delawares as "Enemies and Rebels to his Majesty." *Ibid.*, VII, 98; Parrish, *History of the Friendly Association*, 10-11.

Scarouady on his journey to Onondaga met Teedyuscung and found that he had been made a king. *Cf.* also *Pa. C. R.*, VII, 12-15; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, April 28, 1756, Peters Letter Book, 1755-1757; Peters Manuscripts, IV, 49; *Susquehanna Company Papers*, II, vi, note 18.

<sup>171</sup>*Pa. C. R.*, VII, 74-75, 88-90. Scarouady almost died on this occasion when he brought "a kind Letter from Sir William Johnson with a copy of the Treaty. . . . Fatigue

and fresh Fish, of which the Indians are fond threw them into pleurittick disorders and they had like to have all dyed, but by the favour of Providence only one dyed, a Warrior of Note, Brother to Conrad Weiser, who was buried with the Honours of War." Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, April 28, 1756, Peters Letter Book, 1755-1757; *Pa. C. R.*, VII, 70.

<sup>172</sup>*Ibid.*, VII, 98.

<sup>173</sup>Peters Manuscripts, IV, 52; *Sir William Johnson Papers*, II, 447, 452-54, 455, 465, 467-71.

<sup>174</sup>Johnson to the Board of Trade, May 28, 1756; *N. E. C. D.*, VII, 88-89.



of the Friends to act as mediators between the Delawares and the government of Pennsylvania. "Scarouady was greatly pleased with this Proposal" and agreed to accept the message. This, the governor and council had agreed, was to be a private message from the Friends and in no way endorsed by the government. But Scarouady, who was fast becoming an expert muddler, now threw the governor and council into confusion. He had, so Weiser reminded him, often reproached the Pennsylvanians with "sitting with their Heads bent to their knees" before the onslaughts of the Delawares; he had urged the declaration of war as an absolute necessity and had said the Six Nations would not do anything effective. But when Morris acquainted him with the news in Sir Charles Hardy's letter, Scarouady immediately expressed a desire to hasten to Onondaga to assist Johnson in the approaching treaty. He had also agreed to send the Friends' message to the Delawares at Wyoming, but in putting the message in the hands of Jagrea and Newcastle he had given them orders in such a peremptory fashion that they refused to go and instead laid their case before Morris. In communicating this new turn of events to the council, Morris admitted that "it was unfortunate to have published the Declaration of War."<sup>176</sup> After some deliberation the council authorized Morris to send a message by Jagrea and Newcastle to the Delawares at Wyoming, informing them that he had learned from Hardy the Six Nations had commanded them to lay down their arms and they had agreed; that the English were prepared to defend themselves but would accept honorable peace terms; that if prisoners were delivered up to the Six Nations and their commands obeyed it would be in the power of the Six Nations to persuade the English not to prosecute the war; and that if the Wyoming Indians cared to come within the frontier settlements, they would be met with welcome. Newcastle undertook the journey, conferred with Tedyuscung, and arrangements were completed for a treaty to be held in July at Easton.<sup>176</sup>

Meanwhile Sir William Johnson had proceeded with plans for the treaty between the Six Nations and the Delawares. At this conference, held at Onondaga in June and July, 1756, Tedyuscung "confessed that some of his people had been deceived & deluded by the French and the Delawares who live near to Fort Duquesne to join them in their late Hostilities . . . He expressed sorrow & repentance for what had passed, and . . . In the most solemn manner he renewed the Covenant Chain. Both he and the Shawanese King accepted the War Belt, sung and danced to the War Song, with extraordinary fervor," Johnson wrote to the Board of Trade.<sup>177</sup> This diplomatic victory in the face of the obstacles created by the confused counsels of Pennsylvania came appropriately at the time when Johnson received the patents of his baronetcy and of his office as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department. In announcing this, Johnson pre-

<sup>176</sup>*Pa. C. R.*, VII, 103, 106.

<sup>176</sup>*Ibid.*, VII, 137-42, 144-48, 170, 171, 175, 198-99,

223. The rough draft of a passport issued to Newcastle and

his companions is in Provincial Council Records, H. S. P.

<sup>177</sup>*N. C. D.*, VII, 88-89.



sented a war belt to the Indians: "a Seneca Chief laid hold of it, sung the war song, and danced; the Shawanese King did so next, and then the Delaware King with remarkable warmth."<sup>178</sup> The dance continued until morning and with it Tedyuscung concluded his first treaty with the English. Whether at war or at a peace treaty Tedyuscung entered into the spirit of it "with remarkable warmth"—as Governor Morris and the proprietaries were soon to discover.

Another turning point in Pennsylvania Indian policy had been reached. The assembly was already reaching out to control Indian affairs by their bill to regulate trade, an effort which became law in 1758. Pennsylvania governors could continue for a time to hold conferences with local Indians but all relations with the Six Nations were now in the hands of Sir William Johnson. A few weeks before his appointment was announced at Onondaga, Peters had expressed the belief that Johnson would if possible "engross all Indian Business and direct all their Councils and Influence and when Master of them without a Rival . . . make his Terms with this and the other Colonies. But at Present it is not seasonable to Infuse Jealousies of him . . . We cannot do without the Six Nations."<sup>179</sup> Before the year was out another agent suspected by Pennsylvania officials, George Croghan, would become Sir William's deputy—"that vile Rascal Croghan," Peters called him—and would soon have more power in Indian treaties than the governor of Pennsylvania. But Johnson and Croghan were only two British officials: nearer at home were the Friends, allied in general with the assembly, hostile always to the proprietarial officials and to Sir William Johnson and his deputy as well. So powerful an influence in Indian affairs did the Friends become in the next few years that at times their private and unofficial negotiations with the natives appeared to reduce the official proceedings to a place of secondary importance.

The Friends had long been interested in Indian affairs and had, as individuals or as small groups, attended many of the treaties. But in 1755 they established the "Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures," an organization which did much to implement the religious and philanthropic, as well as economic, desires of a considerable portion of the Society of Friends. The Friendly Association, under the leadership of Israel Pemberton, had worked quietly among the Indians, entertaining them and giving them small presents, until the war was declared against the Delawares. This action caused the Friends to come to the support of the Association with large sums of money and considerable influence. Pemberton informed Sir William Johnson and Sir Charles Hardy of their plans, and when a suspension of hostilities was obtained in the early summer of 1756, the Friends were encouraged by this "happy event of our endeavours . . . to pursue the business we had begun, though many malicious aspersions were cast upon us by persons from whom we had a

<sup>178</sup>Peters Manuscripts, IV, 66; *N. T. C. D.*, VII, 155-60.

<sup>179</sup>To Thomas Penn, April 28, 1756, Peters Letter Book, 1755-1757; *ibid.*, June 26, 1756.

right to expect encouragement and assistance.”<sup>180</sup> On July 19, when Newcastle returned from Tioga with a message from Tedyuscung that the latter would meet the governor at Easton, he brought a message also for the Friends, desiring some of them to attend the treaty. The next day the Friendly Association met, decided to raise money by subscription “that in future occasions we may be able to promote the interest, welfare, and peace of the country, by contributing towards the expenses of treaties with the Indians,” and Jeremiah Warder, Abel James and Israel Pemberton—all leading merchants of Philadelphia—were directed to purchase goods for the coming treaty. A fund of £1200 was immediately subscribed and by July 25 a wagon load of goods and about twenty Friends arrived at Easton. The assembly had contributed £300 for the approaching treaty.<sup>181</sup>

Both the Friends and the proprietary officials soon found that they were not dealing with dependable statesmen like Shikellamy and Canasatego. Tedyuscung, leader of a tribe that had asserted its independence, was filled with pride and vanity as he found himself looked to by the Six Nations, by the Pennsylvania government, and by the Friends. Peters gave a picture of the King of the Delawares just after the Easton treaty: “He was born among the English somewhere near Trenton, is near 50 Years Old, a lusty, rawboned Man, haughty and very desirous of respect and Command. He can drink three quarts or a Gallon of Rum a day without being drunk. He was the Man that persuaded the Delawares [on the Susquehanna] to go over to the French and then to Attack the Frontiers. He Commanded the attacks at Gnadenhutten and he and these with him have been concerned in the Mischiefs done to the Inhabitants of Northampton County.”<sup>182</sup> The outlook for the treaty was not bright, “The King and his wild Company having been perpetually drunk, very much on the Gascoon, and at times abusive to the Inhabitants . . . The King, Mr. Parsons told us, was full of himself, saying frequently that which side so ever he took must stand and the other fall, repeating with Insolence that he came from the French who had pressed him much to join them against the English, that now he was in the middle.”<sup>183</sup> The proprietary officials learned also that a considerable body of western Indians had arrived at Tioga just before Tedyuscung departed for the treaty, asking him to lead them on the warpath, but that he had told them to await his return. They thought that the King “would insist on high Terms,” but to their surprise they found it otherwise. The governor “invited him and all his company to dinner and mixed them, Indians and English, beside one another and gave them plenty of Meat and Drink, of which the Indians had the greatest and best part. This with pleasantry in Conversation and a few compliments to the King overcame him, he shed Tears in abundance, declared he expected a different treatment, he had been bad, but being convinced

<sup>180</sup> “Minutes of the Proceedings of the People Called Quakers in Philadelphia towards Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures,” H. S. P., p. 16.

<sup>181</sup> Parrish, *Friendly Association*, 17, 18, 19.

<sup>182</sup> Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Aug. 4, 1756, Peters Letter Book, 1755-1757.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

of the openness and goodness of the Governor and his People, he would return to his former Love for them and he would serve them faithfully and bring about Peace.”<sup>184</sup> When the conference opened, Governor Morris spoke to Tedyuscung about his answer to the second message by Newcastle, wherein he had agreed to treat about peace, but the King blandly ignored the speech and said that he had come only to hear what was said by the governor, that peace negotiations would have to be carried on at a larger conference. This he repeated in private conversations and also informed the governor that the Six Nations, now grown to ten, had made men of the Delawares and had only two kings over the whole alliance, of whom he was one. This, he had said privately, was only a preparatory council, but the next would be of consequence and what he, Tedyuscung, agreed to would stand. The governor therefore confirmed the messages delivered by Newcastle and invited Tedyuscung to attend a Council Fire where “all might mutually be confirmed, the Antient Leagues renewed, and Peace reestablished,” but the governor insisted as a preliminary that all English prisoners should be brought to the next treaty and delivered up. Tedyuscung was made an agent and councilor of Pennsylvania with instructions to acquaint the Six Nations of these proceedings. This office he gladly accepted and said that the governor would see him again in two months “with a prodigious Collection of Indians.”<sup>185</sup> Thereupon the presents were distributed. That of the province, wrote Peters, was “shamefully small.” But the Friendly Association had provided about £120 worth of goods and while at first the Friends insisted on making a separate gift, at Governor Morris’ insistence they allowed their goods to be presented with those of the province. “I assure you,” wrote Peters to Thomas Penn, “if the Quakers had not been complying and added their large present to that Provided by the Assembly, we should have been ruined, the Indians would have gone away dissatisfied, and the matters made infinitely worse.”<sup>186</sup> While the Friends insisted that they had attended the treaty merely to be of assistance, the minutes of their association indicate that they were conducting a parallel treaty, chiefly in the nature of private conferences with Tedyuscung and others. Up to this point their negotiations were conducted with caution and they had not openly championed the Delawares against the government. But they had by their attentions gained a powerful influence over Tedyuscung. While these proceedings were carried on at Easton, Friends in Philadelphia were augmenting the list of subscriptions to the Friendly Association, now grown to £1800.<sup>187</sup>

Before the treaty with Tedyuscung was resumed in November, Governor Denny received a letter from Lord Loudoun in response to Morris’ letters informing Loudoun of the treaty with Tedyuscung at Easton. Loudoun did not use

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, Deposition of Joe Peby, dated at Bethlehem, July 22, 1756, stating that Tedyuscung and others had informed him they had been for three or four weeks among the French at Niagara, where they were much courted; Provincial Council Records, H. S. P.

<sup>185</sup> Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Aug. 4, 1756, Peters Letter Book, 1755-1757.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>187</sup> Parrish, *op. cit.*, 23.

equivocal language: "I must here answer in General and once for all: That His Majesty having entirely taken out of the Hands of the Governments and Governors all right to Treat with, Confer, or make War or Peace, with the Five Nations or any of their Allies or Dependents; and having reposed this Trust wholly and solely in the Hands of Sir William Johnson, his sole agent for these affairs under my direction; I do hereby for the future, forbid you or your Government from Confe-  
ring or Treating with these Indians in any shape, or on any account whatsoever."<sup>188</sup> Had Loudoun or Johnson realized that in the next few months not only the Pennsylvania government but also a large number of organized private persons would interfere in Indian affairs, the general's answer might have been even more positive. Early in 1757 when Denny still continued to plan treaties with the Indians, Loudoun said that if Pennsylvania "obstinately insisted in carrying on Negotia-  
tions with the Indians," she could stand the expenses involved; this, he hoped, would bring them to realize "that is their Interest, as well as their Duty, to pay Obedience to the King's Commands, and not to interfere with his Prerogative of making Peace and War."<sup>189</sup> Laudable though the Friends' motives might have been, they, as well as the government of Pennsylvania, came close to rebellious measures in the ensuing treaties.

Richard Peters was furious over Loudoun's instructions, which he regarded as "strokes . . . which carry Death with it." Writing to Thomas Penn he said that this injunction "has something so unnatural, provoking, impolitical and death giving, that I cannot mention it with patience, especially as it is contrary to your Hereditary Right by Charter and to an uninterrupted usage. Nor can a single instance be assigned or produced of any thing ever having been done by this Province in their various Transactions with the Indians to the prejudice of the King or any of his Interests or the interest of the Colonies. On the other side, is it not notorious that at a very great Expence, with infinite care and Judgment and with equal success this Government has treated with the Indians? Nor has the Crown been put to one Shilling Expence on their Account, but large and numerous Tribes have been engaged to become and continue Friends of the English at the sole & great Expence of the Proprietors and Province. Is it not notorious that the Proprietors & Government of Pennsylvania have had more Interest with and influence upon the Six Nations than ever Sir William Johnson can have? And I am sure when the Six Nations or any other Nation of Indians come to be told the King has taken away from the Proprietors & Government of Pennsylvania . . . the Right of Treating with Indians, even their own Indians, Natives of Pennsylvania and Subjects of the Crown, and born and bred among them, the Indians will quit the English as a set of impolitical and unreasonable and wayward people."<sup>190</sup> Peters had spent years mastering the difficult art of forest diplomacy, he had worn out his health in the

<sup>188</sup>Sept. 22, 1756; *Pa. C. R.*, VII, 269-71.

<sup>189</sup>May 5, 1757; Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, III,

10; *Pa. C. R.*, VII, 480, 481, 524.

<sup>190</sup>October 30, 1756; Peters Letter Book, 1755-1757.

arduous work involved, and now his knowledge and experience were to be of no avail at the time when they were most needed. But Peters forgot, in his anger, that both he and Thomas Penn had for years urged a unified system of management of Indian affairs. This stroke of death was, in part, some of their own work. Yet, feeling as he did, and holding a sword over Sir William's deputy, George Croghan, whom he might have imprisoned for debt, Peters magnanimously withheld his hand — on the advice of Thomas Penn.

Denny was unwilling to conclude the treaty begun by Morris without getting the approval of the council and the assembly. The resolution of the council bears evidence of Peters' influence: the proprietary officials had authority under the charter, which had passed the great seal, to conduct negotiations with the Indians and declare war if necessary, and as Loudoun had not furnished a copy of Johnson's credentials, it could not be known whether his commission bore the equal authority of the great seal. Moreover, as Morris had begun the treaty, and as the approaching conference was to conclude the peace arrangements, it would be "vastly injurious to His Majesty's interest to refuse now to treat with them." The assembly, however, regarded the new imperial policy as wise and judicious. "We think," they said, "the British Interest will now have more Weight with the Indians than if separate Treaties of Peace might be made by separate Colonies for themselves, without consulting the Interest or Safety of their Neighbors." Nevertheless, they advised Denny to conclude the treaty already begun, but to inform the Indians of the new policy and to state to them that such a treaty would have to receive the approval of Sir William Johnson to become effective. Peters thought, probably with reason, that the assembly's message arose "from a Spite to the Proprietors, who were much abused in the Debates on this Occasion."<sup>191</sup>

Denny, who succeeded in alienating almost everyone with whom he came in contact in Pennsylvania, sought to induce Tedyuscung to come to Philadelphia for the treaty. Tedyuscung refused. The governor thereupon determined not to go to Easton unless accompanied by a guard. As a result this treaty took on more than previous ones the aspect of martial negotiations: at Easton "the Governor marched from his Lodgings to the Place of Conference, guarded by a Party of the *Royal Americans* in the Front, and on the Flanks, and a Detachment of Colonel *Weiser's* Provincials, in Sub-divisions, in the Rear, with Colours flying, Drums beating, and Musick playing; which Order was always observed in going to the place of Conference." While Franklin, the Indian commissioners, and a large body of Friends attended the treaty — the latter, it was "generally said, with a particular View to get the Indians to complain of Injustices done them by the Proprietaries"<sup>192</sup> — none of the governor's officials attended save William Logan and Richard Peters. James Hamilton declined "for a reason which should have induced him, viz., the

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1756; *Pa. C. R.*, VII, 305-308.

Letter Book, 1755-1757.

<sup>192</sup> Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Nov. 22, 1756, Peters



Weakness and Pettishness of the Governor,” wrote Peters, and, he added, “You may easily think of the pain of my Mind in such a forsaken condition.”<sup>193</sup> The governor gave orders that no one should speak to or interfere with the Indians, but he could not stop the Indians from going where they pleased. Hence, according to Peters, the Friends “all had full Opportunity’s of talking with them, and putting what notions they pleased into their Heads.” Not more than forty Indians appeared at Easton, most of whom Peters described as Jersey Indians, “and you know what sort of People these are . . . I dont mention this to take off the Necessity or Proprietary of making Peace with them, as they begun the Attack on this Province and were I am afraid but too much countenanced by some of the ill inclined Six Nations, but to shew you what chance the Proprietaries stood in case of any Notions about Land being put into their heads.”<sup>194</sup> Tedyuscung behaved well at the treaty and agreed to influence the Indians gathered at Tioga toward peace if that could be done. The governor avoided the danger of concluding a separate peace and of running counter to Loudoun’s instructions, scrupulously following the assembly’s directions on this point. The Indians were given £400 worth of goods, the larger part of which came from the Friendly Association. Nevertheless, it was at this conference that the Indians formally charged the proprietors with injustice in failing to compensate them for lands.

“The only unhappiness attending this Treaty,” wrote Peters to Thomas Penn, “is that the Indians have publickly complained of Injustice done them in their Sales of Lands by the Proprietors and tho they are not so assurant as to say this was the cause of the War, yet they in Express terms say that the uneasiness given to the Indians on this Account occasioned the Blow to come Quicker and harder on us. And the Quakers have by this Declaration gained great cause [for] Triumph thinking they have fairly shifted off the cause of the War and Bloodshed from themselves to whose principles and Influence in this Province it has been hitherto imputed, upon the Proprietors by cheating the Indians.”<sup>195</sup> Both Weiser and Peters thought that these charges had been suggested to the Indians by the Friends. “I can never agree,” wrote Weiser, “that the Indians came to complain about their land, or some of it being fraudulently got from them, but they were pressed for reasons why they struck us, and gave that as one of their reasons, but I am satisfied it was put into their mouth some time before.” Indeed, Tedyuscung himself told Sir William Johnson that this was the case.<sup>196</sup>

During the next five years the numerous treaties held in Pennsylvania under the authority of Sir William Johnson — of which those in 1757, 1758 and in 1762 were the most important — took their form and substance from the germ planted at the conference at Easton in 1756, being complicated also, of course, by the military situation within the colonies and especially by the success of the Forbes expedition

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.* Denny to Thomas Penn, April 8, 1757, in *Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XLIV, 109–19.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>196</sup> *Pa. C. R.*, VII, 354; *Pa. Arch.*, III, 86; *Sir William Johnson Papers*, III, 847.



against Fort DuQuesne in 1759. It is a confused and involved story, the full import of which cannot be evaluated until the voluminous records of the Friendly Association, of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs, and of the provincial government itself, never adequately examined, have been studied.<sup>197</sup> Until then, such conclusions as are drawn must be acknowledged to be tentative. It seems clear, however, that the proprietorial Indian policy, which for so long a time had looked beyond the borders of the province to the general interests of the empire, now became, at the height of England's last struggle with France for the continent, bogged down in the morass of internal politics and became at times a stumbling block to the imperial plans being worked out by Johnson and other British officials. If the proprietors had treated the Indians unjustly — a charge which also must bear further study before it can be substantiated — they now showed themselves willing to redress any well-founded complaints. That they were opposed in their efforts to do this is a fact which argues that Indian affairs were now involved in the popular movement against the proprietorial government — a movement due in large part to what Peters referred to as "Mr. Franklin's Declaration of War against the Proprietaries."<sup>198</sup> The Indian negotiations of 1757-1762 seemed at times to be less concerned with promoting peace and the British interest than with the shifting of responsibility for causing the war.

Of opinions on the causes of the war there were many and conflicting voices. Tedyuscung's statements cannot be regarded seriously, for his drunken nature and extreme vanity caused him to give conflicting opinions on the causes of his taking up the hatchet: at one time it was the proprietors' frauds, at another time it was the French flattery, at still another time it was the purchase of the Wyoming lands by the Connecticut people.<sup>199</sup> The proprietors and their officers sought to place the blame on the assembly, controlled by the Friends. The assembly and the Friends promptly reciprocated by laying the charges of fraud and injustice on the proprietors, the most weighty exposition of this charge being in Charles Thomson's *Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians*, published in London in 1759.<sup>200</sup> Sir William Johnson gave one opinion in 1756 and another in 1762 which did not altogether agree; his deputy, Croghan, was "Shure the Conduct of the Assembly before the warr was a great mains of Driving the several Western Indians out of the British interest."<sup>201</sup>

It appears certain, however, that the underlying cause of the loss of Indian support by the English was due to the French aggression in the Ohio Valley in the

<sup>197</sup>The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has a large corpus of the minutes and records of the Friendly Association; of account books and journals of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs; and of the records of the provincial council, a series paralleling the Provincial Papers in the Pennsylvania State Library.

<sup>198</sup>Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, June 26, 1756, Peters Letter Book, 1755-1757.

<sup>199</sup>*Susquehanna Company Papers*, II, ii, xv; *Sir William*

*Johnson Papers*, II, 873-75.

<sup>200</sup>Thomas Penn's copy of Thomson's able work is in the John Carter Brown Library and contains marginal notations by him rebutting the charges made by Thomson. Penn, of course, had access to all of the minutes and records of the provincial council, a source denied to Thomson, and he was therefore able to refute the latter on several points.

<sup>201</sup>*Pa. Arch.*, III, 319-20; *Pa. State Lib., Prov. Papers*, XXIV, 74.

years 1747-1754, an aggression which the Pennsylvania assembly failed to meet because of peaceable principles of a majority of its members. To this should be added the encroachments of thousands of squatters on the Indians' lands, a problem which proprietary officials were never able to solve, and even when they adopted drastic measures to remove the settlers they were accused of driving the dispossessed inhabitants themselves over to the French.<sup>202</sup> Land purchases from the Indians, even though conducted with the utmost regard for justice, produced dissatisfaction. The abuses in the Indian trade, intercolonial rivalries, jealousies and hatreds among the Indian nations themselves, particularly between the Delawares and the Mohawks — all these factors produced the defection of the western Indians and consequently that of their brethren on the Susquehanna. And in all of these factors, Indians, proprietors, Friends, the assembly and traders were involved in some responsible way. While the Friends included among their number many who were interested in the Indians from humanitarian views — such as Samuel Fothergill, John Hunt, and Daniel Stanton — it seems clear that their efforts to control Indian affairs in the peace negotiations did much to prolong hostilities, made the Indians contemptuous of the provincial government, and put a stumbling block in the path of royal officials who were charged with responsibility for such negotiations. Johnson himself called their efforts, with some reason, "flagrantly illegal."<sup>203</sup> It is doubtless true, too, that mercantile interests among the Friends influenced some of the leaders of the Friendly Association.<sup>204</sup>

Finding himself courted by both proprietary officials and Friends, Tedyuscung's vanity and insolence knew no bounds. When he claimed to represent all of the Indians from the sunrise to the sunset, Johnson commented: "The Indian manner of speaking is indeed sometimes strongly figurative, but this is rant beyond what I have ever met with."<sup>205</sup> This not only offended the Six Nations, who had been forced to admit that Tedyuscung had led his people to independence, but it also added to the difficulties of negotiating peace. "The party spirit which has & continues so signally to display itself in Pennsylvania hath supported this man's consequence," wrote Johnson. "He has been courted by both sides & all their negotiations seem to have centered with him only." This, Johnson thought, would "give umbrage to the other Indians & build our Fabric upon too narrow & pre-

<sup>202</sup>Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 55-82; W. T. Root, *Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government*, 293-300. "The present encroachments of the French had its rise from a flagrant piece of iniquity, in burning the houses of a great number of families, who were settled on the Juniata . . . whose lands were not at the time purchased of the Indians. . . . This unjustifiable proceeding, in the year 1750 or 51 [1750], drove near three-score families over to the French . . . where they have continued ever since, big with resentment and revenge for such cruel usage, which shocked those people whom we call savages" (*Answer to An Invidious Pamphlet, intituled, A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania*, London, 1755, p. 6-7, 17; *Pa. C. R.*, V, 440-49).

<sup>203</sup>*Sir William Johnson Papers*, II, 824-30, 849-50. On April 9, 1757, Penn wrote Peters that he had had "an

audience of the Duke [of Cumberland] . . . [and] informed him of the Cabals of the Quakers at the Treaty and the demand of their committee to inspect the Council Book. He expressed great satisfaction in the method I had taken and much censured those people for their intrusion in the rights of government." Peters Manuscripts, IV, 87.

<sup>204</sup>*Pa. Arch.*, III, 263-64; *Sir William Johnson Papers*, II, 769-71; III, 301, 303; Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 151-52. However, the activities of the Friends in the period from 1755 to 1762 should not be judged apart from the long history of their humanitarian, educational, and philanthropic efforts in behalf of the Indians; for a general survey of this subject, see R. W. Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians*. See also, Daniel Stanton, *Journal* (Philadelphia, 1772), 106-109.

<sup>205</sup>*Sir William Johnson Papers*, II, 824-30, 830-34.

carious a Foundation; besides, if I am not mistaken, the Quakers have fixt their hold so firmly on Teedyuscung, that he will do nothing without their concurrence, and whilst they interfere in Indian affairs, the Governor of Pennsylvania has found and will find insurmountable Impediments to his Negotiations.”<sup>206</sup> At the treaty of Easton in 1757, after the Friends had distributed their presents, Richard Peters and Jacob Duché perceived “a very remarkable distinction made by Indians between Quakers and Gentlemen of the Governor’s Council . . . For when we us’d to meet Indians anywhere in the streets . . . they would generally accost us with this question in their broken English — Are you a Quaker? And if we answer’d no, they wou’d frown & look very stern & illnatur’d upon us, and say we were bad man — bad man — Governors Man. But if we answer’d in the affirmative (as we did sometimes to try them) . . . they would smile & carress us, & call us Brothers, and say we were good men — Quaker good men — Governors men bad men — good for nothing.”<sup>207</sup>

Shortly before the treaty of 1756 at which Tedyuscung made his charge of fraudulent land dealings on the part of the proprietors, Johnson wrote to the Board of Trade that he thought the proprietors ought to yield a part of the land purchased at Albany in 1754 and fix new boundaries between their province and the Indians.<sup>208</sup> Upon this recommendation, the Board of Trade summoned Thomas Penn to a hearing on the matter, and by way of rebuttal the proprietors presented their “Observations” on Johnson’s letter, denying that their land purchases were a cause of disaffection among the Six Nations and their tributaries on the Susquehanna. They pointed out that no grievances of this nature had been exhibited by the Indians at the treaty held by Johnson at Onondaga in 1756 nor at the treaty at Easton in July of that year. The original draft of this reply contained a thinly-veiled thrust at Johnson because of “Private treatys held for the purchase of particular valuable Tracts of low land near the rivers” which were “much more likely to give uneasiness to them, than general purchases publicly made.” This insinuation was omitted from the final draft, perhaps because it was at Halifax’s hands that Johnson had received his recent patronage and Penn himself stood well with the powerful lord. The Penns asserted their willingness to give up the north-western lands purchased at Albany in 1754, which was said to have caused dissatisfaction among the Delawares on the Ohio. Johnson became angry at what he termed an “unprovoked challenge” of his statements on the part of the proprietors, and he replied in another letter to the Board of Trade in September, 1757, reiterated his belief that the Albany purchase had caused complaints by the Indians, and, with a prepared statement by Croghan, endeavored to prove “beyond dispute — what Sir William formerly only gave as his opinion.”<sup>209</sup>

<sup>206</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>207</sup> *Pa. Arch.* III, 274-76.

<sup>208</sup> *Œ. T. C. D.*, VII, 127-30.

<sup>209</sup> Dec. 11, 1756, Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, II,

108; printed in part in *Susquehanna Company Papers*, II, 5-9; *Sir William Johnson Papers*, II, 736-38; *Œ. T. C. D.*, VII, 329-33; *Doc. Hist. Œ. T.*, II, 439-42.

Despite this temporary difference between Johnson and the proprietors, the latter moved that Tedyuscung's charges respecting land purchases be heard before Johnson. This decision was not one of inclination but of policy: first, the treaty would be "in an indifferent place . . . fairly and equally made"; secondly, Johnson, the proprietors felt, would discover that the Friends had instigated Tedyuscung's charges; finally, this discovery, being made by the king's representative in control of Indian affairs, would quickly and effectively settle the whole matter, whereas a treaty held in Pennsylvania would be a mere repetition of all that had gone before, with their clashing between the Friends and the proprietarial agents. Thomas Penn had already "agreed with my Lord Halifax" to make satisfaction with the Six Nations and to yield that part of the purchase west of the Allegheny Mountains, and he now asked that, for the advantage of the public interest in both England and America, orders be sent to Sir William to inquire into both affairs. Early in March, 1758, the Board of Trade sent Johnson the proprietors' recommendations concerning the Delawares' grievances and desired, in case Johnson agreed, that he summon the Delawares and the Six Nations to a treaty to settle all matters in dispute. Johnson, however, did not see fit to exercise this discretionary power himself, but appointed Croghan to carry on the negotiations in Pennsylvania.<sup>210</sup>

The treaty held at Easton in October, 1758, in pursuance of these directions was one of the most difficult and one of the most important that had been held in Pennsylvania. The usual struggle continued between the governor and the Friends, and this bitter partisan conflict was intensified by the fact that Denny quarreled with everyone, even the Indians. All Pennsylvania governors under the proprietors expected to have difficulties with their assemblies; but Denny achieved the distinction of alienating his own council. Richard Peters had been an exemplary secretary under four governors, but even that long-suffering gentleman had, the preceding April, been suspended from his office by Denny in one of his fits of temper. On the eve of this conference at Easton Denny quarreled with the attorney general, insulted Tedyuscung, and in general exhibited a moroseness that very probably was pathological. The diaries of Richard Peters and Benjamin Chew which are fortunately preserved throw a brilliant light on the disturbing back-of-the-scene caucuses and personalities of this treaty, factors which made it look at the outset as if no possible good could be accomplished. The success of the negotiations was achieved in spite of Denny and in spite of the activities of the Friends.

<sup>210</sup>Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, December 10, 1757; Peters Manuscripts, V, 6, 7; two days earlier the proprietors had issued a power of attorney to Richard Peters, William Logan, Lynford Lardner, and Conrad Weiser, authorizing them to inquire into Tedyuscung's charges, since Sir William Johnson had declined to do so; this power of attorney, sworn to by Ferdinand John Paris before Sir Charles Asgill, Lord Mayor of London, stated that at the late Treaty at Easton, Tedyuscung for the very first time asserted that the proprietaries had forged the deed of 1686 and made an altera-

tion of the courses agreed upon, although neither the Delawares nor any other nation of Indians at any time before had so much as hinted to the proprietors or any of their agents that they had been induced to commit hostilities against Pennsylvania for revenging any injustice; *ibid.*, V, 5. This commission Peters and the others were authorized to "execute in the most public and speedy manner that ever you can"; *ibid.*, V, 4. See also *N. Y. C. D.*, VII, 221-222; *Pa. C. R.*, VII, 434-36; Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 121ff.

Conrad Weiser and Richard Peters deserve most of the credit for whatever was accomplished.<sup>211</sup>

About five hundred Indians, chiefly Iroquois, Delawares, and Shawnee gathered at Easton for this conference which, including the informal sessions, lasted over a month. The presence of the Mohawk served to chasten Tedyuscung, and it was a humbled King of the Delawares who made a pathetic plea to have a place assigned to him to live, a plea which for beauty of imagery and for pathos deserves to live. Tedyuscung agreed to yield up the English captives, to renew the chain of friendship, and to urge the Ohio Indians to do likewise. The proprietarial agents agreed to cede back to the Indians the northwestern lands purchased at Albany. The treaty was approved and confirmed by the British ministry, a fact which caused it to be maintained later that the treaty applied not only to Pennsylvania but also forbade Maryland, Virginia, and other colonies to make settlements beyond the Alleghenies until the Indians consented. It also had an important effect upon the decline of French power in the Ohio region: this treaty, wrote Henry Bouquet, struck the blow that "has knocked the French in the head." Christian Frederick Post had already made his first heroic trip among the Indians on the Ohio in the summer of 1758, and he was on his second journey during the progress of the treaty — missions which had a great influence upon the success of the Forbes expedition against Fort Duquesne. It is not improbable that news of the treaty reached the western woods in time to make Post's second and more important mission easier.<sup>212</sup>

In 1759 the Privy Council, acting on a petition presented by Benjamin Franklin, now in London as agent for the assembly, ordered Sir William Johnson to investigate the charges of the Delawares against the proprietors. This investigation did not take place until June, 1762, again at Easton. There Johnson at last came face to face with the partisan difficulties that had so long obstructed his Indian policies. The Friends had received Halifax's statement that the activities of the Friendly Association were regarded as an outrageous invasion of the royal prerogative, but they continued to advise and instruct Tedyuscung. This activity was so pronounced that Johnson at one point in the proceedings threatened to adjourn the treaty if opposition to the execution of the royal orders did not cease. It was even rumored afterwards that Johnson had drawn his sword on Israel Pemberton. But it was Johnson's moderation, according to Croghan, that enabled him to turn a very difficult treaty into a successful one: he secured a complete retraction from Tedyuscung of the charges he had made against the proprietors respecting lands, except that concerning the fairness of the Walking Purchase of 1737. Johnson reported to the Board of Trade that he himself was convinced of the fair dealings of the proprietors in 1737, but, since Tedyuscung had waived even that part of his

<sup>211</sup> See the diary of Chew in the Appendix; Peters Manuscripts, V, 40.

<sup>212</sup> Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 139.



charge for the sake of peace, Johnson recommended that the proprietors give the Indians a present. He also gave a full account of the activities of the Friends at this treaty, and said that Tedyuscung had told him afterwards that "he never should have troubled the Proprietors about these Lands had he not been instigated to do so by the Quakers."<sup>213</sup> Johnson also told the Board of Trade that "if Provincial Commissioners or any others continue to interfere in Indian affairs by calling Meetings and distributing the public money in presents amongst them, as they have done, it will be impossible for me or any other Superintendent of Indian affairs to preserve that weight with them necessary for his Majesty's interest." The proprietors, of course, were overjoyed with Johnson's success. "My opinion with regard to Sir William Johnson is quite changed," wrote Thomas Penn.<sup>214</sup>

Conrad Weiser died in 1760, climaxing his long and useful career by the notable treaty of 1758. Richard Peters in 1762 resumed orders at Christ Church. Tedyuscung within the year was burned to death, in a drunken stupor, in his cabin in the lovely Wyoming Valley. That year also the Friendly Association declined and passed into history. With the fall of Fort Duquesne, Indian affairs in Pennsylvania ceased to be matters of paramount concern in the determination of policy. England was now possessed of all of Canada and the Iroquois with their tributaries had fallen from the position of power that they had so long occupied between the rival nations. Within a few months the so-called conspiracy of Pontiac brought Indian warfare again to the province, but this time there was decisive action. The murder of the Conestoga Indians rent the province, too, but this was murder — and politics — and did not concern Indian policy. Within another five years the agents of the proprietors, aided by the now friendly Sir William Johnson, purchased the Indian title to another large tract of land within the province, and traders and settlers moved forward to occupy the West.

Julian P. Boyd

### *Bibliographical Note*

If the foregoing brief outline of the proprietarial Indian policy appears to emphasize the part played by Thomas Penn, it is because I have felt that his rôle has been neglected if not maligned. Even so scholarly an author as Kelsey writes of Thomas Penn's disgraceful treatment of the Indians, and in the sketch of Penn by Dr. H. J. Cadbury in the *Dictionary of American Biography* is the statement that "the descendants of William Penn were very early contrasted unfavorably with their ancestor and failed to command the regard in which he was held by whites as well as by Indians." These expressions reflect the traditional view of historians regarding the contrast between the treatment of the Indians by William Penn and that by his sons, and it is my impression that this traditional interpretation must be modified in many particulars. True, there was a contrast, but not, I believe, so much between fair and unfair dealing as between a policy that was provincial in its reach and one that necessarily became identified with the interests of the empire. One of William Penn's chief problems was to

<sup>213</sup> *Sir William Johnson Papers*, III, 847.

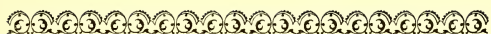
<sup>214</sup> *Susquehanna Company Papers*, II, xiv.



bring settlers to the province. One of Thomas Penn's chief problems—and one of the chief causes of difficulties with the Indians—was to restrain settlers from crowding upon the Indians' lands.

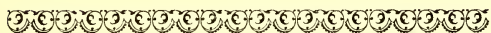
This, it must be emphasized, is a tentative conclusion. Its acceptance as a valid interpretation must await a systematic examination of the voluminous records. Dr. Paul A. W. Wallace's forthcoming life of Conrad Weiser and Dr. Randolph C. Downes' *Indian Affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley* (to be published in 1939) will undoubtedly do much to clarify the clouded atmosphere surrounding Pennsylvania Indian affairs in this period. At present, however, no single study or series of studies gives an adequate and scholarly treatment. Shepherd's *Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania* is one of the few studies based on Thomas Penn's own correspondence—a source which cannot be neglected for the proper treatment of Indian policy—and Shepherd deals only in incidental fashion with this tangled and important subject. Sectarian histories such as Sharpless' *Quaker Experiment in Government*, Buck's *History of the Walking Purchase*, Kelsey's *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917*, and Parrish's *Friendly Association* follow too closely the partisan pattern of Charles Thomson's *Causes of the Alienation of the Delawares and Shawanese* or react too severely to the unsympathetic treatment of the Friends by Parkman and the hostile, embittered treatment of them from the Scots-Irish point of view in Hanna's *Wilderness Trail*—the last a valuable compilation of fact, but impaired to a large degree by its prejudice. The Friends' point of view is summarized and given renewed emphasis in the recent *Pennsylvania, 1681-1756, The State without an Army* (London, 1937), by Dingwall and Heard, a monograph written from an avowed pacifist viewpoint and one which again makes use chiefly of secondary works and does not go to the sources; it is only fair to point out, however, that the authors recognized this limitation and were prevented by circumstances from pursuing their researches further. Biographies such as Walton's *Conrad Weiser* and Volwiler's *George Croghan* suffer the almost inevitable defect of biographical treatment: overemphasis of the rôle of the individual. Volwiler's study, however, comes nearest to giving a scholarly account of Indian affairs for the last two decades of this period, but even this study did not make adequate use of the proprietary correspondence. Root's *Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government*, a scholarly performance, devotes two chapters to Indian affairs. Pennsylvania does not even have such a summary of Indian affairs and Indian policy as Charles H. McIlwain gave for New York in his introduction to his edition of Wraxall's *Abridgment of Indian Affairs*. What is needed is that the accepted view of Indian affairs in provincial Pennsylvania be subjected to the test of a painstaking and thorough examination of the original sources. This could not be attempted in the present work.

J. P. B.



# INDIAN TREATIES

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A  
T R E A T Y  
O F  
*F R I E N D S H I P*

HELD WITH THE  
CHIEFS OF THE SIX NATIONS,

A T  
P H I L A D E L P H I A,

I N  
*S E P T E M B E R* and *O C T O B E R*, 1736.

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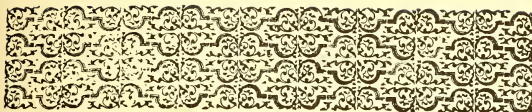
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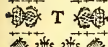
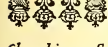
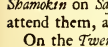
( 3 )



A

## TREATY of FRIENDSHIP, &amp;c.

September, 1736.





 HE Chiefs of the *Six Nations* having been expected at *Philadelphia* these four Years past, to confirm the Treaty made with some of them, who came down in the Year 1732, *Conrad Wyser* our Interpreter, about the Beginning of this Month, advised from *Tulpybokin*, that he had certain Intelligence from some Indians sent before him, that there was a large Number of those People with their Chiefs, arrived at *Shamokin* on *Sasquehannah*; upon which he was directed to repair thither to attend them, and supply them with Necessaries in their Journey hither.

On the *Twenty-seventh* of this Month, about a Hundred or more of them came with *Conrad* to the President's House, at *Stenton*, being near the Road, where suitable Entertainment was provided for them; and the next Day the Honourable the Proprietor, and some of the Council, with other Gentlemen coming thither from *Philadelphia*; after Dinner

A Council was held at *Stenton*, September 28. 1736.

## P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *THOMAS PENN*, Esq; Proprietary.*JAMES LOGAN*, Esq; President.

<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	<i>Ralph Asbeton,</i>	} Esqrs;
<i>Clement Plumsted,</i>	<i>Thomas Griffiths,</i>	

And the following *Indian* Chiefs, to wit.Of the *TSANANDOWANS*  
or *SINEKAS*.*Kanickbungo*, Speaker.*Togachbaboloo*,*Sagoyatandachquai*,*Askotax*,*Hetaquantegchty*, Speaker.*ONANDAGOES*.

*Kabiskerowane* (Brother to  
their former great Chief  
*Conoffoorah* at *Albany*)

*Tagunbuntee*,*Kaxhaayn*,*Kuchdachary*,*Saweeagatee-o*.

CAYOOGES.

## ( 4 )

## CAYOOGES.

*Saguchsaunyut,  
Sunaretsky,  
Kanawatoe,  
Tecouchieegherochgo.*

## ONEIDAS.

*Sarissagoa,  
Takashwangerorator  
Shekallamy.*

## TUSKARORES.

*Sawnataga,  
Tyeroi.*

*Of the CANYINGOES or MOHOCKS none came.*

By the Interpreter's Advice, they were first spoke to in their own Way, with three small Strings of Wampum in Hand, one of which was delivered on each of the following Articles.

*Our Friends and Brethren,*

I. *You are come a great way, and have doubtless suffered many Hardships in so long a Journey; but now you are with your Brethren and true Friends, who have long been in Friendship and Alliance with your Nations; you must therefore put away all Grief and Uneasiness, and brighten your Eyes, that we may see and be cheerful with each other.*

II. *We desire that as we are now met as Brethren and Friends, you will open your Hearts, as we shall open our Hearts, that we may speak with Freedom and Openness to each other.*

III. *You are come to us as your true Friends, we receive you with Gladness, you shall shelter yourselves under our Covering, and be entertained by us as ourselves, for you are our Brethren.*

The Indians hereupon expressed their Satisfaction with Sounds peculiar to themselves on such Occasions; and then their Speaker with three like Strings in his Hand, repeated all those three several Articles more at large, returning their Thanks for each, delivering a String as each Article was spoke to, and giving Assurances of their Freedom and Openness, and desiring that we would use the same; but on the 3d they said, *They could not receive and treat us as we did them, they are now with us, they give themselves to us, and depend on our Protection.*

Then with five more very short Strings in his Hand, the Speaker proceeded to lay on the first, *That they had received on the Road a Message from us delivered by Conrad Wyser, welcoming them into the Country.* On the 2d, *That they had at the same time received from us an Account of our late Governor's Death, but that this would not occasion any Alteration, because W. PENN's own Son is here, and also James Logan, with the Council.* On the 3d They returned their Thanks, and with the other two confirm'd the whole.

They said, *They were now come, after a full Consultation with all their Chiefs at their great Fire or Place of Counsel, to return an Answer to the Treaty, that some of them had held with us four Years since, at Philadelphia: That they intended to stay with their Friend James Logan two Nights to rest themselves, and then proceed to the Fire kept for them at Philadelphia; where after two Nights more, they would at that Fire give their full Answer.*

They were told, *We were willing to keep them here in the Country the longer, because many People in Philadelphia had been sickly, and now the Small Pox are there, a Disease that has often proved fatal to the Indians; that it would be a great*

## ( 5 )

*great Trouble to us to see any of them taken with that Dissemper, after they had travelled so far to visit us; for we are very desirous they should all return safe, and as healthily as they came to us: That it is proper they should give their Answer at Philadelphia, in the same publick Manner we had last treated with them; but it is adviseable they should spend no more of their time in the Town, than will be absolutely necessary, for many Inconveniencies may attend it.*

They appeared concerned at this, thanked us, and said they would go together by themselves to advise on it.

September 29.

The Gentlemen of the Council having gone home last night to Philadelphia, and only the Proprietor staying, Mr Preston with some others came again to day; and the Indian Chiefs after they had consulted this Morning amongst themselves, meeting the Proprietor, &c. in Council, said,

*That they were much obliged to us for the Care we took of them; we shewed by it our true Friendship for them. That as they are now with us, they put themselves wholly under our Direction, and tho' Philadelphia is the Place where their Fire is kept for them, yet it may upon Occasion be brought out hither; and they are free either to proceed to Philadelphia to treat at the Fire there, or to stay here, as we shall think fit to order it.*

They were told, *As the last Treaty with them was held in Publick at Philadelphia, it would be necessary they should there give their Answer; That we were not wholly against their going to Town, but thought ourselves obliged to acquaint them with the Danger; yet that this is not at present so great that it should wholly prevent their going. The Dissemper is as yet but young and just begun in the Place; that it is only in the Heart or near the Middle of the Town; that they will be accommodated at the Edge or Out-Skirts of the Town, where if they take Care, they may for a few Days be in but very little or no Danger.*

They then resolv'd to set out for Philadelphia the next Day; and accordingly having been entertained at Stenton three Nights, they went to Town on the last of September; and having rested the first of October, on the second Day they met as follows.

At a Council held in the Great Meeting-House at Philadelphia,  
the ~~and~~ Day of October 1736.

## P R E S E N T,

The Honourable THOMAS PENN, Esq; Proprietary,

JAMES LOGAN, Esq; President.

Samuel Preston,	Ralph Ashteton,	} Esqrs;
Anthony Palmer,	Thomas Griffiths,	
Clement Plumsted,	Charles Read.	
Thomas Lawrence,		

B

Present

## ( 6 )

Present also

The *MAYOR* and *Recorder* of the City,  
With divers Gentlemen, and a very large Audience that filled the House  
and its Galleries.

The *Indian* Chiefs being come and seated,

The President, before proceeding to hear them, thought proper to inform the Audience, that in *August* 1732, a great Treaty having been held in this Place with several Chiefs of the Six Nations, they had made report thereof on their Return to their Great Council, where the several Propositions that had been made to them on the Part of this Government, had been fully considered; and that these Chiefs now present, of whom there never at any time before had been so great a Number met in this Province, were now come to return their Answer.

The *Indians* being made acquainted with what the President had said, were told, that we were ready to hear them.

Whereupon *Kanickbongo* their Speaker, addressing himself to their Brother *ONAS* (which signifies *PENN*) to their Brother *JAMES LOGAN*, and the Gentlemen of the Council, spoke as follows by *Conrad Wyfer* the Interpreter;

BRETHREN,

“ WE are now come down from the Towns of our several Nations  
“ to give our Answer to the great Treaty, which we and you  
“ held together, at this Place, about four Years since: This An-  
“ swer has been agreed and concluded upon by our great Council,  
“ who have carefully considered all that passed between you and us, and ex-  
“ pressed their great Satisfaction in the friendly and good Dispositions of  
“ you our Brethren, towards all the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*; and as you  
“ received us kindly, and at that Treaty undertook to provide and keep  
“ for us a Fire in this great City, we are now come to warm ourselves  
“ thereat, and we desire and hope it will ever continue bright and burning  
“ to the End of the World.

*Hereupon he laid down a large Belt of white Wampum of eleven Rows, with  
four black St. George's Crosses in it; and proceeding, said*

BRETHREN,

“ SOON after our Brother *ONAS*, who is now here, came into  
“ this Country, he and we treated together; he opened and cleared the  
“ Road between this Place and our Nations, which was very much to our  
“ good Liking, and it gave us great Pleasure. We now desire that this Road,  
“ for the mutual Accommodation and Conveniency of you and us who  
“ Travel therein to see each other, may be kept clear and open, free from  
“ all Stops or Incumbrances; and if, since the time that we last cleared it  
“ with you, any Tree has fallen across it, or if it is any way stopt up, of  
“ which however we know nothing, we are now willing to open and clear  
“ the same from every Interruption; and it is our hearty Desire that it  
“ may so continue, while the Earth endureth.

*Hereupon he presented a Bundle of Skins in the Hair, and went on;*

BRETHREN,

## ( 7 )

BRETHREN,

“ ONE of the chief Articles of our late Treaty together, was the brightning of the Chain of Friendship between us, and the preserving it free from all Rust and Spots; and that this Chain was not only between this Government and us, but between all the *English* Governments and all the *Indians*. We now assure you our Brethren, that it is our earnest Desire this Chain should continue, and be strengthened between all the *English* and all our Nations, and likewise the *Delawares*, *Canays*, and the *Indians* living on *Sasquebannah*, and all the other *Indians* who now are in League and Friendship with the *Six Nations*; in Behalf of all whom, and as a lasting Confirmation of this great Article, to endure until this Earth passeth away and is no more seen, we now deliver you this Beaver Coat.

*Here he laid down a large Beaver Coat.*

*The Proprietor gave them Thanks in Behalf of this Government for what they had spoke touching these three important Articles of the Fire, Road and Chain of Friendship, and told them their Discourse thereon was very satisfactory.*

*The Speaker proceeded and said;*

BRETHREN,

“ TO conclude all that we have now said, it is our Desire that we and you should be as of one Heart, one Mind, and one Body, thus becoming one People, entertaining a mutual Love and Regard for each other, to be preserved firm and entire, not only between you and us, but between your Children, and our Children, to all succeeding Generations.

“ We who are now here, are old Men, who have the Direction of Affairs in our own Nations; and as we are old, it may be thought that the Memory of these things may be lost with us, who have not, like you, the Art of preserving it by committing all Transactions to Writing: We nevertheless have Methods of transmitting from Father to Son, an Account of all these Things, whereby you will find the Remembrance of them is faithfully preserved, and our succeeding Generations are made acquainted with what has passed, that it may not be forgot as long as the Earth remains.

*They were told, That it was very agreeable to us to know that they took such effectual Care in this Point.*

*Then proceeding he said;*

BRETHREN,

“ WE desire that this brightning of the Chain, and establishing a strong and firm League of Friendship, may be understood by you, as we understand it to be, not only between the Chiefs of our Nations, and the Chiefs or Principal Men of this Government, but likewise between all our People, and all your People, and between you and all our *Warriours* who go abroad and sometimes pass near this Government, to all of whom we have given the strictest Charge to behave themselves agreeable to the

“ Friendship

## ( 8 )

“ Friendship which is established between you and us, that so we all may continue to be one People for ever.

“ At the last Treaty you advised us to strengthen ourselves by entering into firm Leagues of Friendship and Alliance with several other Nations of Indians around us; this Advice was truly good, and we thank our Brethren for it; we have accordingly treated with these Six following Nations, *to wit*, the *Onickkaryagoes*, *Sissagbees*, *Tioumitihagas*, *Attawantenis*, *Twechtweje*, and *Oachtamughis*, and have engaged them so heartily in our Interest, that they acknowledge us for their Elder Brethren, and have promised to join with us as one People, and to act altogether in Concert with us.

“ You likewise then advised us to call home all those of our Nations who are at *Canada*, or live amongst the *French*, lest if any Occasion of Difference should arise, they might then be prevented from returning. We esteem this likewise as sound good Advice, and we thank our Brethren for it; the *French* were formerly our cruel Enemies, and we are taking such Measures as we hope will be effectual to bring back our People, if any new Breach should happen.

*The Speaker said,*

“ To confirm all that we have now said, we would be glad if we had a large Present of Skins to deliver, in Return to the considerable one in Goods which we had of you; but we must own to you that we are at present but very ill provided and poor, and have only a very small Quantity of Skins, which nevertheless we hope our Brethren will accept.

*Here he laid down two small Bundles of Skins.*

“ We have now nothing more to say in Publick; but having other Matters to treat on with the Proprietor, we will enter upon them at another time.

*They were told, That the Proprietor, President and Council thank'd them very kindly in Behalf of this Government, for all they had now said; that they had returned full and distinct Answers to all the Chief Articles or Propositions made at the last great Treaty in 1732, they had spoke to each of them like honest Men and true Brethren; and as they had consulted together before they delivered their Answer, so now the Council would meet and consider together of all that had passed at present.*

Which being interpreted to them, they expressed their Satisfaction by a Sound peculiar to them, in which they all joined, and then withdrew.

At a Council held at *Philadelphia*, October 4. 1736.

## P R E S E N T,

The Honourable JAMES LOGAN, Esq; President.

<i>Anthony Palmer,</i>	<i>Ralph Asfbeton,</i>	} Esqrs;
<i>Clement Plumsted,</i>	<i>Thomas Griffiths,</i>	
<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>	<i>Charles Read.</i>	

The



## ( 9 )

The President representing to the Board the Necessity of dispatching the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, who being very numerous remain here at a great Charge, propos'd that the Consideration of the Value of the Present to be given them, should be now proceeded upon; and accordingly the Board entering upon the same, and observing that for these many Years there has not been so great an Appearance here of Chiefs of these Nations as at this time, and that they have returned very full and distinct Answers to every Article of the Treaty with them in 1732, are of Opinion, that proper Goods for them to the Value of about *Two Hundred Pounds*, should be provided and given them; and that to *Conrad Weyser*, the Interpreter, who is extremely useful on all such Occasions, and on the present one has been very serviceable, there be given *Twenty Pounds*.

At a Council held at *Philadelphia*, October 12. 1736.

## P R E S E N T,

The Honourable JAMES LOGAN, Esq; President.

<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	<i>Samuel Hasell,</i>	} Esqrs;
<i>Clement Plumsted,</i>	<i>Thomas Griffiths,</i>	
<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>	<i>Charles Read.</i>	

The President informed the Board, that agreeable to the Minute of the 4th, Care had been taken to provide Goods for the *Indians*: But next Day, after Council, consulting with *Conrad Weyser*, the Interpreter, he had advised that the Delivery of the Present should be delayed till the *Indians* had finished with the Proprietary, with whom they were then to treat about the Purchase of Lands; that most of last Week being spent therein, the *Indians* had Yesterday ended with the Proprietary, having signed Releases to him for all the Lands lying between the Mouth of *Sasquehannah*, and *Kekachtaninius* Hills, and that it now remained to conclude on the Quantity and Quality of the several Goods to be given them, and on the Substance of what should be proper to be spoke to them; The Board are of Opinion, that considering the large Quantity of Goods which they have had from the Proprietor on the Purchase, it may not at this time be necessary to give them, in Behalf of this Government, so great a Present as the Value ordered by the aforesaid Minute; but that it may very well be considerably reduced; and accordingly, it is Ordered, that it be reduced to between *Sixty* and *Seventy Pounds*.

The President likewise acquainting the Board, that the *Indians*, at a Meeting with the Proprietor and him, had taken Notice that *Conrad Weyser*, and *Shekallamy*, were by the Treaty of 1732, appointed as fit and proper Persons to go between the *Six Nations*, and this Government, and to be employed in all Transactions with one another, whose Bodies the *Indians* said were to be equally divided between them and us, we to have one half, and they the other; that they had found *Conrad* faithful and honest, that he is a true good Man, and had spoke their Words, and our Words, and not his own; and the *Indians* having presented him with a dressed Skin to make him Shoes, and two Deer Skins, to keep him warm, they said, as they had thus taken Care of our Friend, they must recommend their's (*Shekallamy*) to our Notice; and the Board judging it necessary that a particular

## ( 10 )

ular Notice should be taken of him, accordingly, it is, *Ordered*, That *Six Pounds* be laid out for him in such things as he may most want.

It was then recommended to the President, and he undertook, to prepare a Draught of what might be proper to be said to these *Indians* at giving the Present from this Government, and to lay the same before the Board to morrow Morning, at Ten a Clock, to which time the Council adjourned.

At a Council held at *Philadelphia*, October 13th, 1736.

## P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *THOMAS PENN*, Esq; Proprietary,

*JAMES LOGAN*, Esq; President.

<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	<i>Ralph Asbeton,</i>	} Esqrs;
<i>Clement Plumsted,</i>	<i>Samuel Hafell,</i>	
<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>	<i>Thomas Griffitts.</i>	

The President laid before the Board a draught of a concluding Speech to the *Indians*, which being read and approved, they were sent for, who being come and seated, the said Speech was delivered to them by the Interpreter as follows.

## O U R B R E T H R E N,

“ **F**OUR Years since at a great Treaty held here with your Chiefs, we confirmed all our former Treaties with you, we brightned the Chain, kindled our Fire to be kept always burning here for you, opened and cleared the Path between your Country and Ours, and made ourselves and you one Body and one People.

“ The Chiefs of all your Nations, being met at your great Fire or Council in the Country of the *Onondagoes*, having heard of and considered that Treaty, were so well pleased with it, that it was agreed, as you have told us, that you, who are the principal of all your Chiefs, should come down and visit us, and more fully and absolutely confirm that Treaty, which you accordingly did a few Days since at our great House in Town, in the presence and hearing of some Thousands of our People, and it was done not only in Behalf of us ourselves and yourselves, but for our Children and Children's Children, to all Generations, as long as the Sun, Moon, and Earth, endure.

“ Thus this Treaty, by which we are to become as one People, and one Body, is in the strongest Terms confirmed, never to be changed, but to be kept in everlasting Remembrance.

“ But, besides what we have already concluded, we shall now for the further brightning the same Chain, and that no Spot or Blemish may be fixt on it, speak to some Particulars for your more full Satisfaction.

“ It

## ( II )

“ It has been agreed between us, that we should suffer no Injury to be done to one of your People more than to our own, nor without punishing the Offender in the same manner as if it had been done to one of our People ; and you also engaged on your parts that you would give us the like Satisfaction for every Injury done by your People to any of ours, and whatever should happen of this kind, it should make no other Difference, than as if the Injury were done by one *English* or *White Man* to another, and so in the Case of an *Indian*. Now since you came hither, we have heard that a *White Man* one of our People, and one of yours, being both in *Liquor*, quarrelled at *Allegheny*, that the *Indian* struck at the *White Man* with a Knife, and the *white Man* gave the *Indian* some Blows on the Head, of which he died in four or five Days after ; that the *White Man* got out of the way, and hid, and when he heard the *Man* was dead, he ran away to the *Southward of Virginia* : Who was first in the Fault in this matter we know not, but we have now issued a Proclamation for apprehending the *White Man*, and proposed a Reward of *Ten Pounds*, to any one who will seize and deliver him to some Magistrate or Officer, that he may be put in Prison and tried for his Life ; if then it appears that he willfully kill'd the *Man*, he will be hanged by our Law ; if it was in Defence of his own Life, he is not to die for it, but after he is tried we shall acquaint you how the matter appeared. The first Account we had of it was in a Letter, which the Interpreter shall read and acquaint you with it ; but that Story being told only on one side, we do not depend on it for the Truth ; and thus we shall act in all such Cases, as Brethren always ought whenever they unfortunately happen.

“ We are very sensible *Rum* is the principal occasion of these Disorders, and we heartily wish any means could be possibly found to prevent the Abuse of it : You have desired us in your Discourse with the Proprietor to recall all our Traders from *Ohio* or *Allegheny* and the Branches of *Sasquehannah* ; We desired at our Treaty four Years ago that all our *Indians*, the *Delawares*, *Shawanese*, and others, should be recalled from *Ohio*, for we knew not then but there might be War with the *French*, and you know the Strength of a People consists in their being drawn close together as into one Body, and not to be scattered ; but we know not what you mean by recalling our Traders ; for you are sensible the *Indians* cannot live without being supplied with our Goods : They must have Powder and Lead to hunt, and Cloaths to keep them warm ; and if our People do not carry them, others will, from *Maryland*, *Virginia*, *Jerseys*, or other Places ; and we are sure you do not desire that *Indians* should trade with those People rather than with ours. The Traders of all Nations find the *Indians* are so universally fond of *Rum*, that they will not deal without it : We have made many Laws against carrying it ; we have ordered the *Indians* to stave the Caggs of all that is brought amongst them ; but the Woods have not Streets like *Philadelphia*, the Paths in them are endless, and they cannot be stopt, so that it will be carried either from one Country or another ; and on the other hand the *Indians* are so very fond of the *Liquor*, even the best of them, that instead of taking it from those who bring it, and staving it, they take and drink it, which is both unjust in it self, and does more Mischief ; for the Traders, if they kept

“ it,

## ( 12 )

“ it, would hand it out by stealth in small Quantities, but the *Indians* when  
 “ they take it, drink it off by great Quantities ; so that no Method we  
 “ can find will prevent the *Indians* having it, till they are so wise as to  
 “ refrain it of themselves ; and, Why are they not so wise ? they shew very  
 “ good strong Sense in other things, and why cannot they act like us ?  
 “ All of us here, and all you see of any Credit in the Place, can every Day  
 “ have as much Rum of their own to drink as they please, and yet scarce  
 “ one of us will take a Dram, at least not one Man will on any Ac-  
 “ count be drunk, no not if he were hired to it with great Sums of  
 “ Money.

“ And now to bind and confirm all these our Words, we have provided  
 “ for you the following Goods, which will be delivered to you to morrow  
 “ at the President's Lodgings, to wit.

One Hundred Pounds of Powder,  
 One Hundred & Fifty Pounds of Lead,  
 Twelve Strowd Matchcoats,  
 Twelve Kettles,  
 Twelve Blankets,  
 Twelve Duffels,

Twenty five Hatchets,  
 One Hundred Knives,  
 Thirty one Yards and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of half Thicks,  
 Two Hundred Flints,  
 One dozen Looking-Glasses,  
 Three dozen Scissars.

*With some Tobacco, Pipes, Rum, and Sugar.*

The Council rising, and the President with the Proprietor staying, the *Indians* entered into further Discourse, and said, *They had received a Message with some Wampum from the Governor of Maryland, informing them, he had received a Letter from the King of England, ordering him to see that they should not be wronged of their Lands ; that he had understood this Government had wronged them, and if they would send some of their People to him, he would take care they should be righted, he would write to the great King, who would give such Orders as that they should have Justice done them. Being asked how they received that Message, they said, the Man who brought it was here now with them, they had the Wampum and would shew it to us ; and they earnestly pressed that we would write to the Governors of Maryland and Virginia to make them Satisfaction for the Lands belonging to them (the Indians) which the People of those Governments were possessed of, that had never been purchased of them ; that all the Lands on Sasquehannah and at Chanandowa were theirs, and they must be satisfied for them ; that they had agreed with us for the Lands they now released to us, but they had never received any thing from the other Governments to the Southward, for theirs.*

They were told, That on their receiving the Present to morrow, they should be answered on these Heads ; and after being entertained by the Proprietor, they withdrew.

October 14.

The Honourable the Proprietor, the President, with some of the Council met this Forenoon, and the *Indian* Chiefs being come and seated.

Their Speaker, having some Parcels of Skins laid before him, rose ; and by the Interpreter said ;

*That*

## ( 13 )

*That they were now to speak to the Proprietor and our People for the last time this Visit; that we had spoke to them last night, and recapitulated the Heads of all that had been agreed between them and us, as the Fire, the Path, the Chain; that we are now become one People; with every other Article that had been mentioned between us: This they will remember on their Parts through all Generations, and they desire that we may remember the same as long as the Earth endures.*

*That having now brightened the Chain, and confirmed all the Articles necessary for establishing perfect Friendship between them and us, and being thus become one People, they must desire that we would be more reasonable in the Sale of our Goods, which are much dearer (they say) from our Traders than from those of New-York; that the Powder sold by the Traders of New-York, is generally found to be mixed with black Dust, so that the Bullet falls often short of the Mark thro' the Badness of the Powder; that if we would sell cheap, we might thereby draw a great Trade to this Province, far beyond that of any others, which would be to our Advantage.*

And hereupon he laid down a Bundle of Skins, and said,

*That amongst them there is never any Victuals sold, the Indians give to each other freely what they can spare; but if they come amongst our People, they can have none without paying; they admire we should take Money on this Score.*

*That having now finished, and preparing to return home, as several of them are old Men, they request that we would help them on their Journey, by assisting them with Horses and some Carriages for their Goods; that as we have many Horses and Carriages, they desire we would spare them some for their Use, who are our Brethren.*

And hereupon he laid down two Bundles of Skins;

Then proceeding, he said,

*That they must desire us to write to the Governors of Virginia and Maryland, who are possessed of their Lands, without ever considering the Indians for them, and request that we would take the Answers of those Governors, which next Spring some of their Nations will come to receive at the Fire kept for them in this Place; That they intend to apply to the great King on the other Side of the Water, and let him know what they expect on this Head from his People.*

*That if Civility at Conestogoe, should attempt to make a Sale of any Lands to us or any of our Neighbours, they must let us know, that he hath no Power to do so; and if he does any thing of the kind, they the Indians will utterly disown him.*

*That last night we told them the Woods were very dark, and that it was impossible to prevent Rum being carried to Allegheny; that if the Case be thus, we had better hinder any Persons from going thither at all, and confine our Traders to the River Satchehannah and its Branches; for as several Indian Warriours pass by Allegheny, where so much Rum is constantly to be had, they cannot but be very apprehensive that some Mischief may happen; this Consideration often troubles them.*

In Answer to all which, the Indians were thus told by the Interpreter.

“ **T**HAT as to all that had passed relating to the Chain, Road and Fire, we have now firmly and fully established and confirmed all these

## ( 14 )

“ Articles, to be kept in perpetual Remembrance by them and us, and by our Children and their Children to all Generations.

“ That as to the Dearnels of Goods carried amongst them, the Government here has no Concern in the Trade, it is entirely carried on by private People; those that go amongst the *Indians* purchase the Goods they carry with them at the easiest Rate, and we are told, that considering the Length of Way they carry them, they are sold so cheap, that these Traders can be but small Gainers; but the Prices of Goods are not under any Regulation, they get for them what they can.

“ That all the white People, tho’ they live together as Brethren, have each nevertheless distinct Properties and Interests, and none of us can demand from another Victuals or any thing of the Kind without Payment. One Man raises Corn and sells it, another raises Horses and he sells them, and thus every Man lives by his own Labour and Industry, and no one has a Right to take away from another what he thus earns for himself; and all Victuals cost Money.

“ That proper Care will be taken, as has formerly been done, to supply them with Horses and Carriages to make their Journey home as easy as possible.

“ That we would be glad to do them any Service with the Neighbouring Governments, but we do not clearly understand this Matter: As to what is said of a Letter from the King of *England*, we do not believe there is any Truth in that Report; we have indeed heard of a Letter sent up to *Sasquehannab* from the Governor of *Maryland*; if he mentions any thing in it of Orders from the King of *England*, they should send some Persons to that Government to enquire into the Matter. As to the Claim they make on the Lands of *Maryland* and *Virginia*, we know not how this is supported; the Lands on *Sasquehannab*, we believe, belong to the *Six Nations*, by the Conquest of the *Indians* of that River; but how their Pretensions are made good to the Lands to the Southward, we know not; and we ought to be better informed before we can write on this Head.

“ That we cannot prevent our Traders from going where they may best dispose of their Goods; we shall take the most proper Measures in our Power to hinder their carrying Rum in such Quantities, and we hope the *Indians* will give strict Charge to the Warriors to be cautious and prudent, that all Kind of Mischief may be prevented.

The *Indians* appearing satisfied with what had been spoke to them, said they had nothing further to offer. The Present was then delivered to them, which they received with great Thankfulness, those of each Nation alternately by themselves, and then all of them together, joining in their usual solemn Sound, when they express their Satisfaction. Having afterwards drank a friendly Glass, and taking Leave of the Proprietor, President and Council, they departed; and thus the Treaty ended.

ROBERT CHARLES, *Secr.*





THE  
TREATY  
HELD WITH THE  
INDIANS  
OF THE  
SIX NATIONS,  
AT  
PHILADELPHIA,  
In JULY, 1742.



PHILADELPHIA:

Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN, at the New-Printing-  
Office, near the Market. M,DCC,XLIII.



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## T H E T R E A T Y, &c.

**T**HE Deputies of the Six Nations having, at their last Visit, agreed to release their Claim to all the Land on both Sides of the River *Saquebanab*, as far South as this Province extends, and to the Northward to those called the *Endless Mountains* or *Kittoctinny Hills*; in Consideration whereof, they then received a large Quantity of valuable Indian Goods for the Lands situate on the Eastern Side of the said River, but declined at that Time to receive any for those on the Western Side of the said River, chusing to defer the same till another Visit; A large Number arrived from these Nations at *Philadelphia*, on *Wednesday* the 30th of *June*, with Deputies duly impowered to receive the said Goods; and acquainted the Governor, that being weary from the Fatigue of their long Journey, they should crave three or four Days to rest themselves before they proceeded to their Business: In the mean time they would wait on the Governor to discourse, according to their usual Method, about News and other Occurrences; which the Governor readily agreed to, and ask'd them when they would chuse to pay their first Visit; which they desiring might be on *Friday* the 2d of *July* in the Afternoon, the Council was accordingly summon'd, and met at Mr. *Logan's* House, where were

### P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieut. Governor.

<i>James Logan,</i>	<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	}	Esqs;
<i>Clement Plumsted,</i>	<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>		
<i>Samuel Hasell,</i>	<i>Ralph Asketon,</i>		
<i>Abraham Taylor,</i>	<i>Robert Strettell,</i>		

The Chiefs of the *Six Nations*, with the Chiefs of the *Shawanese*.

*CANASSATEGO*, the *Onondago* Chief, Speaker.

*CONRAD WEISER*, Interpreter.

The Governor opened the Conference as follows.

**BRETHREN,**

‘ The Proprietor having purchased certain Lands from your Nations about Six Years ago, a Moiety of what was agreed to be given in Consideration  
‘ of

‘ of that Purchase was at that Time delivered to them, and the other being  
 ‘ at their own Desire left in the Proprietor’s Hands, He pressed you by *Shi-*  
 ‘ *kalamy* to send last Year for it, and would have been glad to have seen you  
 ‘ and taken you by the Hand before his Departure. But as the Design of  
 ‘ this Meeting is to hear your News and converse together in a free and friend-  
 ‘ ly Manner, I shall say no more about the Goods than that they lye ready at  
 ‘ the Proprietor’s House, and will be delivered when you shall have suffici-  
 ‘ ently rested from the Fatigue of your Journey.

The Chief of the *Onondagoes* spoke

‘ *BRETHREN,*

‘ We propose to rest four Days, and then come to the main Business. At  
 ‘ present we are at a private Conference about News, and have something of  
 ‘ this Sort to mention to our Brother *Onas*.” And on the Governor’s signify-  
 ing they would be glad to know what it was, the Chief proceeded.

‘ *BRETHREN,*

‘ It is our Way when we come to our Brethren, or any other Persons, whom  
 ‘ we live in strict Friendship with, to remove all Obstructions to a good Un-  
 ‘ derstanding; with this View we are to inform you of a Piece of disagree-  
 ‘ ble News that happen’d in our Journey.—Some White People living at  
 ‘ a Place called *Conegocbeegoe*, whose Names we cannot tell, nor whether  
 ‘ they belong to this or the neighbouring Government, but one of them, as  
 ‘ we heard, had his House burnt over his Head some Years ago, and he was  
 ‘ brought down a Prisoner and committed to the Goal of this City: These  
 ‘ People lighting of our young Warriours, as they were hunting, made some  
 ‘ Proposals about the Purchasing of Land from them, and our young Men  
 ‘ being indiscreet, and unacquainted with Publick Business, were foolish enough  
 ‘ to hearken to them, and to receive five Duffil Strowds for two Plantations  
 ‘ on the River *Cobongoronto*. A *Coneflogoe* Indian, and a *French* Indian, and  
 ‘ some others that were in Company had three Duffil Strowds, and went a-  
 ‘ way with them; and our young Men carried off the other two. As soon as  
 ‘ this came to our Knowledge, we sent for our Warriours, and after examin-  
 ‘ ing and rebuking them severely, we took away their two Strowds, and  
 ‘ publicly censured them for exposing us to our Brethren of *Pennsylvania*  
 ‘ in doing a Thing so inconsistent with our Engagements to them; “You are,  
 ‘ said we aloud, that all our People might hear and take Notice, to know and  
 ‘ remember, that the Six Nations have obliged themselves to sell none of the  
 ‘ Land that falls within the Province of *Pennsylvania* to any other but our  
 ‘ Brother *Onas*, and that to sell Lands to any other is an high Breach of  
 ‘ the League of Friendship.” Brethren, this rash Proceeding of our young  
 ‘ Men makes us ashamed: We always mean well, and shall perform faith-  
 ‘ fully what we have promised: And we assure you, this Affair was transac-  
 ‘ ted in the Manner we have related, without our Privy or Consent. And  
 ‘ that you may be fully convinced of this, and of the Sincerity of our Intenti-  
 ‘ ons, we have brought you these Two Strowds [ *here he presented two Red*  
 ‘ *Strowds to the Governor* ] they are the very Strowds our foolish young Men  
 ‘ received; we took them from them, and we give them to you to return to  
 ‘ those white People who made the Bargain, and desire when the Strowds  
 ‘ are

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\* are returned to them, they may be told what we now say, and that we shall  
 \* not confirm such Bargains nor any other that may interfere with our En-  
 \* gagements to our Brother *Onas*.

The Governor then spoke :

\* *BRETHREN,*

\* I thank you for this Piece of News ; you have taken this Matter perfect-  
 \* ly right. All Bargaining for Land within this Province, is, to be sure, a  
 \* manifest Breach of your Contract with the Proprietors, and what we know  
 \* you will not countenance. We have hitherto found the *Six Nations* faith-  
 \* ful to their Engagements, and this is a fresh Instance of their Punctuality.  
 \* You could not help these Mistakes of your young Men ; they were not  
 \* done in your Presence : But as several Inconveniences may arise from these  
 \* kind of clandestine Sales, or from any such loose Sales of Land by your  
 \* People, we desire you will, on your Return home, give publick Notice to all  
 \* your Warriours not to bargain for any Land ; or if they do, that you will  
 \* not confirm such Bargains ; and that this very Affair, together with what  
 \* you have done therein, may be particularly reported to all your Nation as-  
 \* sembled in Council.

The *Onondago* Chief promised to give such publick Notice ; and de-  
 siring Liberty to mend his former Speech, he proceeded :

\* *BRETHREN,*

\* I forgot one Circumstance : Our People who pretended to sell the Land,  
 \* demanded a Belt of Wampum of the Buyers to carry to their Chiefs ; and  
 \* on their declaring they had no Wampum, our Warriours said, they would  
 \* not answer that their Chiefs would confirm this Bargain, since they never  
 \* did any thing of this Nature without Wampum.

The Governor, after a short Pause, spoke :

\* *BRETHREN of the Six Nations,*

\* I shall take this Opportunity to relate to you a Piece of disagreeable News I re-  
 \* ceived some Days ago in a Letter from *Le Tort* the Indian Trader, at *Allegheny*,  
 \* who says, “ That in *May* last some Indians of the *Toway* Nation, suppos-  
 \* ed by us to be the *Twightwees*, in their Return from War, called and stay-  
 \* ed some Time with the *Shawanese* ; who being asked, and denying they  
 \* had brought either Scalps or Prisoners, the *Shawanese* suspecting them, had  
 \* the Curiosity to search their Bags, and finding two Scalps in them that by  
 \* the Softness of the Hair did not feel like Indian Scalps, they wash’d them  
 \* clean and found them to be the Scalps of some Christians. On this Disco-  
 \* very, the *Twightwees* were so much ashamed, that they stole away from  
 \* their Town in the Night-time ; and coming, as they afterwards un-  
 \* derstood, to a little Village belonging to the *Shawanese*, they told our Peo-  
 \* ple that their Hearts were full of Grief ; for, as they came along the Road,  
 \* they found it all bloody ; and having good Cause to believe it was made  
 \* bloody with the Blood of some of the White Brethren, they had very  
 \* sorrowfully swept the Road ; and desired them to inform the Governor of  
 \* *Pensylvania* of their (the *Twightwees*) Grief ; and how they had swept  
 \* B “ the

“ the Road clean. ‘ *Le Tort* adds, on Behalf of the *Shawanese*, “ That they were much troubled and grieved at this unfortunate Accident ; and prayed, as they had no Concern in it, more than by being Instruments to discover it, their Brethren would not blame them, nor suffer a Misunderstanding to arise between them on this Account : They would sweep the Road clean, and wipe all the Blood away ; and desired their Brethren would be satisfied with this, and not weep too much for a Misfortune that might not happen again as long as the Sun and Moon shone.”

‘ The Person who delivered me *Le Tort*’s Letter, brought this Bundle of Skins as a Present to me ; but I told the Messenger, I would not meddle with it ; he might leave it if he pleased : The Affair appear’d to me in a bad Light, and I would represent it to the *Six Nations*, who were expected in Town every Day. This is the Fact as I have it from *Le Tort* : I desire to be inform’d if you know any thing of this Matter ; and if you do not, that you will make diligent Enquiry who committed the Murder, and who are the unhappy Sufferers, and assist us to obtain Satisfaction, if it shall appear to be any of our Fellow-Subjects that have been treated in this Manner.

*To enforce this Request, I present you with this String of Wampum.*

The *Onondago* Chief, in Reply, said :

#### B R E T H R E N,

‘ We take this Information kindly at your Hands ; we will take this String of Wampum Home with us to our Lodgings, and there consult about the most regular and proper Steps to be taken by us to answer your Expectations ; and when we have duly considered the Matter, we will return you an Answer.

Upon this the Governor put an End to the Conference ; and calling for Wine and other Liquors, according to the *Indian* Custom, after a decent and cheerful Entertainment, the *Indians* withdrew.

At a COUNCIL held at the Proprietor’s House, *July 5. 1742.*

#### P R E S E N T

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieut. Governor.

*James Logan,*  
*Clement Plumsted,* } Esqrs;

With several Gentlemen of the Town.

*The Chiefs of the Six Nations.*

It being judg’d proper, at this critical Time, when we are in daily Expectation of a *French* War, to sound the *Indians*, and discover what Dependence we might have on them, in case their Aid should be wanted ; an handsome



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some Dinner was provided for their Chiefs; and after they had made an hearty Meal, and drank his Majesty's Health, the Proprietors, and the Health of the *Six Nations*, the Chiefs gave the solemn Cry, in Testimony of their Thanks, for the Honour done them. And soon after the Governor began, in a free Way, to enquire for what Reason the *Senecas* were not come down, since they had an equal Right to a Share of the Goods with the other Nations.—*Canassatego*, their Speaker, said, 'The *Senecas* were in great Distress, on Account of a Famine that raged in their Country, which had reduced them to such Want, that a Father had been obliged to kill two of his Children to preserve his own and the rest of his Family's Lives; and they could not now come down, but had given Directions about their Share of the Goods.'—The Governor express'd his Concern for the unhappy Circumstances of their Brethren of the *Seneca* Nation; and, after a short Respite, enquired if any of their Deputies were then at *Canada*, and whether the *French* Governor was making any warlike Preparations. And on their answering, *Yes*; the Governor said, with a smiling, pleasant Countenance, 'I suppose if the *French* should go to War with us, you will join them.' The *Indians* conferr'd together for some Time, and then *Canassatego*, in a cheerful lively Manner, made Answer. — 'We assure you, the Governor of *Canada* pays our Nations great Court at this Time, well knowing of what Consequence we are to the *French* Interest: He has already told us, he was uncovering the Hatchet and sharpening it, and hoped, if he should be obliged to lift it up against the *English*, their Nations would remain neuter and assist neither Side. — But we will now speak plainly to our Brethren: Why should we, who are one Flesh with you, refuse to help you, whenever you want our Assistance?— We have continued a long Time in the strictest League of Amity and Friendship with you, and we shall always be faithful and true to you our old and good Allies.—The Governor of *Canada* talks a great deal, but ten of his Words do not go so far as one of yours.—We do not look towards them; We look towards you; and you may depend on our Assistance.' Whilst the *Onondago* Chief made this open and hearty Declaration, all the other *Indians* made frequently that particular Kind of Noise which is known to be a Mark of Approbation.—The Governor bid the Interpreter tell *Canassatego*, 'He did not set on foot this Enquiry from any Suspicion he had of the *Six Nations* wanting a due Regard for the *English*.—Our Expectance of their Honour and Faith would not permit us to think any other of them than that they would esteem our Friends their Friends, and our Enemies their Enemies, agreeable to the strict Union which had ever subsisted between us.—As to the Governor of *Canada*, they need not mind what he said.—The *English*, on equal Terms, had beat the *French*, and could beat them again: And were they but to consider the Advantages which the *English* have, by possessing so many large and populous Countries and so many good Ports on the Continent of *America*, they would soon see who had most Reason to fear a War, the *French* or the *English*.

Here the Conversation drop'd; and, after another Glass of Wine, the *Indians* resumed the Discourse, by asking whether their Brethren had not been for some time engaged in a War with the King of *Spain*, and what Successes they had met with.

The

The Governor told them, the King of *Great Britain* lived in an Island, and being surrounded with the Sea, his chief Strength lay in his Ships; in which he was so much superior to his Enemies, that they were seldom to be met with on the broad Ocean, but sculk'd and hid themselves, only venturing out now and then; and whenever they did they were almost sure to be taken; and that the King of *Great Britain* had, with his Ships, beat down or taken several of the *Spaniards* Great Forts in *America*.—The *Indians* said, they were pleased to hear their Brethren were an Over-match for their Enemies, and wish'd them good Success.

The Governor then inquired into the State and Condition of the Nations to the Westward of the Great Lakes, and whether they had any Warriours then in those Countries? Whether they had concluded Peace with the Southern *Indians*? And whether they had heard what their Deputies had done at *Albany*?

They made Answer: That they had always Abundance of their Men out amongst the Nations situate to the West of their Lakes.—That they had kindled a Fire with a vast many Nations, some whereof were Tributaries, and they had a good Understanding with all.—They set out from their own Country in Company with two Sets of Deputies, one going to hold a Treaty with the Southern *Indians*, and they believed a Peace would be concluded: The other going to meet the Governor of *New-York*, at *Albany*; but they could not tell what had been done at either Place.—On their Return, they were to hold a General Council, and would inform their Brethren of these Particulars.

Then the Governor put an End to the Conference, by telling the *Indians* the Goods would be delivered to them at a Council to be held to morrow Afternoon at the Meeting-House.

At a COUNCIL held in the Meeting-House, *Philadelphia*, July 6. 1742.

# P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieut. Governor.

<i>James Logan,</i>	<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	} Esqrs;
<i>Clement Plumsted,</i>	<i>Ralph Ashton,</i>	
<i>Abraham Taylor,</i>	<i>Robert Strettell.</i>	

*CANASSATEGO*, Chief of the *Onondagoes*, Speaker.

*SHICALAMY*; and a great Number of *Indians*,  
whose Names are as follows, viz.

ONONTOGOES.

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## ONONTOGOES.

*Sawegaty,* } Counsellors.  
*Caxbayion,* }  
*Saguyassatba,*  
*Kayadogbratie* alias *Slanaghquasy.*  
*Rotier-wawughton,*  
*Tokaugbaah,*  
*Tiorugbwaghtbe,*  
*Tokano-ungob,*  
*Arony-oony,*  
*Tobanobawughton,*  
*Tiogbwatoony,*  
*Auugbrabysey.*

## CAIYOUQUOS.

*Sabugh-sowa,* } Chiefs.  
*Tobatgaghtbus,* }  
*Tokany-efus,*  
*Runbo-bibio,*  
*Kanadogbary,*  
*Zior-aghquaty.*  
*Sagu-iugbwatba,* alias *Cadcaradafey.*  
*Sca-yenties,*  
*Tats-beghteb,*  
*Alligh-wabeis,*  
*Tayo-quario,*  
*Hogh degb runtu,*  
*Rotebn Haghtyackon,* Captain.  
*Sawoahiefelbobaa,*  
*Sagughja-ock,*  
*Uwantakeraa,*  
*Horubot,*  
*Ofoghquaa,*  
*Tuyanoeogon.*

## ANOYIUTS or ONEIDAS.

*Sariflaquob,* }  
*Ungquaterughiatbe* alias } Chiefs.  
*Sbikelimo,* }  
*Tottowakerba,*  
*Taragbkoerus,*  
*Onughkallydawwy,* a noted young Chief.  
*Onughnaxqua,* Chief.  
*Tawyiakaarat,*  
*Tobatbuyongocbtba,*  
*Sugbnakaarat,*  
*Taghneghdoerus,*  
*Tokanyiadaroeyon,*  
*Sagogiughyatba,*  
*Rabebius,*  
*Tokanusoeogon.*

## JENONTOWANOS or SENECA.

*Karugh iagh Ragbquy,* Captain.  
*Tabn beentus,*  
*Onontyiack.*

## TUSCARROROS.

*Sawontka,* } Chiefs.  
*Ti-ieroes,* }  
*Cloghstowax,*  
*Tokaryboegon,* Captain.  
*Ogbioghseb,*  
*Tieglebweghsen,*  
*Tougrotba,*  
*Torugbianego,*  
*Ot-quebig,*  
*Squagbky,*  
*Sayadyio,*  
*Onughjowughton,*  
*Cherigh wajtbo,*  
*Aghsunteries,*  
*Tion ogh scogbtba,*  
*Saligh wanaghson,*  
*Ohn-wadafey,*  
*Tocar-eber* [died since at *Tulpebokin.*]  
*Tobanatakqua,*  
*Kanybaag,*

## SHAWANOES.

*Webweblaky,* Chief.  
*Afet teywa,*  
*Afogbqua,*  
*Maya minickysy,*  
*Wawya Beefeny.*  
*Canestogo Indians that speak the*  
*Onayiut's Language.*  
*Tior Haafery,* Chief.  
*Tanigh wackerau,*  
*Karba Cawyat,*  
*Kayen quily quo.*

CANOYIAS or NANTIKOKES  
of Canestogo.

*Des-sebeg,*  
*Ichqua que beck,*  
*Quesamaag,*  
*Ayiok-ius.*

## DELAWARES of Shamokin.

*Olumapies,* } Chiefs.  
*Lingebanoah,* }  
*Kelly macquan,*  
*Quitie-yquant,*  
*Pistquinton,*  
*Nena chy baut.*

## DELAWARES from the Forks.

*Onutpe,* } Chiefs.  
*Lawye quobwon al. Nutimus,* }  
*Towegbkappy.*

*Cornelius Spring,* and others.

CONRAD WEISER, CORNELIUS  
SPRING, Interpreters.

And a great Number of the Inhabitants of *Philadelpbia.*

The Governor, having commanded Silence, spoke as follows :

*Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations,*

‘ Six Years ago a Number of your Chiefs obliged us with a Visit, when they agreed, on Behalf of your Nations, to the Release of certain Lands on both Sides the River *Saquebannab*, to the Southward of the *Endless-Mountains*, and within the Limits and Bounds of the King's Grant of this Province. In Consideration of which, a certain Quantity of Goods was agreed on and delivered as a full Satisfaction for the said Lands lying on the Eastern Side of the said River : And for the Lands on the Western Side of the said River, you desired the Payment should be deferr'd till another Opportunity. These Goods, which are exactly the same in Quantity as those you received the last Time the Chiefs of your Nations were here, have been ready a considerable Time, and kept in Expectation of your Coming for them : And now you are come down fully impowered by your respective Councils to receive them, we are well pleased to deliver them : Leaving it to you to make a fair and equal Division of them amongst yourselves. We are sorry for the Absence of our Brethren the *Senecas*, and much more so that it should be owing to their Distress at Home by a Famine that rages in their Country :—A Famine so great that you tell us a Father has been obliged to sacrifice one Part of his Family, even his own Children, for the Support and Preservation of himself, and the other Part.—We heartily commiserate their Condition, and do not doubt but you will do them fair and ample Justice in the Disposal of their Part of the Goods in such Manner as they have instructed you. You shall now hear the List of the Goods read to you.

Here, by the Governor's Order, the List of the Goods was read over, *viz.*

500 Pounds of Powder.	60 Kettles.
600 Pounds of Lead.	100 Tobacco-Tongs.
45 Guns.	100 Scissars.
60 Strowd-Matchcoats.	500 Awl-Blades.
100 Blankets.	120 Combs.
100 Duffil Matchcoats.	2000 Needles.
200 Yards Half-thick.	1000 Flints.
100 Shirts.	24 Looking-Glasses.
40 Hats.	2 Pounds of Vermilion.
40 Pair Shoes & Buckles.	100 Tin-Pots.
40 Pair Stockings.	1000 Tobacco-Pipes.
100 Hatchets.	200 Pounds of Tobacco.
500 Knives.	24 Dozen of Gartering, and
100 Hoes.	25 Gallons of Rum.

Then the Governor told them that the Goods, of which the Particulars had been just read to them, were in the Meeting-House, and would be sent to whatever Place they would direct.

The Governor then proceeded :

*BRETHREN,*

‘ You have often heard of the Care that your great and good Friend and Brother *William Penn* took at all Times to cultivate a perfect good Harmony with all the *Indians* : Of this your Nations have ever been fully sensible ; but more especially a Number of your Chiefs, about ten Years ago, when

## ( II )

‘ when, on the Arrival of a Son of your said great Friend *William Penn*, large  
 ‘ and valuable Presents were exchanged by us with you; a new Road was made  
 ‘ and clear’d; a new Fire kindled; and the Chain of Friendship made  
 ‘ stronger so as to last while the Sun and Moon endure.

‘ And now we cannot but congratulate ourselves that your Coming should  
 ‘ happen at a Time when we are in daily Expectation of a War being de-  
 ‘ clared between the King of *England*, and the *French* King, well knowing  
 ‘ that should such a War happen, it must very sensibly affect you, considering  
 ‘ your Situation in the Neighbourhood of *Canada*. Your Coming at this  
 ‘ Juncture is particularly fortunate, since it gives us an Opportunity of  
 ‘ mentioning several Things that may be necessary to be settled between  
 ‘ People so strictly and closely united as we are.---An Union not to be ex-  
 ‘ pect’d by any thing less than the affectionate Regards which Children of  
 ‘ the same Parents bear for each other, as conceiving ourselves to be one  
 ‘ Flesh and one People.

‘ The utmost Care therefore ought mutually to be taken by us on both  
 ‘ Sides, that the Road between us be kept perfectly clear and open, and no  
 ‘ Lets nor the least Obstruction be suffered to lie in the Way; or if any  
 ‘ should by Accident be found, that may hinder our free Intercourse and  
 ‘ Correspondence, it must forthwith be removed.

*To inforce this, We lay down a String of Wampum.*

‘ In next Place, We, on our Part, shall enlarge our Fire that burns be-  
 ‘ tween us. We shall provide more Fewel to increase it and make it burn  
 ‘ brighter and clearer, and give a stronger and more lasting Light and  
 ‘ Warmth.

*In Evidence of our sincere Intentions, We lay down this Belt  
 of Wampum.*

‘ In the last Place, considering the Obligations we are mutually under by  
 ‘ our several Treaties, “ That we should hear with our Ears for you, and  
 ‘ you hear with your Ears for us.” We shall at all Times very willingly  
 ‘ give you the earliest and best Intelligence of any Designs that may be form’d  
 ‘ to your Disadvantage.---And if you discover any Preparations that can hurt  
 ‘ us, we desire you will immediately dispatch some suitable Person in whom  
 ‘ we can place a Confidence, to give us a proper Information.

*To inforce this Request, as well as to brighten the Chain, we lay  
 down this other Belt of Wampum.*

On the Governor’s concluding the Speech, the solemn Cry by way of  
 Approbation was repeated by the *Indians* as many Times as there were Na-  
 tions present; and then *Canassatego* rose up and spake.

‘ *BRETHREN,*

‘ We thank you for your kind Speech: What you have said is very agree-  
 ‘ able to us; and to-morrow when we have deliberated on the several Mat-  
 ‘ ters recommended to us, we will give you our Answer. We desire, as  
 ‘ our Time will be wholly taken up in Council, you will order the Goods  
 ‘ to be carried back to the Proprietaries to prevent their being lost, and that  
 ‘ they may continue there till we call for them.

At

( 10 )

At a COUNCIL held in the Meeting-House, July 7. 1742.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable GEORGE THOMAS, Esq; Lieut. Governor.

James Logan,	Asses' Preside,	} Esqrs,
Thomas Lawrence,	Samuel Hajell,	
Abraham Taylor,	Robert Strettoll,	

CANASSATE EGO's Speech on Behalf of the Six Nations.

BRETHREN, the Governor and Council, and all present,

‘ According to our Promise we now propose to return you an Answer to  
‘ the several Things mentioned to us Yesterday, and shall beg Leave to  
‘ speak to Publick Affairs first, tho’ they were what you spoke to last. On  
‘ this Head you Yesterday put us in Mind, first, “Of William Penn’s early and  
‘ constant Care to cultivate Friendship with all the *Indians*, of the Treaty  
‘ we held with one of his Sons, about ten Years ago; and of the Necessity  
‘ there is at this Time of keeping the Roads between us clear and free from  
‘ all Obstructions.” We are all very sensible of the kind Regard that good  
‘ Man *William Penn* had for all the *Indians*, and cannot but be pleased to  
‘ find that his Children have the same. We well remember the Treaty you  
‘ mention held with his Son on his Arrival here, by which we confirmed our  
‘ League of Friendship that is to last as long as the Sun and Moon endure :  
‘ In Consequence of this, We, on our Part, shall preserve the Road free  
‘ from all Incumbrances; in Confirmation whereof we lay down this String  
‘ of Wampum.

‘ You in the next Place said you would enlarge the Fire and make it burn  
‘ brighter, which we are pleased to hear you mention; and assure you, we  
‘ shall do the same, by adding to it more Fuel, that it may still flame out  
‘ more strongly than ever: In the last Place, you were pleased to say that  
‘ we are bound, by the strictest Leagues, to watch for each others Preserva-  
‘ tion; that we should hear with our Ears for you, and you hear with your  
‘ Ears for us: This is equally agreeable to us; and we shall not fail to  
‘ give you early Intelligence whenever any thing of Consequence comes  
‘ to our Knowledge: And to encourage you to do the same, and to  
‘ nourish in your Hearts what you have spoke to us with your  
‘ Tongues, about the Renewal of our Amity and the Brightening of the  
‘ Chain of Friendship; we confirm what we have said with another Belt  
‘ of Wampum.

‘ BRETHREN,

‘ We received from the Proprietors, yesterday, some Goods in Considera-  
‘ tion of our Release of the Lands on the West-Side of *Sasquehannah*, It is  
‘ true we have the full Quantity according to Agreement; but if the Pro-  
‘ prietor had been here himself, we think, in Regard of our Numbers and  
‘ Poverty, he would have made an Addition to them.---If the Goods were  
‘ only to be divided amongst the *Indians* present, a single Person would have  
‘ but a small Portion; but if you consider what Numbers are left behind,  
‘ equally entitled with us to a Share, there will be extremely little. We  
‘ therefore desire, if you have the Keys of the Proprietor’s Chest, you will  
‘ open it, and take out a little more for us.

We



## ( 13 )

‘ We know our Lands are now become more valuable. The white People think we do not know their Value ; but we are sensible that the Land is everlasting, and the few Goods we receive for it are soon worn out and gone. For the Future we will sell no Lands but when Brother *Onas* is in the Country ; and we will know beforehand the Quantity of the Goods we are to receive. Besides, we are not well used with respect to the Lands still unfold by us. Your People daily settle on these Lands, and spoil our Hunting.---We must insist on your Removing them, as you know they have no Right to settle to the Northward of *Kittochtimny-Hills*.---In particular, we renew our Complaints against some People who are settled at *Juniata*, a Branch of *Sasquabannab*, and all along the Banks of that River, as far as *Mabaniay* ; and desire they may be forthwith made to go off the Land ; for they do great Damage to our Cousins the *Delawares*.

‘ We have further to observe, with respect to the Lands lying on the West Side of *Sasquabannab*, that tho’ Brother *Onas* (meaning the Proprietor) has paid us for what his People possess, yet some Parts of that Country have been taken up by Persons whose Place of Residence is to the South of this Province, from whom we have never received any Consideration. This Affair was recommended to you by our Chiefs at our last Treaty ; and you then, at our earnest Desire, promised to write a Letter to that Person who has the Authority over those People, and to procure us his Answer : As we have never heard from you on this Head, we want to know what you have done in it. If you have not done any thing, we now renew our Request, and desire you will inform the Person whose People are seated on our Lands, that that Country belongs to us, in Right of Conquest ; we having bought it with our Blood, and taken it from our Enemies in fair War ; and we expect, as Owners of that Land, to receive such a Consideration for it as the Land is worth. We desire you will press him to send us a positive Answer : Let him say *Yes* or *No* ; If he says *Yes*, we will treat with him ; if *No*, we are able to do ourselves Justice ; and we will do it, by going to take Payment ourselves.

‘ It is customary with us to make a Present of Skins whenever we renew our Treaties. We are ashamed to offer our Brethren so few ; but your Horses and Cows have eat the Grass our Deer used to feed on. This has made them scarce, and will, we hope, plead in Excuse for our not bringing a larger Quantity : If we could have spared more we would have given more ; but we are really poor ; and desire you’ll not consider the Quantity, but, few as they are, accept them in Testimony of our Regard.

*Here they gave the Governor a Bundle of Skins.*

The Governor immediately replied :

‘ B R E T H R E N,

‘ We thank you for the many Declarations of Respect you have given us in this solemn Renewal of our Treaties : We receive, and shall keep your String and Belts of Wampum, as Pledges of your Sincerity, and desire those we gave you may be carefully preserved, as Testimonies of ours.

‘ In Answer to what you say about the Proprietaries.---They are all absent, and have taken the Keys of their Chest with them ; so that we cannot,

D

not,

## ( 14 )

‘ not, on their Behalf, enlarge the Quantity of Goods: Were they here, they might, perhaps, be more generous; but we cannot be liberal for them.---The Government will, however, take your Request into Consideration, and, in Regard to your Poverty, may perhaps make you a Present, I but just mention this now, intending to refer this Part of your Speech to be answered at our next Meeting.

‘ The Number of Guns, as well as every thing else, answers exactly with the Particulars specified in your Deed of Conveyance, which is more than was agreed to be given you. It was your own Sentiments, that the Lands on the West Side of *Sajquabannab* were not so valuable as those on the East; and an Abatement was to be made, proportionable to the Difference in Value: But the Proprietor overlooked this, and ordered the full Quantity to be delivered, which you will look on as a Favour.

‘ It is very true, that Lands are of late become more valuable: but what raises their Value? Is it not entirely owing to the Industry and Labour used by the white People in their Cultivation and Improvement? Had not they come amongst you, these Lands would have been of no Use to you, any further than to maintain you. And is there not, now you have sold so much, enough left for all the Purposes of Living?---What you say of the Goods, that they are soon worn out, is applicable to every thing; but you know very well, that they cost a great deal Money; and the Value of Land is no more than it is worth in Money.

‘ On your former Complaints against People’s Settling the Lands on *Juniata*, and from thence all along on the River *Sajquabannab* as far as *Mabaniaby*, some Magistrates were sent expressly to remove them; and we thought no Persons would presume to stay after that.

Here they interrupted the Governor, and said: — “ These Persons who were sent did not do their Duty: So far from removing the People, they made Surveys for themselves, and they are in League with the Trespassers. We desire more effectual Methods may be used, and honest Persons employ’d.

Which the Governor promised, and then proceeded:

‘ *BRETHREN,*

‘ According to the Promise made at our last Treaty with you, Mr. *Logan*, who was at that Time President, did write to the Governor of *Maryland*, that he might make you Satisfaction for such of your Lands as his People had taken up; but did not receive one Word from him upon that Head. I will write to him again, and endeavour to procure you a satisfactory Answer. We do not doubt but he will do you Justice: But we exhort you to be careful not to exercise any Acts of Violence towards his People, as they likewise are our Brethren, and Subjects of the same Great King; and therefore Violence towards them must be productive of very evil Consequences.

‘ I shall conclude what I have to say at this Time with Acknowledgments for your Present; which is very agreeable to us, from the Expressions of Regard used by you in presenting it: Gifts of this Nature receiving their Value

## ( 15 )

• Value from the Affection of the Giver, and not from the Quantity or Price  
• of the Thing given.

At a COUNCIL held at *Philadelphia*, July 8. 1742.

## P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieut. Governor.

<i>James Logan,</i>	<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	} Esqrs;
<i>Clement Plumsted,</i>	<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>	
<i>Samuel Haffell,</i>	<i>Ralph Abbeton,</i>	
<i>Abraham Taylor,</i>	<i>Robert Strettell.</i>	

The Board taking into Consideration, whether it be proper or not at this Time to make a Present to the *Indians* of the Six Nations now in Town, in Return for their Present to this Government at Yesterday's Treaty :

*Resolved,*

That it is highly fit and proper that a Present be made to the said *Indians* at this Time.

And it is the Opinion of this Board, that the said Present should be of the Value of £. 500, or at least £. 300.

And it is recommended to Mr. *Logan*, Mr. *Preston*, and Mr. *Lawrence*, to acquaint Mr. *Kinsey*, the Speaker of the Assembly, with the Opinion of this Board ; and that they request him to confer with such other Members of Assembly as are in Town, and report their Sentiments thereupon.

The Board taking into Consideration the Threats exprefs'd by the *Indians*, at the Treaty yesterday, against the Inhabitants of *Maryland*, settled on certain Lands on the West Side of *Sasquabannah*, which the *Indians* claim, and for which they require Satisfaction ; and considering, that should those Threats, in any sort, be put in Execution, not only the Inhabitants of *Maryland*, but of this Government, and all His Majesty's Subjects on the Northern Continent of *America*, may thereby be involved in much Trouble : It is the Opinion of this Board, that the Governor write to the Governor of *Maryland* without Delay, to inform him of the *Indians* Complaints and Threats, and to request a satisfactory Answer ; and that his Letter be sent by a special Messenger, at the Publick Expence.

At a COUNCIL held July 9. 1742.

## P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieut. Governor,

<i>James Logan,</i>	<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	} Esqrs.
<i>Clement Plumsted,</i>	<i>Ralph Abbeton,</i>	
<i>Samuel Haffell,</i>	<i>Thomas Lawrence.</i>	
<i>Robert Strettell,</i>		

And Mr. *Peters*.

The Governor informed the Board, that the *Indian* Chiefs dining with him Yesterday, after Dinner delivered their Answer to two Affairs of Consequence ;

The

The first related to the violent Battery committed on *William Webb*, in the Forks of *Delaware*, whereby his Jaw-Bone was broke, and his Life greatly endangered, by an unknown *Indian*. *Canassatego* repeating the Message delivered to the *Six Nations* by *Shickelamy*, in the Year 1740, with a String of Wampum, said in Answer : ‘ The *Six Nations* had made diligent Enquiry into the Affair, and had found out the *Indian* who had committed the Fact; he lived near *Asepus*, and had been examined and severely reprov’d : And they hoped, as *William Webb* was recovered, the Governor would not expect any further Punishment ; and therefore they returned the String of Wampum received from their Brethren, by the Hand of *Shickelamy*, in Token that they had fully comply’d with their Request.

I thank’d them for their Care ; but reminded them, that, tho’ the Man did not die, yet he lay a long Time in extreme Misery, and would never recover the free Use of his Speech, and was rendered less able to get his Livelihood, and in such Cases the *English* Laws obliged the Assailant to make good all Damages, besides paying for the Pain endured.— But as the *Indian* was, in all Probability, poor and unable to make Satisfaction, I told them, that for their Sake I would forgive him ; adding, had *Webb* died I make no Doubt but you would have put the *Indian* to Death, just as we did two of our People who had killed an *Indian* ; we caused them to be hung on a Gallows, in the Presence of many Hundreds of our People, to deter all others from doing the like. *Canassatego* made me this Reply : ‘ The *Indians* know no Punishment but Death ; they have no such Thing as pecuniary Mulcts ; if a Man be guilty of a Crime, he is either put to Death, or the Fault is overlook’d. We have often heard of your Hanging-up those two Persons ; but as none of our *Indians* saw the Men die, many believe they were not hanged, but transported to some other Colony : And it would be satisfactory to the *Indians*, if, for the Future, some of them be sent for, to be Witnesses of such Executions.’ I assured them, that whoever gave them that Information, abused them ; for the Persons certainly suffered Death, and in the Presence of all the People.

*Canassatego* then proceeded to give an Answer to what was said to them the 2d Instant relating to *Le Tort’s* Letter : ‘ That they had, in Council, considered in what Manner the Matter recommended to them ought to be conducted ; and they were of Opinion, that as the *Shawanese*, not the *Twightwys* (for they knew so much of it that the People were of the *Twightwy* Nation in whose Bags the Scalps were found) had sent me a Present of Skins, I should, in return, send them a Blanket or a Kettle, and with it a very sharp Message, that tho’ they had done well in sweeping the Road from Blood, yet that was but a small Part of their Duty ; they ought not to have suffered the *Twightwys*, after their Lie and the Discovery of the Scalps, to have left them, ’til they had given a full and true Account how they came by them, whose Scalps they were, and in what Place, and for what Reason the Men were kill’d ; and when they had been fully satisfied of all these Particulars, then it was their Duty to have given Information to the Government where the white People lived, that the Murderers might be complained against, and punished by the Nation they belong’d to : And as the *Shawanese* had omitted to perform the Part of Brethren, that I should reprove them for it, and charge them to make Amends for their Neglect, by using all possible Expedition to come at the Knowledge of these Things, and to aid their Brethren the white People in obtaining Justice.

## ( 17 )

The Minutes of the preceding Council being read, Mr. *Logan*, in Pursuance of the Board's Direction of Yesterday, reported, on Behalf of himself and the other Gentlemen to whom it was recommended, that they had confer'd with Mr. *Kinsey*, and requested him to consult the other Members of the Assembly concerning the making a Present to the *Indians*; and that Mr. *Kinsey* having collected the Sentiments of several Members of the Assembly in Town, whom he had confer'd with on that Subject, found them generally of Opinion, that a Present should at this Time be made; but that they had declined nominating any Sum: However, that Mr. *Kinsey* had given it as his own Opinion, that the Governor and Council might go as far as *Three Hundred Pounds*.

And accordingly it is refer'd to Mr. *Logan*, Mr. *Preston* and Mr. *Lawrence*, to consider of and prepare a proper List of the Goods whereof the Present should be composed, to the Value of *Three Hundred Pounds* as aforesaid; advising with the Interpreter as to the Quantity and Quality.

At a COUNCIL held at the Proprietor's the 9th of July, P. M. 1742.

## P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieut. Governor,

<i>James Logan,</i>	<i>Robert Strettell,</i>	} Esqrs;
<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	<i>Abraham Taylor.</i>	

The CHIEFS of the *Six Nations*.

*SASSOONAN*, and *Delawares*.

*NUTIMUS*, and the *Fork-Indians*.

*CONRAD WEISER*, Interpreter.

The Governor spoke to the Chiefs of the *Six Nations* as follows :

' *BRETHREN*,

' The last Time the Chiefs of the *Six Nations* were here, they were  
' informed, that your Cousins, a Branch of the *Delawares*, gave this  
' Province some Disturbance about the Lands the Proprietor purchas-  
' ed from them, and for which their Ancestors had received a valuable  
' Consideration above *Fifty-five Years* ago, as appears by a Deed now lying  
' on the Table.—Sometime after this, *Conrad Weiser* delivered to your Brother  
' *Thomas Penn* your Letter, wherein you request of him and *James*  
' *Logan* that they would not buy Land, &c.—This has been shewn to them  
' and interpreted; notwithstanding which they have continued their former  
' Disturbances, and have had the Insolence to write Letters to some of the  
' Magistrates of this Government, wherein they have abused your good  
' Brethren our worthy Proprietaries, and treated them with the utmost  
' Rudeness and Ill-Manners. Being loth, from our Regard to you, to punish  
' them as they deserve, I sent two Messengers to inform them that you were  
' expected here, and should be acquainted with their Behaviour.—As you,

E

' on

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‘ on all Occasions, apply to us to remove all white People that are settled on  
 ‘ Lands before they are purchased from you, and we do our our Endeavours  
 ‘ to turn such People off; we now expect from you, that you will cause  
 ‘ these *Indians* to remove from the Lands in the Forks of *Delaware*, and not  
 ‘ give any further Disturbance to the Persons who are now in Possession.

*To enforce This we lay down a String of Wampum.*

Then were read the several Conveyances, the Paragraph of the Letter wrote by the Chiefs of the *Six Nations* relating to the *Delawares*; the Letters of the *Fork-Indians* to the Governor and Mr. Langborne, and a Draught of the Land; and then delivered to *Conrad Weiser*, who was desired to interpret them to the Chiefs when they should take this Affair into their Consideration.

At a COUNCIL held July 10. 1742.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable GEORGE THOMAS, Esq; Lieut. Governor,

James Logan,	Samuel Preston,	} Esqrs.
Clement Plumsted,	Samuel Hasell,	
Thomas Lawrence,	Robert Stretzell,	
Abraham Taylor.		

The Governor laid before the Board an Extract from the Treaty held here the 7th Instant with the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, so far as it related to the Inhabitants of *Maryland*; as also a Letter he had prepared for the Governor of *Maryland* upon that Subject; both of which being approved were ordered to be transcribed fair, in order to be dispatch'd to morrow Morning: The Letter is as follows:

S I R,

Philadelphia, July 10. 1742.

*THE inclosed Extract of the Speech made by the Chiefs of the Six Nations, before a very numerous Audience, in this Place, with my Answer to it, is of so great Importance to all his Majesty's Colonies in this Part of his Dominions, and to your Government in particular, that I have employ'd a special Messenger to deliver it you. I hope you will enable me to send them a satisfactory Answer. It would be impertinent in me to say more to one so well informed as you are of these Nations, and of their absolute Authority over all the Indians bordering upon us, or of the Advantages of maintaining a strict Friendship with them at all Times, but more especially at this critical Juncture.*

I am,

Yours, &c.

An Account exhibited by *Conrad Weiser* of his Expences upon the *Indians* and *Indian Affairs*, from February last to July 1. 1742, amounting to £. 36 18 s. 3 d. was laid before the Board, and examined, and allow'd to be a just and very moderate Account.

And



## ( 19 )

And the Board taking into Consideration the many signal Services performed by the said *Conrad Weiser* to this Government, his Diligence and Labour in the Service thereof, and his Skill in the *Indian* Languages and Methods of Business, are of Opinion that the said *Conrad* should be allowed, as a Reward from the Province at this Time, the Sum of *Thirty Pounds*, at least, besides Payment of his said Account.

At a COUNCIL held at the Great Meeting-House, *July 10. P. M. 1742.*

## P R E S E N T

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieut. Governor.

<i>James Logan,</i>	<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	} Esqrs,
<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>	<i>Samuel Hasell,</i>	
<i>Abraham Taylor,</i>	<i>Robert Strettell.</i>	

*CANASSATEGO,* }  
*SHICKALAMY,* } And other *Indian* Chiefs.

*CONRAD WEISER*, Interpreter.

And a great Number of the Inhabitants of *Philadelphia*.

The Governor spoke to the *Indians* as follows :

‘ *BRETHREN*,

‘ This Meeting will be short : It is in order to make you a Present from  
 ‘ the Governor, the Council, the Assembly, and all our People. *William*  
 ‘ *Penn* was known to you to be a good and faithful Friend to all the *In-*  
 ‘ *di*ans : He made a League of Friendship with you, by which we became  
 ‘ one People. This League has often since been renew’d by friendly Trea-  
 ‘ ties ; and as you have declared that the Friendship shall always last on your  
 ‘ Parts, so we would have you believe that it shall remain inviolable on ours  
 ‘ while Sun and Moon endure.

‘ I gave you some Expectation of a Present, and we have it now ready to  
 ‘ deliver to you. This Present is made you by the Governor, Council, Af-  
 ‘ sembly, and all our People, in Consideration of the great Miseries and Dis-  
 ‘ tresses which you our good Friends have lately suffered. This will be  
 ‘ some Relief to you for the present, and it’s to be hoped your own Industry  
 ‘ will soon retrieve your Circumstances.

‘ It has sometimes happened, and may happen again, that idle and untrue  
 ‘ Stories are carried to you concerning us your Brethren ; but our Desire is,  
 ‘ and we expect it from you, that you will give no Credit to them ; for we  
 ‘ are, and always will be, your steady and sincere Friends.

‘ It is a Custom when we renew our Treaties with our good Friends the  
 ‘ *Indians*, to clear the Road and make our Fire burn bright : We have done  
 ‘ so upon this Occasion ; and, in Token of our Sincerity, we deliver you, as  
 ‘ a Pre-

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‘ a Present from the Governor, the Council, the Assembly, and all the  
 ‘ People of *Pennsylvania*, the following Goods, viz.

24 Guns.	50 Hoes.
600 Pounds of Lead.	50 Hatchets.
600 Pounds of Powder.	5 Pounds of Vermilion.
25 Stroudes }	10 Dozen of Knives.
90 Duffel } Match-Coats.	8 Dozen of Gimblets.
30 Blankets.	2 Dozen of Tobacco-Tongs.
62 Yards of Half-Ticks.	25 Pair of Shoes.
60 Ruffled Shirts,	25 Pair of Stockings.
25 Hats.	25 Pair of Buckles.
1000 Flint.	

Whereupon the Chiefs, and all the *Indians*, returned their solemn Thanks ;  
 and *Canassatego* said, ‘ They had no more to say as to Publick Business at  
 ‘ present ; but they had somewhat under Deliberation, which when they  
 ‘ had duly considered they would communicate.

At a COUNCIL held at the Proprietor’s, July 12. 1742.

## P R E S E N T

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieut. Governor.

<i>James Logan,</i>	<i>Clement Plumsted,</i>	} Esqrs.
<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>	<i>Abraham Taylor,</i>	
<i>Robert Strettell,</i>		
Mr. <i>Richard Peters.</i>		

*CANASSATEGO*, }  
*SHICKCALAMY*, } And sundry Chiefs of the *Six Nations*.

*SASSOONAN*, and *Delawares*.

*NUTTIMUS*, and *Fork-Indians*.

*CONRAD WEISER*, Interpreter.

<i>Pisquetoman,</i>	} Interpreters to the <i>Fork Indians</i> .
<i>Cornelius Spring,</i>	
<i>Nicholas Scull.</i>	

*CANASSATEGO* said :

‘ *BRETHREN* the Governor and Council,

‘ The other Day you informed us of the Misbehaviour of our Cousins  
 ‘ the *Delawares*, with respect to their continuing to claim, and refusing to  
 ‘ remove from some Land on the River *Delaware*, notwithstanding their  
 ‘ Ancestors had sold it by a Deed under their Hands and Seals to the Pro-  
 ‘ prietaries,

## ( 21 )

‘ proprietaries, for a valuable Consideration, upwards of *Fifty Years* ago; and notwithstanding that they themselves had about      Years ago, after a long and full Examination, ratified that Deed of their Ancestors, and given a fresh one under their Hands and Seals; and then you requested us to remove them, inforcing your Request with a String of Wampum.—Afterwards you laid on the Table our own Letters by *Conrad Weiser*, some of our Cousins Letters, and the several Writings, to prove the Charge against our Cousins, with a Draught of the Land in Dispute.—We now tell you, we have perused all these several Papers: We see with our own Eyes, that they have been a very unruly People, and are altogether in the Wrong in their Dealings with you.—We have concluded to remove them, and oblige them to go over the River *Delaware*, and quit all Claim to any Lands on this Side for the Future, since they have received Pay for them, and it is gone thro’ their Guts long ago.—To confirm to you that we will see your Request executed, we lay down this String of Wampum in return for yours.

Then turning to the *Delawares*, holding a Belt of Wampum in his Hand, he spöke to them as follows:

## COUSINS,

‘ Let this Belt of Wampum serve to chastise you. You ought to be taken by the Hair of the Head and shaken severely, till you recover your Senses and become sober. You don’t know what Ground you stand on, nor what you are doing. Our Brother *Onas*’s Cause is very just and plain, and his Intentions to preserve Friendship. On the other Hand, Your Cause is bad; your Heart far from being upright; and you are maliciously bent to break the Chain of Friendship with our Brother *Onas* and his People. We have seen with our Eyes a Deed sign’d by nine of your Ancestors above *Fifty Years* ago for this very Land, and a Release sign’d, not many Years since, by some of yourselves and Chiefs now living, to the Number of fifteen or upwards.—But how came you to take upon you to sell Land at all: We conquered you; we made Women of you; you know you are Women, and can no more sell Land than Women; nor is it fit you should have the Power of selling Lands, since you would abuse it. This Land that you claim is gone through your Guts; you have been furnish’d with Cloaths, Meat and Drink, by the Goods paid you for it, and now you want it again, like Children as you are.—But what makes you sell Land in the Dark. Did you ever tell us that you had sold this Land. Did we ever receive any Part, even the Value of a Pipe-Shank, from you for it. You have told us a blind Story, that you sent a Messenger to us to inform us of the Sale, but he never came amongst us, nor we never heard any thing about it.—This is acting in the Dark, and very different from the Conduct our *Six Nations* observe in their Sales of Land; on such Occasions they give publick Notice, and invite all the *Indians* of their united Nations, and give them all a Share of the Present they receive for their Lands.—This is the Behaviour of the wise united Nations.—But we find you are none of our Blood: You act a dishonest Part, not only in this but in other Matters: Your Ears are ever open to slanderous Reports about

F

‘ our

( 22 )

‘ our Brethren ; you receive them with as much Greediness as lewd Women  
 ‘ receive the Embraces of bad Men. And for all these Reasons we charge  
 ‘ you to remove instantly ; we don’t give you the Liberty to think about it.  
 ‘ You are Women. Take the Advice of a wise Man, and remove immedi-  
 ‘ ately. You may return to the other Side of *Delaware* where you came  
 ‘ from : But we do not know whether, considering how you have demean’d  
 ‘ yourselves, you will be permitted to live there ; or whether you have not  
 ‘ swallowed that Land down your Throats as well as the Land on this Side.  
 ‘ We therefore assign you two Places to go, either to *Wyomen* or *Shamokin*.  
 ‘ You may go to either of these Places, and then we shall have you more  
 ‘ under our Eye, and shall see how you behave. Don’t deliberate ; but re-  
 ‘ move away, and take this Belt of Wampum.

This being interpreted by *Conrad Weiser* into *English*, and by *Cornelius Spring* into the *Delaware* Language, *Canassatego* taking a String of Wampum, added further.

‘ After our just Reproof, and absolute Order to depart from the Land, you  
 ‘ are now to take Notice of what we have further to say to you. This  
 ‘ String of Wampum serves to forbid you, your Children and Grand-Child-  
 ‘ ren, to the latest Posterity forever, meddling in Land-Affairs ; neither you  
 ‘ nor any who shall descend from you, are ever hereafter to presume to sell  
 ‘ any Land : For which Purpose, you are to preserve this String, in Memory  
 ‘ of what your Uncles have this Day given you in Charge.----We have some  
 ‘ other Business to transact with our Brethren, and therefore depart the  
 ‘ Council, and consider what has been said to you.

*Canassatego* then spoke to the Governor and Council :

‘ B R E T H R E N,

‘ We called at our old Friend *James Logan*’s, in our Way to this City,  
 ‘ and to our Grief we found him hid in the Builtes, and retired, thro’ Infirmi-  
 ‘ ties, from Publick Business. We press’d him to leave his Retirement, and  
 ‘ prevailed with him to assist once more on our Account at your Councils.  
 ‘ We hope, notwithstanding his Age, and the Effects of a Fit of Sickness,  
 ‘ which we understand has hurt his Constitution, that he may yet continue a  
 ‘ long Time to assist this Province with his Counsels. He is a wise Man,  
 ‘ and a fast Friend to the *Indians*. And we desire, when his Soul goes to  
 ‘ GOD, you may chuse in his Room just such another Person, of the same  
 ‘ Prudence and Ability in Counselling, and of the same tender Disposition  
 ‘ and Affection for the *Indians*. In Testimony of our Gratitude for all his  
 ‘ Services, and because he was so good as to leave his Country-House, and  
 ‘ follow us to Town, and be at the Trouble, in this his advanced Age, to  
 ‘ attend the Council ; we present him with this Bundle of Skins.

‘ B R E T H R E N,

‘ It is always our Way, at the Conclusion of a Treaty, to desire you will  
 ‘ use your Endeavours with the Traders, that they may sell their Goods cheaper  
 ‘ and

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‘ and give us a better Price for our Deer-Skins. Whenever any particular Sort of *Indian Goods* is scarce, they constantly make us pay the dearer on that Account. We must now use the same Argument with them : Our Deer are killed in such Quantities, and our Hunting-Countries grown less every Day, by the Settlement of white People, that Game is now difficult to find, and we must go a great Way in Quest of it ; they therefore ought to give us a better Price for our Skins ; and we desire you would speak to them to do so. We have been stinted in the Article of Rum in Town. We desire you will open the Rum-Bottle, and give it to us in greater Abundance on the Road.

*To enforce our Request, about the Indian Traders, we present you with this Bundle of Skins.*

## B R E T H R E N,

‘ When we first came to your Houses, we found them clean and in Order : But we have staid so long as to dirty them ; which is to be imputed to our different Way of Living from the white People : And therefore, as we cannot but have been disagreeable to you on this Account, we present you with some Skins to make your Houses clean, and put them into the same Condition they were in when we came amongst you.

## B R E T H R E N,

‘ The Business the *Five Nations* transact with you is of great Consequence, and requires a skilful and honest Person to go between us ; one in whom both you and we can place a Confidence.--- We esteem our present Interpreter to be such a Person, equally faithful in the Interpretation of whatever is said to him by either of us, equally allied to both ; he is of our Nation, and a Member of our Council as well as of yours. When we adopted him, we divided him into Two equal Parts : One we kept for our selves, and one we left for you. He has had a great deal of Trouble with us, wore out his Shoes in our Messages, and dirty'd his Cloaths by being amongst us, so that he is become as nasty as an *Indian*.

‘ In Return for these Services, we recommend him to your Generosity ; and on our own Behalf, we give him *Five Skins* to buy him Clothes and Shoes with.

## B R E T H R E N,

‘ We have still one more Favour to ask. Our Treaty, and all we have to say about Publick Business, is now over, and to morrow we design to leave you. We hope, as you have given us plenty of good Provision whilst in Town, that you will continue your Goodness so far as to supply us with a little more to serve us on the Road. And we likewise desire you will provide us with Waggon, to carry our Goods to the Place where they are to be conveyed by Water.

To

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To these several Points the Governor made the following Reply.

*BRETHREN of the Six Nations,*

' The Judgment you have just now pass'd on your Cousins the *Dela-  
wares*, confirms the high Opinion we have ever entertained of the  
' Justice of the *Six Nations*. This Part of your Character, for which  
' you are deservedly famed, made us waive doing our selves Justice,  
' in order to give you another Opportunity of convincing the World  
' of your inviolable Attachment to your Engagements. These unhappy  
' People might have always liv'd easy, having never receiv'd the least  
' Injury from us; but we believe some of our own People were bad  
' enough to impose on their Credulity, and engage them in these  
' wrong Measures, which we wish, for their Sakes, they had avoided.

' We hoped, from what we have constantly given in Charge to  
' the Indian Traders, that they would have administred no just Cause  
' of Complaint: If they do you Wrong, it is against our Inclinations,  
' and contrary to our express Directions. As you have exhibited no  
' particular Charge against them, we shall use our best Endeavours  
' to persuade them to give you as much for your Skins as they can  
' possibly afford; and to take Care that their Goods which they give  
' in Exchange for Skins, be of the best Sort. We will likewise order  
' you some Rum to serve you on your Journey home, since you  
' desire it.

' We wish there had been more Room and better Houses provided  
' for your Entertainment; but not expecting so many of you,  
' we did the best we could. 'Tis true there are a great many Houses  
' in Town, but as they are the Property of other People, who  
' have their own Families to take Care of, it is difficult to procure  
' Lodgings for a large Number of People, especially if they come unexpectedly.

' We entertain the same Sentiments of the Abilities and Probity of  
' the Interpreter as you have express'd. We were induc'd at first to  
' make use of him in this important Trust, from his being known to  
' be agreeable to you, and one who had lived amongst you for some  
' Years, in good Credit and Esteem with all your Nations; and have  
' ever found him equally faithful to both. We are pleas'd with the  
' Notice you have taken of him, and think he richly deserves it at  
' your Hands. We shall not be wanting to make him a suitable Gratification,  
' for the many good and faithful Services he hath done this  
' Government.

' We have already given Orders for Waggon's to carry your Goods,  
' and for a Supply of Provisions to serve you on the Road in your  
' Return home, where we heartily wish you may arrive in good  
' Health.

After



## ( 25 )

After the Governor had concluded, Mr. *Logan* return'd an Answer to that Part of *Canassatego's* Speech which related to him, and said, ' That not only upon the Account of his Lameness, of which the Indians themselves were Witnesses ; but on Account of another Indisposition which about three Years since had laid him under an Incapacity of expressing himself with his former usual Freedom, he had been obliged to live retired in the Country. But that our first Proprietor, the Honourable *William Penn*, who had ever been a Father and true Friend to all the Indians, having above Forty Years since recommended them to his particular Care, he had always, from his own Inclination as well as from that strict Charge, endeavour'd to convince all the Indians, that He was their true Friend ; and was now well pleas'd, that after a Tract of so many Years, they were not insensible of it. He thanked them kindly for their Present, and heartily join'd with them in their Desires, that this Government may always be furnish'd with Persons of equally good Inclinations, and not only with such, but also with better Abilities to serve them.

And then *Canassatego* said, he had forgot to mention, that *Shickcalamy* and *Caxbayn* had been employ'd on several Messages to this Government, and desir'd they might be consider'd on that Account.

At a C O U N C I L held the 12th of July, P. M. 1742.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieut. Governor,

*James Logan*,

*Samuel Preston*,

*Clement Plumsted*,

*Thomas Lawrence*,

*Samuel Haffell*,

*Abraham Taylor*,

Esqrs;

*Robert Stretzell*,

*Mr. Richard Peters*.

The Board taking into Consideration the Regulation of the necessary Expences of the *Indians* Travelling down hither, and Returning ; and upon an Estimate made by *Conrad Weiser*, amounting to about *One Hundred Pounds*, it appearing that the said Sum of £100. will be necessary to be advanced to *Conrad Weiser* to defray those Expences, Mr. *Logan* on the Proprietaries Behalf, proposes to advance 40 *l.* and the Treasurer declaring he had no Publick Money in his Hands, and that if he had, he would not advance Money without the Assembly's Order ; it is recommended to Mr. *Preston* and Mr. *Lawrence*, to confer with Mr. *Kinsey*, and know whether he, as Speaker of the Assembly, and Trustee of the Loan-Office, will advance the other 60 *l.*

And the *Indians* having requested that they might have a small Quantity of Rum, to be added to their Provisions, to comfort them on the Road : The Board is of Opinion, that there be added to the said Estimate for Twenty Gallons of Rum for the aforesaid Use. And in Return for their Present of Skins, at Requesting that the Indian Traders be enjoin'd to sell their Goods cheaper, the Board directs that two Strouds be presented, And that Five Pounds be given to *Caxbayn* on the Account of the Province, for his Services ; and to *Shickcalamy* the like Sum.

*A just Copy, compared by*

*PATRICK BAIRD*, Secry.



A  
T R E A T Y,

Held at the Town of

*Lancaster*, in PENNSYLVANIA,

By the HONOURABLE the

Lieutenant-Governor of the PROVINCE,

And the HONOURABLE the

Commissioners for the PROVINCES

O F

VIRGINIA *and* MARYLAND,

WITH THE

I N D I A N S

O F T H E

S I X N A T I O N S,

In JUNE, . 1744.

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P H I L A D E L P H I A :

Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN, at the New-Printing-Office,  
near the Market. M,DCC,XLIV.



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A

# T R E A T Y

W I T H T H E

## I N D I A N S

O F T H E

## S I X N A T I O N S.

---

In the COURT-HOUSE in the Town of *Lancaster*, on *Friday*,  
the Twenty Second of *June*, 1744,

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieut. Governor of the  
Province of *Pennsylvania*, and Counties of *Newcastle*, *Kent* and *Sussex*,  
on *Delaware*.

The Honourable *Thomas Lee*, Esq; } Commissioners of *Virginia*.  
Colonel *William Beverly*,

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> *Edmund Jennings*, Esq; } Commissioners of *Maryland*.  
*Philip Thomas*, Esq;  
Colonel *Robert King*,  
Colonel *Thomas Colville*,

The Deputies of the *Onandagoes*, *Senecas*, *Cayogoes*, *Oneidas* and *Tuscaroraes*.  
*Conrad Weiser*, Interpreter.

THE Governor and the Commissioners took some of the *Indian* Chiefs  
by the Hand, and, after they had seated themselves, the Governor  
bid them welcome into the Government; and there being Wine and  
Punch prepared for them, the Governor and the several Commissioners drank  
Health to the *Six Nations*; and *Canassatego*, *Tachanoontia*, and some other  
Chiefs, returned the Compliments, drinking the Healths of \* *Onas*, † *Af-*  
*saragoa*, and the Governor of *Maryland*.

AFTER they were all served with Wine, Punch, Pipes and Tobacco, the  
Governor told the *Indians*, that as it was customary, and indeed necessary,

\* *Onas*, the Governor of *Pennsylvania*. † *Afsaragoa*, the Governor of *Virginia*.

they

## ( 4 )

they should have some Time to rest after so long a Journey, and as he thought ~~three Days would be no more~~ than sufficient for that Purpose, he proposed to speak to them on *Monday* next; after which, the honourable Commissioners would take their own Time to deliver what they had to say.

*CANASSATEGO* answered the Governor: We thank you for giving us Time to rest; we are come to you, and shall leave it intirely to you to appoint the Time when we shall meet you again. We likewise leave it to the Governor of *Maryland*, by whose Invitation we came here, to appoint a Time when he will please to mention the Reason of his inviting us. As to our Brother *Affaragoa*, we have at this present Time nothing to say to him; not but we have a great deal to say to *Affaragoa*, which must be said at one Time or another; but not being satisfied whether he or we should begin first, we shall leave it wholly to our Brother *Onas* to adjust this between us, and to say which shall begin first.

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaster*, June 25, 1744. *A. M.*

## P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

*Conrad Weiser*, Interpreter.

The GOVERNOR spoke as follows:

*Honourable Gentlemen, Commissioners for the Governments of Virginia and Maryland, and Brethren, Sachims, or Chiefs of the Indians of the Six Nations:*

A T a Treaty, held by me two Years ago, in Behalf of the Government of *Pennsylvania*, with a Number of the Chiefs of the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, I was desired by them to write to the Governor of *Maryland* concerning some Lands in the back Parts of that Province, which they claim a Right to from their Conquests over the ancient Possessors, and which have been settled by some of the Inhabitants of that Government, without their Consent, or any Purchase made from them. It was at that time understood that the Claim was upon *Maryland* only; but it has since appeared, by some Letters formerly wrote by Mr. President *Logan* to the late Governor of *Maryland*, that it related likewise to some Lands in the back Parts of *Virginia*. The Governors of those Colonies soon manifested a truly equitable Disposition to come to any reasonable Terms with the *Six Nations* on account of those Lands, and desired, that for that End a Time and Place might be fixed for a Treaty with them; but before this could be effected, an unfortunate Skirmish



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mith happened in the back Parts of *Virginia*, between some of the Militia there, and a Party of the *Indian* Warriors of the *Six Nations*, with some Loss on both Sides. Who were the Aggressors is not at this time to be discussed, both Parties having agreed to bury that Affair in Oblivion, and the Government of *Virginia* having, in Token of the Continuance of their Friendship, presented the *Six Nations*, through my Hands, with Goods to the Value of One Hundred Pounds Sterling. To prevent further Hostilities, and to heal this Breach, I had, before the Present was given, made a Tender of my good Offices; which both Parties accepted, and consented, on my Instances, to lay down their Arms: Since which the Faith pledged to me has been mutually preserved, and a Time and Place has been agreed upon, through my Intervention, for accommodating all Differences, and for settling a firm Peace, Union and Friendship, as well between the Government of *Virginia* as that of *Maryland*, and the *Indians* of the *Six Nations* \*. The honourable the Commissioners for these two Governments, and the Deputies of the *Six Nations*, are now met at the Place appointed for the Treaty. It only remains therefore for me to say, That if my further good Offices shall be thought useful for the Accomplishment of this Work, you may rely most assuredly upon them.

BUT I hope, honourable Gentlemen Commissioners, it will not be taken amiss if I go a little further, and briefly represent to you, how especially necessary it is at this Juncture, for his Majesty's Service, and the Good of all his Colonies in this Part of his Dominions, that Peace and Friendship be established between your Governments and the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*.

THESE *Indians*, by their Situation, are a Frontier to some of them; and, from thence, if Friends, are capable of defending their Settlements; if Enemies, of making cruel Ravages upon them; if Neuters, they may deny the *French* a Passage through their Country, and give us timely Notice of their Designs. There are but some of the Motives for cultivating a good Understanding with them; but from hence the Disadvantages of a Rupture are abundantly evident. Every Advantage you gain over them in War will be a weakening of the Barrier of those Colonies, and consequently be, in effect, Victories over yourselves and your Fellow Subjects. Some Allowances for their Prejudices and Passions, and a Present now and then for the Relief of their Necessities, which have, in some Measure, been brought upon them by their Intercourse with us, and by our yearly extending our Settlements, will probably tie them more closely to the *British* Interest. This has been the Method of *New-York* and *Pennsylvania*, and will not put you to so much Expence in twenty Years, as the carrying on a War against them will do in one. The *French* very well know the Importance of these Nations to us, and will not fail by Presents, and their other usual Arts, to take Advantage of any Misunderstandings we may have with them †. But I will detain you, Gentlemen, no longer. Your own superior Knowledge will suggest to you more than I can say on this Subject.

\* This was allowed, at a Conference had by the Governor with the Commissioners, to be a just State of the Transactions preceding the Treaty.

† The two preceding Paragraphs were allowed by the Commissioners of *Virginia*, whilst they were at *Philadelphia*, to be very proper to be spoken by the Governor of *Pennsylvania* at the Opening of the Treaty; but taking up an Opinion, from what passed at the first friendly Interview with the *Indians*, that they would not make any Claim upon Lands within the Government of *Virginia*, the Governor consented to decline speaking them in the Presence of the *Indians*.

*Friends and Brethren, Sachims, or Chiefs of the Indians of the Six Nations :*

THESE, your Brethren of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, are come to enlarge the Fire, which was almost gone out, and to make it burn clearer ; to brighten the Chain which had contracted some Rust, and to renew their Friendship with you ; which it is their Desire may last so long as the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, shall give Light. Their Powers are derived from the *Great King of ENGLAND*, your Father ; and whatever Conclusions they shall come to with you, will be as firm and binding as if the Governors of these Provinces were themselves here. I am your Brother, and, which is more, I am your true Friend. As you know, from Experience, that I am so, I will now give you a few Words of Advice. Receive these your Brethren with open Arms ; unite yourselves to them in the Covenant Chain, and be you with them as one Body, and one Soul. I make no doubt but the Governor of *Canada* has been taking Pains to widen the Breach between these your Brethren of *Virginia* and you ; but as you cannot have forgot the Hatred the *French* have always borne to your Nations, and how kindly, on the contrary, you have been treated, and how faithfully you have been protected by the *Great King of ENGLAND* and his Subjects, you will not be at a Loss to see into the Designs of that Governor. He wants to divide you from us, in order the more easily to destroy you, which he will most certainly do, if you suffer yourselves to be deluded by him.

As to what relates to the Friendship established between the Government of *Pennsylvania* and your Nations, I will take another Day to speak to you upon it.

*To enforce what had been said, the GOVERNOR laid down a Belt of Wampum ; upon which the Indians gave the\* Yo-hah.*

AFTER a short Pause, the Governor ordered the Interpreter to tell the *Indians*, that as they had greatly exceeded their appointed Time for meeting the Commissioners, he recommended to them to use all the Expedition possible in giving their Answer to what had been said, that they might forthwith proceed to treat with the respective Commissioners on the Business they came about.

THEN *Canassatego* repeated to the Interpreter the Substance of what the Governor had spoke, in order to know if he had understood him right (a Method generally made use of by the *Indians*) and when the Interpreter told him he had taken the true Sense, *Canassatego* proceeded to return the Thanks of the *Six Nations* for the Governor's kind Advice, promising to follow it as far as lay in their Power ; but as it was their Custom when a Belt was given to return another, they would take Time till the Afternoon to provide one, and would then give their Answer.

\* The *Yo-hah* denotes Approbation, being a loud Shout or Cry, consisting of a few Notes pronounced by all the *Indians* in a very musical Manner, in the Nature of our Huzzas.

( 7 )

In the COURT-HOUSE at Lancaster, June 25, 1744. P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable GEORGE THOMAS, Esq; Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of Virginia.

The Honourable the Commissioners of Maryland.

The Deputies of the Six Nations.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

Canassatego's Answer to the Governor's Speech delivered in the Morning.

Brother Onas,

YOU spoke in the Presence of *Affaragea* and the Governor of *Maryland* to us, advising us to receive them as our Brethren, and to unite with them in the Covenant Chain as one Body, and one Soul. We have always considered them as our Brethren, and, as such, shall be willing to brighten the Chain of Friendship with them; but since there are some Disputes between us respecting the Lands possessed by them, which formerly belonged to us, we, according to our Custom, propose to have those Differences first adjusted, and then we shall proceed to confirm the Friendship subsisting between us, which will meet with no Obstruction after these Matters are settled.

*Here they presented the GOVERNOR with a Belt of Wampum, in return for the Belt given them in the Morning by the GOVERNOR; and the Interpreter was ordered to return the Yo-hah.*

*Then the GOVERNOR, in Reply, spoke as follows :*

I receive your Belt with great Kindness and Affection; and as to what relates to the Governments of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, the honourable Commissioners, now present, are ready to treat with you. I shall only add, that the Goods for the Hundred Pounds Sterling, put into my Hands by the Governor of *Virginia*, as a Token of his good Dispositions to preserve Friendship with you, are now in Town, and ready to be delivered, in consequence of what was told you by *Conrad Weiser* when he was last at *Omandago*.

THEN the Governor, turning to the Commissioners of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, said, Gentlemen, I have now finished what was incumbent upon me to say by way of Introduction to the *Indians*; and as you have a full Authority from your respective Governments to treat with them, I shall leave the rest intirely to you, and either stay or withdraw, as you shall think most for your Service.

THE

THE Commissioners said, They were all of Opinion, it would be for their Advantage that the Governor should stay with them ; and therefore they unanimously desired he would favour them with the Continuance of his Presence whilst they should be in Treaty with the *Indians* : Which his Honour said he would at their Instance very readily do, believing it might expedite their Business, and prevent any Jealousy the *Indians* might conceive at his withdrawing.

*The Commissioners of Maryland ordered the Interpreter to acquaint the Indians that the Governor of Maryland was going to speak to them, and then spoke as follows :*

*Friends and Brethren of the united Six Nations,*

WE, who are deputed from the Government of *Maryland* by a Commission under the Great Seal of that Province, now in our Hands (and which will be interpreted to you) bid you welcome ; and in Token that we are very glad to see you here as Brethren, we give you this String of Wampum.

*Upon which the Indians gave the Yo-hah.*

WHEN the Governor of *Maryland* received the first Notice, about seven Years ago, of your Claim to some Lands in that Province, he thought our good Friends and Brethren of the *Six Nations* had little Reason to complain of any Injury from *Maryland*, and that they would be so well convinced thereof, on farther Deliberation, as he should hear no more of it ; but you spoke of that Matter again to the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, about two Years since, as if you designed to terrify us.

It was very inconsiderately said by you, that you would do yourselves Justice, by going to take Payment yourselves : Such an Attempt would have intirely dissolved the Chain of Friendship subsisting, not only between us, but perhaps the other *English* and you.

WE assure you, our People, who are numerous, courageous, and have Arms ready in their Hands, will not suffer themselves to be hurt in their Lives and Estates.

BUT, however, the old and wise People of *Maryland* immediately met in Council, and upon considering very coolly your rash Expressions, agreed to invite their Brethren, the *Six Nations*, to this Place, that they might learn of them what Right they have to the Land in *Maryland*, and, if they had any, to make them some reasonable Compensation for it ; therefore the Governor of *Maryland* has sent us to meet and treat with you about this Affair, and the brightening and strengthening the Chain which hath long subsisted between us. And as an Earnest of our Sincerity and Good-will towards you, we present you with this Belt of Wampum.

*On which the Indians gave the Yo-hah.*

OUR Great King of ENGLAND, and his Subjects, have always possessed the Province of *Maryland* free and undisturbed from any Claim of the *Six Nations* for above one hundred Years past, and your not saying any thing

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to us before, convinces us you thought you had no Pretence to any Lands in *Maryland*; nor can we yet find out to what Lands, or under what Title, you make your Claim: For the *Sasquabannah Indians*, by a Treaty above ninety Years since (which is on the Table, and will be interpreted to you) give, and yield to the *English* Nation, their Heirs and Assigns for ever, the greatest Part (if not all) of the Lands we possess, from *Patuxent* River, on the Western, as well as from *Choptank* River, on the Eastern Side of the Great Bay of *Cheffapeake*. And, near Sixty Years ago, you acknowledged to the Governor of *New-York* at *Albany*, "That you had given your Lands, and " submitted yourselves to the King of *England*."

WE are that Great King's Subjects, and we possess and enjoy the Province of *Maryland* by virtue of his Right and Sovereignty thereto; why, then, will you stir up any Quarrel between you and ourselves, who are as one Man, under the Protection of that Great King?

WE need not put you in mind of the Treaty (which we suppose you have had from your Fathers) made with the Province of *Maryland* near Seventy Years ago, and renewed and confirmed twice since that time.

By these Treaties we became Brethren; we have always lived as such, and hope always to continue so.

WE have this further to say, that altho' we are not satisfied of the Justice of your Claim to any Lands in *Maryland*, yet we are desirous of shewing our Brotherly Kindness and Affection, and to prevent (by any reasonable Way) every Misunderstanding between the Province of *Maryland* and you our Brethren of the *Six Nations*.

FOR this Purpose we have brought hither a Quantity of Goods for our Brethren the *Six Nations*, and which will be delivered you as soon as we shall have received your Answer, and made so bright and large a Fire as may burn pure and clear whilst the Sun and Moon shall shine.

WE have now freely and openly laid our Bosoms bare to you; and that you may be the better confirmed of the Truth of our Hearts, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received with the Yo-hah.*

*After a little Time Canassatego spoke as follows:*

*Brother, the Governor of Maryland,*

WE have heard what you have said to us; and, as you have gone back to old Times, we cannot give you an Answer now, but shall take what you have said into Consideration, and return you our Answer some Time to Morrow. He then sat down, and after some Time he spoke again.

*Brother, the Governor of Maryland,*

If you have made any Enquiry into *Indian* Affairs, you will know, that we have always had our Guns, Hatchets and Kettles, mended when we came to see our Brethren. Brother *Onas*, and the Governor of *York* always do this for us; and we give you this early Notice, that we may not thereby be

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delayed, being desirous, as well as you, to give all possible Dispatch to the Business to be transacted between us.

THE Commissioners of *Virginia* and *Maryland* said, since it was customary, they would give Orders to have every Thing belonging to them mended that should want it.

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In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaster*, June 26, 1744, P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

*Conrad Weiser*, Interpreter.

*CANASSATEGO* spoke as follows :

*Brother, the Governor of Maryland,*

WHEN you invited us to kindle a Council Fire with you, *Conedogwainet* was the Place agreed upon ; but afterwards you, by Brother *Onas*, upon second Thoughts, considering that it would be difficult to get Provisions and other Accommodations where there were but few Houses or Inhabitants, desired we would meet our Brethren at *Lancaster*, and at his Instances we very readily agreed to meet you here, and are glad of the Change ; for we have found Plenty of every thing ; and as Yesterday you bid us welcome, and told us you were glad to see us, we likewise assure you we are as glad to see you ; and, in Token of our Satisfaction, we present you with this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

*Brother, the Governor of Maryland,*

You tell us, that when about Seven Years ago you heard, by our Brother *Onas*, of our Claim to some Lands in your Province, you took no Notice of it, believing, as you say, that when we should come to reconsider that Matter, we should find that we had no Right to make any Complaint of the Governor of *Maryland*, and would drop our Demand. And that when about two Years ago we mentioned it again to our Brother *Onas*, you say we did it in such Terms as looked like a Design to terrify you ; and you tell us further, that we must be beside ourselves, in using such a rash Expression as to tell you, We know how to do ourselves Justice if you still refuse. It is true we did say so, but without any ill Design ; for we must inform you, that when we first desired our Brother *Onas* to use his Influence with you to procure us Satisfaction for our Lands, we, at the same time, desired him, in case you should disregard our Demand, to write to the Great King beyond the Seas, who would own us for his Children as well as you, to compel you

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## ( II )

to do us Justice : And, two Years ago, when we found that you had paid no Regard to our just Demand, nor that Brother *Onas* had convey'd our Complaint to the Great King over the Seas, we were resolv'd to use such Expressions as would make the greatest Impressions on your Minds, and we find it had its Effect ; for you tell us, " That your wife Men held a Council together, and agreed to invite us, and to enquire of our Right to any of " your Lands, and if it should be found that we had a Right, we were to " have a Compensation made for them : And likewise you tell us, that our " Brother, the Governor of *Maryland*, by the Advice of these wife Men, " has sent you to brighten the Chain, and to assure us of his Willingness to " remove whatever impedes a good Understanding between us." This shews that your wife Men understood our Expressions in their true Sense. We had no Design to terrify you, but to put you on doing us the Justice you had so long delayed. Your wife Men have done well ; and as there is no Obstacle to a good Understanding between us, except this Affair of our Land, we, on our Parts, do give you the strongest Assurances of our good Dispositions towards you, and that we are as desirous as you to brighten the Chain, and to put away all Hindrances to a perfect good Understanding ; and, in Token of our Sincerity, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received, and the Interpreter ordered to give the Yo-hah.*

*Brother, the Governor of Maryland,*

WHEN you mentioned the Affair of the Land Yesterday, you went back to old Times, and told us, you had been in Possession of the Province of *Maryland* above One Hundred Years ; but what is One Hundred Years in Comparison of the Length of Time since our Claim began ? since we came out of this Ground ? For we must tell you, that long before One Hundred Years our Ancestors came out of this very Ground, and their Children have remained here ever since. You came out of the Ground in a Country that lies beyond the Seas, there you may have a just Claim, but here you must allow us to be your elder Brethren, and the Lands to belong to us long before you knew any thing of them. It is true, that above One Hundred Years ago the *Dutch* came here in a Ship, and brought with them several Goods ; such as Awls, Knives, Hatchets, Guns, and many other Particulars, which they gave us ; and when they had taught us how to use their Things, and we saw what sort of People they were, we were so well pleased with them, that we tied their Ship to the Bushes on the Shore ; and afterwards, liking them still better the longer they staid with us, and thinking the Bushes too slender, we removed the Rope, and tied it to the Trees ; and as the Trees were liable to be blown down by high Winds, or to decay of themselves, we, from the Affection we bore them, again removed the Rope, and tied it to a strong and big Rock [*here the Interpreter said, They mean the Oneido Country*] and not content with this, for its further Security we removed the Rope to the big Mountain [*here the Interpreter says they mean the Onandago Country*] and there we tied it very fast, and rowl'd Wampum about it ; and, to make it still more secure, we stood upon the Wampum, and sat down upon it, to defend it, and to prevent any Hurt coming to it, and did our best Endeavours that it might remain uninjured for ever. During all this Time the New-comers, the *Dutch*, acknowledged our Right to the Lands, and solicited us, from Time to Time, to grant them Parts of our Country, and to enter into League and Covenant with us, and to become one People with us.

AFTER

AFTER this the *English* came into the Country, and, as we were told, became one People with the *Dutch*. About two Years after the Arrival of the *English*, an *English* Governor came to *Albany*, and finding what great Friendship subsisted between us and the *Dutch*, he approved it mightily, and desired to make as strong a League, and to be upon as good Terms with us as the *Dutch* were, with whom he was united, and to become one People with us: And by his further Care in looking into what had passed between us, he found that the Rope which tied the Ship to the great Mountain was only fastened with Wampum, which was liable to break and rot, and to perish in a Course of Years; he therefore told us, he would give us a Silver Chain, which would be much stronger, and would last for ever. This we accepted, and fastened the Ship with it, and it has lasted ever since. Indeed we have had some small Differences with the *English*, and, during these Misunderstanding, some of their young Men would, by way of Reproach, be every now and then telling us, that we should have perished if they had not come into the Country and furnished us with Strowds and Hatchets, and Guns, and other Things necessary for the Support of Life; but we always gave them to understand that they were mistaken, that we lived before they came amongst us, and as well, or better, if we may believe what our Forefathers have told us. We had then Room enough, and Plenty of Deer, which was easily caught; and tho' we had not Knives, Hatchets, or Guns, such as we have now, yet we had Knives of Stone, and Hatchets of Stone, and Bows and Arrows, and those served our Uses as well then as the *English* ones do now. We are now straitened, and sometimes in want of Deer, and liable to many other Inconveniencies since the *English* came among us, and particularly from that Pen-and-Ink Work that is going on at the Table (*pointing to the Secretary*) and we will give you an Instance of this. Our Brother *Onas*, a great while ago, came to *Albany* to buy the *Sasquabannab* Lands of us, but our Brother, the Governor of *New-York*, who, as we suppose, had not a good Understanding with our Brother *Onas*, advised us not to sell him any Land, for he would make an ill Use of it; and, pretending to be our good Friend, he advised us, in order to prevent *Onas's*, or any other Person's imposing upon us, and that we might always have our Land when we should want it, to put it into his Hands; and told us, he would keep it for our Use, and never open his Hands, but keep them close shut, and not part with any of it, but at our Request. Accordingly we trusted him, and put our Land into his Hands, and charged him to keep it safe for our Use; but, some Time after, he went to *England*, and carried our Land with him, and there sold it to our Brother *Onas* for a large Sum of Money; and when, at the Instance of our Brother *Onas*, we were minded to sell him some Lands, he told us, we had sold the *Sasquabannab* Lands already to the Governor of *New-York*, and that he had bought them from him in *England*; tho', when he came to understand how the Governor of *New-York* had deceived us, he very generously paid us for our Lands over again.

Tho' we mention this Instance of an Imposition put upon us by the Governor of *New-York*, yet we must do the *English* the Justice to say, we have had their hearty Assistances in our Wars with the *French*, who were no sooner arrived amongst us than they began to render us uneasy, and to provoke us to War, and we have had several Wars with them; during all which we constantly received Assistance from the *English*, and,  
by

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by their Means, we have always been able to keep up our Heads against their Attacks.

WE now come nearer home. We have had your Deeds interpreted to us, and we acknowledge them to be good and valid, and that the *Coneflogoe* or *Safquabannah* Indians had a Right to sell those Lands to you, for they were then theirs; but since that Time we have conquered them, and their Country now belongs to us, and the Lands we demanded Satisfaction for are no Part of the Lands comprized in those Deeds; they are the \* *Cobongorontas* Lands; those, we are sure, you have not possessed One Hundred Years, no, nor above Ten Years, and we made our Demands so soon as we knew your People were settled in those Parts. These have never been sold, but remain still to be disposed of; and we are well pleased to hear you are provided with Goods, and do assure you of our Willingness to treat with you for those unpurchased Lands; in Confirmation whereof, we present you with this Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremonies.*

CANASSATEGO added, that as the three Governors of *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Pennsylvania*, had divided the Lands among them, they could not, for this Reason, tell how much each had got, nor were they concerned about it, so that they were paid by all the Governors for the several Parts each possessed, and this they left to their Honour and Justice.

In the COURT-HOUSE at Lancaster, June 27, 1744, A. M.

## P R E S E N T,

The Honourable GEORGE THOMAS, Esq; Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the Six Nations.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

*The Commissioners of Virginia ordered the Interpreter to let the Indians know the Governor of Virginia was going to speak to them, and then they spoke as follows:*

*Sachims and Warriors of the Six United Nations, our Friends and Brethren,*

AT our Desire the Governor of *Pennsylvania* invited you to this Council Fire; we have waited a long Time for you, but now you are come, you are heartily welcome; we are very glad to see you; we give you this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with their usual Approbation.*

\* *Cobongorontas*, i. e. *Potomack*.

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*Brethren,*

IN the Year 1736, four of your Sachims wrote a Letter to *James Logan*, Esq; then President of *Pennsylvania*, to let the Governor of *Virginia* know that you expected some Consideration for Lands in the Occupation of some of the People of *Virginia*. Upon seeing a Copy of this Letter, the Governor, with the Council of *Virginia*, took some Time to consider of it. They found, on looking into the old Treaties, that you had given up your Lands to the Great King, who has had Possession of *Virginia* above One Hundred and Sixty Years, and under that Great King the Inhabitants of *Virginia* hold their Land, so they thought there might be some Mistake.

WHEREFORE they desired the Governor of *New-York* to enquire of you about it. He sent his Interpreter to you in *May*, 1743, who laid this before you at a Council held at *Onandago*, to which you answer, " That if " you had any Demand or Pretensions on the Governor of *Virginia* any " way, you would have made it known to the Governor of *New-York*." This corresponds with what you have said to Governor *Thomas*, in the Treaty made with him at *Philadelphia* in *July*, 1742; for then you only make your Claim to Lands in the Government of *Maryland*.

WE are so well pleased with this good Faith of you our Brethren of the *Six Nations*, and your Regard to the Treaties made with *Virginia*, that we are ready to hear you on the Subject of your Message eight Years since.

TELL us what Nations of *Indians* you conquered any Lands from in *Virginia*, how long it is since, and what Possession you have had; and if it does appear, that there is any Land on the Borders of *Virginia* that the *Six Nations* have a Right to, we are willing to make you Satisfaction.

*Then laid down a String of Wampum, which was accepted with the usual Ceremony, and then added,*

WE have a Chest of new Goods, and the Key is in our Pockets. You are our Brethren; the Great King is our common Father, and we will live with you, as Children ought to do, in Peace and Love.

WE will brighten the Chain, and strengthen the Union between us; so that we shall never be divided, but remain Friends and Brethren as long as the Sun gives Light; in Confirmation whereof, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

*TACHANOONTIA* replied :

*Brother Assaragoa,*

You have made a good Speech to us, which is very agreeable, and for which we return you our Thanks. We shall be able to give you an Answer to every Part of it some Time this Afternoon, and we will let you know when we are ready.

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In the COURT-HOUSE at Lancaster, June 27, 1744, P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable GEORGE THOMAS, Esq; Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of Virginia.

The Honourable the Commissioners of Maryland.

The Deputies of the Six Nations.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

TACHANOONTIA spoke as follows :

Brother Assaragoa,

SINCE you have joined with the Governor of Maryland and Brother Onas in kindling this Fire, we gladly acknowledge the Pleasure we have in seeing you here, and observing your good Dispositions as well to confirm the Treaties of Friendship, as to enter into further Contracts about Land with us; and, in Token of our Satisfaction, we present you with this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremonies.*

Brother Assaragoa,

In your Speech this Morning you were pleased to say we had wrote a Letter to James Logan, about seven Years ago, to demand a Consideration for our Lands in the Possession of some of the Virginians; that you held them under the Great King for upwards of One Hundred and Sixty Years, and that we had already given up our Right; and that therefore you had desired the Governor of New-York to send his Interpreter to us last Year to Onandago, which he did; and, as you say, we in Council at Onandago did declare, that we had no Demand upon you for Lands, and that if we had any Pretensions, we should have made them known to the Governor of New-York; and likewise you desire to know if we have any Right to the Virginia Lands, and that we will make such Right appear, and tell you what Nations of Indians we conquered those Lands from.

Now we answer, We have the Right of Conquest, a Right too dearly purchased, and which cost us too much Blood, to give up without any Reason at all, as you say we have done at Albany; but we should be obliged to you, if you would let us see the Letter, and inform us who was the Interpreter, and whose Names are put to that Letter; for as the whole Transaction cannot be above a Year's standing, it must be fresh in every Body's Memory, and some of our Council would easily remember it; but we assure you, and are well able to prove, that neither we, nor any Part of us, have ever relinquished our Right, or ever gave such an Answer as you say is mentioned in your Letter. Could we, so few Years ago, make a formal Demand, by James Logan, and not be sensible of our Right? And hath any thing happened since that Time to make us less sensible? No; and as this Matter can be easily cleared up, we are anxious it should be done; for we

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are positive no such thing was ever mentioned to us at *Onandago*, nor any where else. All the World knows we conquered the several Nations living on *Sasquabanna*, *Cobongoronta*, and on the Back of the Great Mountains in *Virginia*; the *Conoy-uch-such-roona*, *Coch-now-was-roonan*, *Toboa-irough-roonan*, and *Connutkin-ough-roonaw*, feel the Effects of our Conquests, being now a Part of our Nations, and their Lands at our Disposal. We know very well, it hath often been said by the *Virginians*, that the *Great King of ENGLAND*, and the People of that Colony, conquered the *Indians* who lived there, but it is not true. We will allow they have conquered the *Sachdagugbroonaw*, and drove back the *Tufcarroraws*, and that they have, on that Account, a Right to some Part of *Virginia*; but as to what lies beyond the Mountains, we conquered the Nations residing there, and that Land, if the *Virginians* ever get a good Right to it, it must be by us; and in Testimony of the Truth of our Answer to this Part of your Speech, we give you this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

*Brother Assaragoa,*

WE have given you a full Answer to the first Part of your Speech, which we hope will be satisfactory. We are glad to hear you have brought with you a big Chest of new Goods, and that you have the Key in your Pockets. We do not doubt but we shall have a good Understanding in all Points, and come to an Agreement with you.

WE shall open all our Hearts to you, that you may know every thing in them; we will hide nothing from you; and we hope, if there be any thing still remaining in your Breast that may occasion any Dispute between us, you will take the Opportunity to unbosom your Hearts, and lay them open to us, that henceforth there may be no Dirt, nor any other Obstacle in the Road between us; and in Token of our hearty Wishes to bring about so good an Harmony, we present you with this Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

*Brother Assaragoa,*

WE must now tell you what Mountains we mean that we say are the Boundaries between you and us. You may remember, that about twenty Years ago you had a Treaty with us at *Albany*, when you took a Belt of Wampum, and made a Fence with it on the Middle of the Hill, and told us, that if any of the Warriors of the *Six Nations* came on your Side of the Middle of the Hill, you would hang them; and you gave us Liberty to do the same with any of your People who should be found on our Side of the Middle of the Hill. This is the Hill we mean, and we desire that Treaty may be now confirmed. After we left *Albany*, we brought our Road a great deal more to the West, that we might comply with your Proposal; but, tho' it was of your own making, your People never observed it, but came and lived on our Side of the Hill, which we don't blame you for, as you live at a great Distance, near the Seas, and cannot be thought to know what your People do in the Back-parts: And on their settling, contrary to your own Proposal, on our new Road, it fell out that our Warriors did some Hurt to your People's Cattle, of which a Complaint was made, and transmitted to us by our Brother *Onas*; and we, at his Request, altered the Road again, and brought it to the Foot of the Great Mountain, where it now is; and it

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is impossible for us to remove it any further to the West, those Parts of the Country being absolutely impassable by either Man or Beast.

WE had not been long in the Use of this new Road before your People came, like Flocks of Birds, and sat down on both Sides of it, and yet we never made a Complaint to you, tho' you must be sensible those Things must have been done by your People in manifest Breach of your own Proposal made at *Albany*; and therefore, as we are now opening our Hearts to you, we cannot avoid complaining, and desire all these Affairs may be settled, and that you may be stronger induced to do us Justice for what is past, and to come to a thorough Settlement for the future, we, in the Presence of the Governor of *Maryland*, and Brother *Onas*, present you with this Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

*Then Tachanoontia added :*

He forgot to say, that the Affair of the Road must be looked upon as a Preliminary to be settled before the Grant of Lands; and that either the *Virginia* People must be obliged to remove more Easterly, or, if they are permitted to stay, that our Warriors, marching that Way to the Southward, shall go Sharers with them in what they plant.

In the COURT-HOUSE at Lancaster, June 28, 1744. A. M.

## P R E S E N T,

The Honourable GEORGE THOMAS, Esq; Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

*Conrad Weiser*, Interpreter.

*The GOVERNOR spoke as follows :*

*Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations,*

I Am always sorry when any thing happens that may create the least Uneasiness between us; but as we are mutually engaged to keep the Road between us clear and open, and to remove every Obstruction that may lie in the Way, I must inform you, that three of the *Delaware Indians* lately murdered *John Armstrong*, an *Indian* Trader, and his two Men, in a most barbarous Manner, as he was travelling to *Allegheny*, and stole his Goods of a considerable Value. *Shick Calamy*, and the *Indians* settled at *Shamokin*, did well; they seized two of the Murderers, and sent them down to our Settlements; but the *Indians*, who had the Charge of them, afterwards suffered one of them to escape, on a Pretence that he was not concerned in the bloody Deed; the other is now in *Philadelphia* Goal. By our Law all the Accessaries

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ries to a Murder are to be tried, and put to Death, as well as the Person who gave the deadly Wound. If they consented to it, encouraged it, or any ways assisted in it, they are to be put to Death, and it is just it should be so. If, upon Trial, the Persons present at the Murder are found not to have done any of these Things, they are set at Liberty. Two of our People were, not many Years ago, publicly put to Death for killing two *Indians*; we therefore expect you will take the most effectual Measures to seize and deliver up to us the other two *Indians* present at these Murders, to be tried with the Principal now in Custody. If it shall appear, upon their Trial, that they were not advising, or any way assisting in this horrid Fact, they will be acquitted, and sent home to their Towns. And that you may be satisfied no Injustice will be done to them, I do now invite you to depute three or four *Indians* to be present at their Trials. I do likewise expect that you will order strict Search to be made for the Remainder of the stolen Goods, that they may be restored to the Wife and Children of the Deceased. That what I have said may have its due Weight with you, I give you this String of Wampum.

*Which was accepted with the Yo-hah.*

THE Governor afterwards ordered the Interpreter to tell them, he expected a very full Answer from them, and that they might take their own Time to give it; for he did not desire to interfere with the Business of *Virginia* and *Maryland*.

THEY said they would take it into Consideration, and give a full Answer.

THEN the Commissioners of *Virginia* let them know, by the Interpreter, that they would speak to them in the Afternoon.

In the COURT-HOUSE Chamber at *Lancaster*, June 28, 1744, P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

*The Commissioners desired the Interpreter to tell the Indians they were going to speak to them. Mr. Weiser acquainted them herewith. After which the said Commissioners spoke as follows:*

*Our good Friends and Brethren, the Six united Nations,*

WE have considered what you said concerning your Title to some Lands now in our Province, and also of the Place where they lie. Altho' we cannot admit your Right, yet we are so resolved to live in Brotherly Love and Affection with the *Six Nations*, that upon your giving us a Release in Writing of all your Claim to any Lands in *Maryland*, we shall make you a Compensation to the Value of Three Hundred Pounds Currency, for the Payment

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Payment of Part whereof we have brought some Goods, and shall make up the rest in what Manner you think fit.

As we intend to say something to you about our Chain of Friendship after this Affair of the Land is settled, we desire you will now examine the Goods, and make an End of this Matter.

WE will not omit acquainting our good Friends the *Six Nations*, that notwithstanding we are likely to come to an Agreement about your Claim of Lands, yet your Brethren of *Maryland* look on you to be as one Soul and one Body with themselves; and as a broad Road will be made between us, we shall always be desirous of keeping it clear, that we may, from Time to Time, take care that the Links of our Friendship be not rusted. In Testimony that our Words and our Hearts agree, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

*On presenting of which the Indians gave the usual Cry of Approbation.*

MR. *Weiser* acquainted the *Indians*, they might now look over the several Goods placed on a Table in the Chamber for that Purpose; and the honourable Commissioners bid him tell them, if they disliked any of the Goods, or, if they were damaged, the Commissioners would put a less Price on such as were either disliked or damaged.

THE *Indians* having viewed and examined the Goods, and seeming dissatisfied at the Price and Worth of them, required Time to go down into the Court-House, in order for a Consultation to be had by the Chiefs of them concerning the said Goods, and likewise that the Interpreter might retire with them, which he did. Accordingly they went down into the Court-House, and soon after returned again into the Chamber.

MR. *Weiser* sat down among the *Indians*, and discoursed them about the Goods, and in some short Time after they chose the following from among the others, and the Price agreed to be given for them by the *Six Nations* was, *viz.*

	L.	s.	d.
Four Pieces of Strowds, at 7 L.	-	-	28 00 00
Two Pieces Ditto, 5 L.	-	-	10 00 00
Two Hundred Shirts,	-	-	63 12 00
Three Pieces Half-Thicks,	-	-	11 00 00
Three Pieces Duffle Blankets, at 7 L.	-	-	21 00 00
One Piece Ditto,	-	-	6 10 00
Forty Seven Guns, at 1 L. 6 s.	-	-	61 12 00
One Pound Vermillion,	-	-	00 18 00
One Thousand Flints,	-	-	00 18 00
Four Dozen Jews Harps,	-	-	00 14 00
One Dozen Boxes,	-	-	00 1 00
One Hundred Two Quarters Bar-Lead,	-	-	3 00 00
Two Quarters Shot,	-	-	1 00 00
Two Half-Barrels of Gun-Powder,	-	-	13 00 00

L. 220 15 00  
*Pennsylvania Currency.*  
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WHEN the *Indians* had agreed to take these Goods at the Rates above specified, they informed the Interpreter, that they would give an Answer to the Speech made to them this Morning by the honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*, but did not express the Time when such Answer should be made. At 12 o' Clock the Commissioners departed the Chamber.

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In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaster*, June 28, 1744, P. M.

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

*Conrad Weiser*, Interpreter.

*The Commissioners of Virginia desired the Interpreter to let the Indians know, that their Brother Aharagoo was now going to give his Reply to their Answer to his first Speech, delivered them the Day before in the Forenoon.*

*Sachins and Warriors of the united Six Nations,*

WE are now come to answer what you said to us Yesterday, since what we said to you before on the Part of the Great King, our Father, has not been satisfactory. You have gone into old Times, and so must we. It is true that the Great King holds *Virginia* by Right of Conquest, and the Bounds of that Conquest to the Westward is the Great Sea.

If the *Six Nations* have made any Conquest over *Indians* that may at any Time have lived on the West-side of the Great Mountains of *Virginia*, yet they never possessed any Lands there that we have ever heard of. That Part was altogether deserted, and free for any People to enter upon, as the People of *Virginia* have done, by Order of the Great King, very justly, as well by an ancient Right, as by its being freed from the Possession of any other, and from any Claim even of you the *Six Nations*, our Brethren, until within these eight Years. The first Treaty between the Great King, in Behalf of his Subjects of *Virginia*, and you, that we can find, was made at *Albany*, by Colonel *Henry Courfey*, Seventy Years since; this was a Treaty of Friendship, when the first Covenant Chain was made, when we and you became Brethren.

THE next Treaty was also at *Albany*, above Fifty-eight Years ago, by the Lord *Howard*, Governor of *Virginia*; then you declare yourselves Subjects to the Great King, our Father, and gave up to him all your Lands for his Protection. This you own in a Treaty made by the Governor of *New-York* with you at the same Place in the Year 1687, and you express yourselves in these Words, " Brethren, you tell us the King of *England* is a very great King, " and why should not you join with us in a very just Cause, when the *French* " join with our Enemies in an unjust Cause? O Brethren, we see the Rea-  
" son

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" son of this ; for the *French* would fain kill us all, and when that is done, they would carry all the Beaver Trade to *Canada*, and the *Great King* of *ENGLAND* would lose the Land likewise ; and therefore, O Great Sachim, beyond the Great Lakes, awake, and suffer not those poor *Indians*, that have given themselves and their Lands under your Protection, to be destroyed by the *French* without a Cause."

- THE last Treaty we shall speak to you about is that made at *Albany* by Governor *Spotswood*, which you have not recited as it is : For the white People, your Brethren of *Virginia*, are, in no Article of that Treaty, prohibited to pass, and settle to the Westward of the Great Mountains. It is the *Indians*, tributary to *Virginia*, that are restrained, as you and your tributary *Indians* are from passing to the Eastward of the same Mountains, or to the Southward of *Cobongorooton*, and you agree to this Article in these Words ; " That the Great River of *Potowmack*, and the high Ridge of Mountains, which extend all along the Frontiers of *Virginia* to the Westward of the present Settlements of that Colony, shall be for ever established Boundaries between the *Indians* subject to the Dominions of *Virginia*, and the *Indians* belonging and depending on the *Five Nations* ; so that neither our *Indians* shall not, on any Pretence whatsoever, pass to Northward or Westward of the said Boundaries, without having to produce a Passport under the Hand and Seal of the Governor or Commander in Chief of *Virginia* ; nor your *Indians* to pass to the Southward or Eastward of the said Boundaries, without a Passport in like Manner from the Governor or Commander in Chief of *New-York*."

AND what Right can you have to Lands that you have no Right to walk upon, but upon certain Conditions ? It is true, you have not observed this Part of the Treaty, and your Brethren of *Virginia* have not insisted upon it with a due Strictness, which has occasioned some Mischief.

THIS Treaty has been sent to the Governor of *Virginia* by Order of the Great King, and is what we must rely on, and, being in Writing, is more certain than your Memory. That is the Way the white People have of preserving Transactions of every Kind, and transmitting them down to their Childrens Children for ever, and all Disputes among them are settled by this faithful kind of Evidence, and must be the Rule between the Great King and you. This Treaty your Sachims and Warriors signed some Years after the same Governor *Spotswood*, in the Right of the Great King, had been, with some People of *Virginia*, in Possession of these very Lands, which you have set up your late Claim to.

THE Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs at *Albany* gave the Account we mentioned to you Yesterday to the Governor of *New-York*, and he sent it to the Governor of *Virginia* ; their Names will be given you by the Interpreter.

*Brethren,*

THIS Dispute is not between *Virginia* and you ; it is setting up your Right against the Great King, under whose Grants the People you complain of are settled. Nothing but a Command from the Great King can remove them ; they are too powerful to be removed by any Force of you, our Brethren ; and the Great King, as our common Father, will do equal Justice

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to all his Children ; wherefore we do believe they will be confirmed in their Possessions.

As to the Road you mention, we intended to prevent any Occasion for it, by making a Peace between you and the Southern *Indians*, a few Years since, at a considerable Expence to our Great King, which you confirmed at *Albany*. It seems, by your being at War with the *Catawbis*, that it has not been long kept between you.

HOWEVER, if you desire a Road, we will agree to one on the Terms of the Treaty you made with Colonel *Spotwood*, and your People, behaving themselves orderly like Friends and Brethren, shall be used in their Passage through *Virginia* with the same Kindness as they are when they pass through the Lands of your Brother *Onas*. This, we hope, will be agreed to by you our Brethren, and we will abide by the Promise made to you Yesterday.

WE may proceed to settle what we are to give you for any Right you may have, or have had to all the Lands to the Southward and Westward of the Lands of your Brother the Governor of *Maryland*, and of your Brother *Onas* ; tho' we are informed that the Southern *Indians* claim these very Lands that you do.

WE are desirous to live with you, our Brethren, according to the old Chain of Friendship, to settle all these Matters fairly and honestly ; and, as a Pledge of our Sincerity, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

In the COURT-HOUSE Chamber at *Lancaster*, June 29, 1744, A. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

*Conrad Weiser*, Interpreter.

*Mr. Weiser informed the honourable Commissioners, the Indians were ready to give their Answer to the Speech made to them here Yesterday Morning by the Commissioners ; whereupon Canassatego spoke as follows, looking on a Deal-board, where were some black Lines, describing the Courses of Potowmack and Sasquahanna :*

*Brethren,*

YESTERDAY you spoke to us concerning the Lands on this Side *Potowmack* River, and as we have deliberately considered what you said to us on that Matter, we are now very ready to settle the Bounds of such Lands, and release our Right and Claim thereto.

WE



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WE are willing to renounce all Right to Lord *Baltimore* of all those Lands lying two Miles above the uppermost Fork of *Potowmack* or *Cobongoruton* River, near which *Thomas Cressap* has a hunting or trading Cabin, by a North-line, to the Bounds of *Pennsylvania*. But in case such Limits shall not include every Settlement or Inhabitant of *Maryland*, then such other Lines and Courses, from the said two Miles above the Forks, to the outermost Inhabitants or Settlements, as shall include every Settlement and Inhabitant in *Maryland*, and from thence, by a North-line, to the Bounds of *Pennsylvania*, shall be the Limits. And further, If any People already have, or shall settle beyond the Lands now described and bounded, they shall enjoy the same free from any Disturbance whatever, and we do, and shall accept these People for our Brethren, and as such always treat them.

We earnestly desire to live with you as Brethren, and hope you will shew us all Brotherly Kindness; in Token whereof, we present you with a Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

SOON after the Commissioners and *Indians* departed from the Court-House Chamber.

In the COURT-HOUSE Chamber at *Lancaster*, June 30, 1744, *A. M.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

*Conrad Weiser*, Interpreter.

*Gachradodow*, Speaker for the *Indians*, in Answer to the Commissioners Speech at the last Meeting, with a strong Voice, and proper Action, spoke as follows:

*Brother Assaragoa*,

THE World at the first was made on the other Side of the Great Water different from what it is on this Side, as may be known from the different Colours of our Skin, and of our Flesh, and that which you call Justice may not be so amongst us; you have your Laws and Customs, and so have we. The Great King might send you over to conquer the *Indians*, but it looks to us that God did not approve of it; if he had, he would not have placed the Sea where it is, as the Limits between us and you.

*Brother Assaragoa*,

Tho' great Things are well remembered among us, yet we don't remember that we were ever conquered by the Great King, or that we have been employed by that Great King to conquer others; if it was so, it is beyond our Memory. We do remember we were employed by *Maryland* to conquer the *Conefagoes*, and that the second time we were at War with them, we carried them all off.

*Brother*

*Brother Assaragoa,*

YOU charge us with not acting agreeable to our Peace with the *Catawbas*, we will repeat to you truly what was done. The Governor of *New-York*, at *Albany*, in Behalf of *Assaragoa*, gave us several Belts of Wampum from the *Cherikees* and *Catawbas*, and we agreed to a Peace, if those Nations would send some of their great Men to us to confirm it Face to Face, and that they would trade with us ; and desired that they would appoint a Time to meet at *Albany* for that Purpose, but they never came.

*Brother Assaragoa,*

WE then desired a Letter might be sent to the *Catawbas* and *Cherikees*, to desire them to come and confirm the Peace. It was long before an Answer came ; but we met the *Cherikees*, and confirmed the Peace, and sent some of our People to take care of them, until they returned to their own Country.

THE *Catawbas* refused to come, and sent us word, That we were but Women, that they were Men, and double Men, for they had two P——s ; that they could make Women of us, and would be always at War with us. They are a deceitful People. Our Brother *Assaragoa* is deceived by them ; we don't blame him for it, but are sorry he is so deceived.

*Brother Assaragoa,*

WE have confirmed the Peace with the *Cherikees*, but not with the *Catawbas*. They have been treacherous, and know it ; so that the War must continue till one of us is destroyed. This we think proper to tell you, that you may not be troubled at what we do to the *Catawbas*.

*Brother Assaragoa,*

WE will now speak to the Point between us. You say you will agree with us as to the Road ; we desire that may be the Road which was last made (the Waggon-Road.) It is always a Custom among Brethren or Strangers to use each other kindly ; you have some very ill-natured People living up there ; so that we desire the Persons in Power may know that we are to have reasonable Victuals when we are in want.

YOU know very well, when the white People came first here they were poor ; but now they have got our Lands, and are by them become rich, and we are now poor ; what little we have had for the Land goes soon away, but the Land lasts for ever. You told us you had brought with you a Chest of Goods, and that you have the Key in your Pockets ; but we have never seen the Chest, nor the Goods that are said to be in it ; it may be small, and the Goods few ; we want to see them, and are desirous to come to some Conclusion. We have been sleeping here these ten Days past, and have not done any thing to the Purpose.

THE Commissioners told them they should see the Goods on *Monday*.

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In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaster*, June 30, 1744, P. M.

P R E S E N T.

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

*Conrad Weiser*, Interpreter.

THE three Governments entertained the *Indians*, and all the Gentlemen in Town, with a handsome Dinner. The *Six Nations*, in their Order, having returned Thanks with the usual Solemnity of *To-ha-ban*, the Interpreter-informed the Governor and the Commissioners, that as the Lord Proprietor and Governor of *Maryland* was not known to the *Indians* by any particular Name, they had agreed, in Council, to take the first Opportunity of a large Company to present him with one; and as this with them is deemed a Matter of great Consequence, and attended with Abundance of Form, the several Nations had drawn Lots for the Performance of the Ceremony, and the Lot falling on the *Cayogo* Nation, they had chosen *Gachradadow*, one of their Chiefs, to be their Speaker, and he desired Leave to begin; which being given, he, on an elevated Part of the Court-House, with all the Dignity of a Warrior, the Gesture of an Orator, and in a very graceful Posture, spoke as follows:

“ As the Governor of *Maryland* had invited them here to treat about their Lands, and brighten the Chain of Friendship, the united Nations thought themselves so much obliged to them, that they had come to a Resolution in Council to give to the great Man, who is Proprietor of *Maryland*, a particular Name, by which they might hereafter correspond with him; and as it had fallen to the *Cayogoes* Lot in Council to consider of a proper Name for that chief Man, they had agreed to give him the Name of *Tocarry-bogan*, denoting Precedency, Excellency, or living in the middle or honourable Place betwixt *Affaragoa* and their Brother *Onas*, by whom their Treaties might be better carried on.” And then, addressing himself to his Honour the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, the honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, and to the Gentlemen then present, he proceeded:

“ As there is a Company of great Men now assembled, we take this Time and Opportunity to publish this Matter, that it may be known *Tocarry-bogan* is our Friend, and that we are ready to honour him, and that by such Name he may be always called and known among us. And we hope he will ever act towards us according to the Excellency of the Name we have now given him, and enjoy a long and happy Life.”

THE honourable the Governor and Commissioners, and all the Company present, returned the Compliment with three Huzza's, and, after drinking

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Healths

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Healths to our gracious King and the *Six Nations*, the Commissioners of *Maryland* proceeded to Business in the Court-House Chamber with the *Indians*, where *Conrad Weiser*, the Interpreter, was present.

THE honourable the Commissioners ordered Mr. *Weiser* to tell the *Indians*, that a Deed, releasing all their Claim and Title to certain Lands lying in the Province of *Maryland*, which by them was agreed to be given and executed for the Use of the Lord Baron of *Baltimore*, Lord Proprietary of that Province, was now on the Table, and Seals ready fixed thereto. The Interpreter acquainted them therewith as desired, and then gave the Deed to *Canassatego*, the Speaker, who made his Mark, and put his Seal, and delivered it; after which, thirteen other Chiefs or Sachims of the *Six Nations* executed it in the same Manner, in the Presence of the honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*, and divers other Gentlemen of that Colony, and of the Provinces of *Pennsylvania* and *Maryland*.

At the House of Mr. *George Sanderson* in *Lancaster*, July 2, 1744. A. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

*Conrad Weiser*, Interpreter.

THE several Chiefs of the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, who had not signed the Deed of Release of their Claim to some Lands in *Maryland*, tendered to them on *Saturday* last, in the Chamber of the Court-House in this Town, did now readily execute the same, and caused Mr. *Weiser* likewise to sign it, as well with his *Indian*, as with his own proper Name of *Weiser*, as a Witness and Interpreter.

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaster*, July 2, 1744. A. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

*Conrad Weiser*, Interpreter.

*CANASSATEGO* spoke as follows :

*Brother Onas*,

THE other Day you were pleased to tell us, you were always concerned whenever any thing happened that might give you or us Uneasiness, and that we were mutually engaged to preserve the Road open and clear between us;

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us; and you informed us of the Murder of *John Armstrong*, and his two Men, by some of the *Delaware Indians*, and of their stealing his Goods to a considerable Value. The *Delaware Indians*, as you suppose, are under our Power. We join with you in your Concern for such a vile Proceeding; and, to testify that we have the same Inclinations with you to keep the Road clear, free and open, we give you this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

Brother Onas,

THESE Things happen frequently, and we desire you will consider them well, and not be too much concerned. Three *Indians* have been killed at different Times at *Ohio*, and we never mentioned any of them to you, imagining it might have been occasioned by some unfortunate Quarrels, and being unwilling to create a Disturbance. We therefore desire you will consider these Things well, and, to take the Grief from your Heart, we give you this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremonies.*

Brother Onas,

WE had heard of the Murder of *John Armstrong*, and, in our Journey here, we had Conference with our Cousins the *Delawares* about it, and reproved them severely for it, and charged them to go down to our Brother *Onas*, and make him Satisfaction, both for the Men that were killed, and for the Goods. We understood, by them, that the principal Actor in these Murders is in your Prison, and that he had done all the Mischief himself; but that, besides him, you had required and demanded two others who were in his Company when the Murders were committed. We promise faithfully, in our Return, to renew our Reproofs, and to charge the *Delawares* to send down some of their Chiefs with these two young Men (but not as Prisoners) to be examined by you; and as we think, upon Examination, you will not find them guilty, we rely on your Justice not to do them any Harm, but to permit them to return home in Safety.

WE likewise understand, that Search has been made for the Goods belonging to the Deceased, and that some have been already returned to your People, but that some are still missing. You may depend upon our giving the strictest Charge to the *Delawares* to search again with more Diligence for the Goods, and to return them, or the Value of them, in Skins. And, to confirm what we have said, we give you this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremonies.*

Brother Onas,

The *Conoy Indians* have informed us, that they sent you a Message, some Time ago, to advise you, that they were ill used by the white People in the Place where they had lived, and that they had come to a Resolution of removing to *Shamokin*, and requested some small Satisfaction for their Land; and as they never have received any Answer from you, they have desired us to speak for them; we heartily recommend their Case to your Generosity.

And,

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And, to give Weight to our Recommendation, we present you with this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

*The Governor having conferred a little Time with the honourable Commissioners of Virginia and Maryland, made the following Reply :*

*Brethren,*

I am glad to find that you agree with me in the Necessity of keeping the Road between us clear and open, and the Concern you have expressed on account of the barbarous Murders mentioned to you, is a Proof of your Brotherly Affection for us. If Crimes of this Nature be not strictly enquired into, and the Criminals severely punished, there will be an End of all Commerce between us and the *Indians*, and then you will be altogether in the Power of the *French*. They will set what Price they please on their own Goods, and give you what they think fit for your Skins; so it is for your own Interest that our Traders should be safe in their Persons and Goods when they travel to your Towns.

*Brethren,*

I considered this Matter well before I came from *Philadelphia*, and I advised with the Council there upon it, as I have done here with the honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia* and *Maryland*. I never heard before of the Murder of the three *Indians* at *Ohio*; had Complaint been made to me of it, and it had appeared to have been committed by any of the People under my Government, they should have been put to Death, as two of them were, some Years ago, for killing two *Indians*. You are not to take your own Satisfaction, but to apply to me, and I will see that Justice be done you; and should any of the *Indians* rob or murder any of our People, I do expect that you will deliver them up to be tried and punished in the same Manner as white People are. This is the Way to preserve Friendship between us, and will be for your Benefit as well as ours. I am well pleased with the Steps you have already taken, and the Reproofs you have given to your Cousins the *Delawares*, and do expect you will lay your Commands upon some of their Chiefs to bring down the two young Men that were present at the Murders; if they are not brought down, I shall look upon it as a Proof of their Guilt.

If, upon Examination, they shall be found not to have been concerned in the bloody Action, they shall be well used, and sent home in Safety: I will take it upon myself to see that they have no Injustice done them. An Inventory is taken of the Goods already restored, and I expect Satisfaction will be made for such as cannot be found, in Skins, according to their Promise.

I well remember the coming down of one of the *Conoy Indians* with a Paper, setting forth, That the *Conoys* had come to a Resolution to leave the Land reserved for them by the Proprietors, but he made no Complaint to me of ill Usage from the white People. The Reason he gave for their Removal was, That the settling of the white People all round them had made Deer scarce, and that therefore they chose to remove to *Juniata* for the Benefit



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neft of Hunting. I ordered what they faid to be entered in the Council-Book. The old Man's Expences were born, and a Blanket given him at his Return home. I have not yet heard from the Proprietors on this Head; but you may be affured, from the Favour and Juftice they have always fhewn to the *Indians*, that they will do every thing that can be reafonably expected of them in this Cafe.

In the COURT-HOUSE Chamber at *Lancaster*, July 2, 1744, P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the Commiffioners of *Virginia*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

*Conrad Weifer*, Interpreter.

*The Indians being told, by the Interpreter, that their Brother Affaragoa was going to fpeak to them, the Commiffioners fpoke as follows :*

*Sachins and Warriors, our Friends and Brethren,*

“ AS we have already faid enough to you on the Subject of the Title to the Lands you claim from *Virginia*, we have no Occafion to fay any thing more to you on that Head, but come directly to the Point.

WE have opened the Cheft, and the Goods are now here before you; they coft Two Hundred Pounds *Pennfylvania* Money, and were bought by a Perfon recommended to us by the Governor of *Pennfylvania* with ready Cash. We ordered them to be good in their Kinds, and we believe they are fo. Thefe Goods, and Two Hundred Pounds in Gold, which lie on the Table, we will give you, our Brethren of the *Six Nations*, upon Condition that you immediately make a Deed recognizing the King's Right to all the Lands that are, or fhall be, by his Majefty's Appointment in the Colony of *Virginia*.

As to the Road, ~~we~~ agree you fhall have one, and the Regulation is in Paper, which the Interpreter now has in his Cuftody to fhew you. The People of *Virginia* fhall perform their Part, if you and your *Indians* perform theirs; we are your Brethren, and will do no Hardfhips to you, but, on the contrary, all the Kindnefs we can.”

THE *Indians* agreed to what was faid, and *Canaffatego* defired they would represent their Cafe to the King, in order to have a further Consideration when the Settlement increafed much further back. To which the Commiffioners agreed, and promifed they would make fuch a Representation faithfully and honeftly; and, for their further Security that they would do fo, they would give them a Writing, under their Hands and Seals, to that Purpofe.

THEY defired that fome Rum might be given them to drink on their Way home, which the Commiffioners agreed to, and paid them in Gold for that  
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Purpofe,

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Purpose, and the Carriage of their Goods from *Philadelphia*, Nine Pounds, Thirteen Shillings, and Three-pence, *Pennsylvania* Money.

*Canassatego* further said, That as their Brother *Tocarry-hogan* sent them Provision on the Road here, which kept them from starving, he hoped their Brother *Affaragoa* would do the same for them back, and have the Goods he gave them carried to the usual Place ; which the Commissioners agreed to, and ordered Provisions and Carriages to be provided accordingly.

AFTER this Conference the Deed was produced, and the Interpreter explained it to them ; and they, according to their Rank and Quality, put their Marks and Seals to it in the Presence of several Gentlemen of *Maryland*, *Pennsylvania* and *Virginia* ; and when they delivered the Deed, *Canassatego* delivered it for the Use of their Father, the Great King, and hoped he would consider them ; on which the Gentlemen and *Indians* then present gave three Shouts.

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaster*, *Tuesday*, *July 3*, 1744, *A. M.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

*Conrad Weiser*, Interpreter.

*The GOVERNOR spoke as follows :*

*Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations,*

AT a Treaty held with many of the Chiefs of your Nations Two Years ago, the Road between us was made clearer and wider ; our Fire was enlarged, and our Friendship confirmed by an Exchange of Presents, and many other mutual good Offices.

WE think ourselves happy in having been instrumental to your meeting with our Brethren of *Virginia* and *Maryland* ; and we persuade ourselves, that you, on your Parts, will always remember it as an Instance of our Goodwill and Affection for you. This has given us an Opportunity of seeing you sooner than perhaps we should otherwise have done ; and, as we are under mutual Obligations by Treaties, we to hear with our Ears for you, and you to hear with your Ears for us, we take this Opportunity to inform you of what very nearly concerns us both.

THE *Great King* of *ENGLAND* and the *French King* have declared War against each other. Two Battles have been fought, one by Land, and the other

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other by Sea. The *Great King of ENGLAND* commanded the Land Army in Person, and gained a compleat Victory. Numbers of the *French* were killed and taken Prisoners, and the rest were forced to pass a River with Precipitation to save their Lives. The Great God covered the King's Head in that Battle, so that he did not receive the least Hurt; for which you, as well as we, have Reason to be very thankful.

THE Engagement at Sea was likewise to the Advantage of the *English*. The *French* and *Spaniards* joined their Ships together, and came out to fight us. The brave *English* Admiral burnt one of their largest Ships, and many others were so shattered, that they were glad to take the Opportunity of a very high Wind, and a dark Night, to run away, and to hide themselves again in their own Harbours. Had the Weather proved fair, he would, in all Probability, have taken or destroyed them all.

I need not put you in mind how much *William Penn* and his Sons have been your Friends, and the Friends of all the *Indians*. You have long and often experienced their Friendship for you; nor need I repeat to you how kindly you were treated, and what valuable Presents were made to you Two Years ago by the Governor, the Council, and the Assembly, of *Pennsylvania*. The Sons of *William Penn* are all now in *England*, and have left me in their Place, well knowing how much I regard you and all the *Indians*. As a fresh Proof of this, I have left my House, and am come thus far to see you, to renew our Treaties, to brighten the Covenant Chain, and to confirm our Friendship with you. In Testimony whereof, I present you with this Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received with the Yo-hah.*

As your Nations have engaged themselves by Treaty to assist us, your Brethren of *Pennsylvania*, in case of a War with the *French*, we do not doubt but you will punctually perform an Engagement so solemnly entered into. A War is now declared, and we expect that you will not suffer the *French*, or any of the *Indians* in Alliance with them, to march through your Country to disturb any of our Settlements; and that you will give us the earliest and best Intelligence of any Designs that may be formed by them to our Disadvantage, as we promise to do of any that may be to yours. To enforce what I have now said to you in the strongest Manner, I present you with this Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received with the Yo-hah.*

*After a little Pause his Honour, the GOVERNOR, spoke again :*

*Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations,*

WHAT I have now said to you is in Conformity to Treaties subsisting between the Province of which I am Governor and your Nations. I now proceed, with the Consent of the honourable Commissioners for *Virginia* and *Maryland*, to tell you, that all Differences having been adjusted, and the Roads between us and you made quite clear and open, we are ready to confirm our Treaties with your Nations, and establish a Friendship that is not to end, but with the World itself. And, in Behalf of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, I do, by this fine Belt of Wampum, and a Present of Goods,

to

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to the Value of Three Hundred Pounds, confirm and establish the said Treaties of Peace, Union and Friendship, you on your Parts doing the same.

*Which was received with a loud Yo-hah.*

THE Governor further added, The Goods bought with the One Hundred Pounds Sterling, put into my Hands by the Governor of *Virginia*, are ready to be delivered when you please. The Goods bought and sent up by the People of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, according to the List which the Interpreter will explain, are laid by themselves, and are likewise ready to be delivered to you at your own time.

*After a little Pause the Commissioners of Virginia spoke as follows :*

*Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations,*

THE Way between us being made smooth by what passed Yesterday, we desire now to confirm all former Treaties made between *Virginia* and you, our Brethren of the *Six Nations*, and to make our Chain of Union and Friendship as bright as the Sun, that it may not contract any more Rust for ever; that our Childrens Children may rejoice at, and confirm what we have done; and that you and your Children may not forget it, we give you One Hundred Pounds in Gold, and this Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

*Friends and Brethren,*

ALTHO' we have been disappointed in our Endeavours to bring about a Peace between you and the *Catawbas*, yet we desire to speak to you something more about them. We believe they have been unfaithful to you, and spoke of you with a foolish Contempt; but this may be only the Rashness of some of their young Men. In this Time of War with our common Enemies the *French* and *Spaniards*, it will be the wisest Way to be at Peace among ourselves. They, the *Catawbas*, are also Children of the Great King, and therefore we desire you will agree, that we may endeavour to make a Peace between you and them, that we may be all united by one common Chain of Friendship. We give you this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

*Brethren,*

OUR Friend, *Conrad Weiser*, when he is old, will go into the other World, as our Fathers have done; our Children will then want such a Friend to go between them and your Children, to reconcile any Differences that may happen to arise between them, that, like him, may have the Ears and Tongues of our Children and yours.

THE Way to have such a Friend, is for you to send three or four of your Boys to *Virginia*, where we have a fine House for them to live in, and a Man on purpose to teach the Children of you, our Friends, the Religion, Language and Customs of the white People. To this Place we kindly invite you to send some of your Children, and we promise you they shall have the same Care taken of them, and be instructed in the same Manner

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as our own Children, and be returned to you again when you please; and, to confirm this, we give you this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

*Then the Commissioners of Maryland spoke as follows:*

*Friends and Brethren, the Chiefs or Sachims of the Six united Nations,*

THE Governor of *Maryland* invited you hither; we have treated you as Friends, and agreed with you as Brethren.

As the Treaty now made concerning the Lands in *Maryland* will, we hope, prevent effectually every future Misunderstanding between us on that Account, we will now bind faster the Links of our Chain of Friendship by a Renewal of all our former Treaties; and that they may still be the better secured, we shall present you with One Hundred Pounds in Gold.

WHAT we have further to say to you is, Let not our Chain contract any Rust; whenever you perceive the least Speck, tell us of it, and we will make it clean. This we also expect of you, that it may always continue so bright as our Generations may see their Faces in it; and, in Pledge of the Truth of what we have now spoken, and our Affection to you, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

*CANASSATEGO, in return, spoke as follows:*

*Brother Onas, Assaragoa, and Tocarry-hogan,*

WE return you Thanks for your several Speeches, which are very agreeable to us. They contain Matters of such great Moment, that we propose to give them a very serious Consideration, and to answer them suitably to their Worth and Excellence; and this will take till To-morrow Morning, and when we are ready we will give you due Notice.

You tell us you beat the *French*; if so, you must have taken a great deal of Rum from them, and can the better spare us some of that Liquor to make us rejoice with you in the Victory.

THE Governor and Commissioners ordered a Dram of Rum to be given to each in a small Glass, calling it, *A French Glass*.

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaster*, July 4, 1744, *A. M.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

*Conrad Weiser*, Interpreter.

*CANASSATEGO* Speaker.

*Brother Onas*,

YESTERDAY you expressed your Satisfaction in having been instrumental to our meeting with our Brethren of *Virginia* and *Maryland*. We, in return, assure you, that we have great Pleasure in this Meeting, and thank you for the Part you have had in bringing us together, in order to create a good Understanding, and to clear the Road; and, in Token of our Gratitude, we present you with this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

*Brother Onas*,

You was pleased Yesterday to inform us, " That War had been declared between the *Great King* of ENGLAND and the *French King*; that " two great Battles had been fought, one by Land, and the other at Sea; " with many other Particulars." We are glad to hear the Arms of the King of *England* were successful, and take part with you in your Joy on this Occasion. You then came nearer Home, and told us, " You had left " your House, and were come thus far on Behalf of the whole People of " *Pennsylvania* to see us; to renew your Treaties; to brighten the Covenant " Chain, and to confirm your Friendship with us." We approve this Proposition; we thank you for it. We own, with Pleasure, that the Covenant Chain between us and *Pennsylvania* is of old Standing, and has never contracted any Rust; we wish it may always continue as bright as it has done hitherto; and, in Token of the Sincerity of our Wishes, we present you with this Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received with the Yo-hah.*

*Brother Onas*,

You was pleased Yesterday to remind us of our mutual Obligation to assist each other in case of a War with the *French*, and to repeat the Substance of what we ought to do by our Treaties with you; and that as a  
War



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War had been already entered into with the *French*, you called upon us to assist you, and not to suffer the *French* to march through our Country to disturb any of your Settlements.

In answer, We assure you we have all these Particulars in our Hearts; they are fresh in our Memory. We shall never forget that you and we have but one Heart, one Head, one Eye, one Ear, and one Hand. We shall have all your Country under our Eye, and take all the Care we can to prevent any Enemy from coming into it; and, in Proof of our Care, we must inform you, that before we came here, we told \* *Onantio*, our Father, as he is called, that neither he, nor any of his People, should come through our Country, to hurt our Brethren the *English*, or any of the Settlements belonging to them; there was Room enough at Sea to fight, there he might do what he pleased, but he should not come upon our Land to do any Damage to our Brethren. And you may depend upon our using our utmost Care to see this effectually done; and, in Token of our Sincerity, we present you with this Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

*After some little Time the Interpreter said, Canassatego had forgot something material, and desired to mend his Speech, and to do so as often as he should omit any thing of Moment, and thereupon he added:*

THE *Six Nations* have a great Authority and Influence over sundry Tribes of *Indians* in Alliance with the *French*, and particularly over the praying *Indians*, formerly a Part with ourselves, who stand in the very Gates of the *French*; and, to shew our further Care, we have engaged these very *Indians*; and other *Indian* Allies of the *French* for you. They will not join the *French* against you. They have agreed with us before we set out. We have put the Spirit of Antipathy against the *French* in those People. Our Interest is very considerable with them, and many other Nations, and as far as ever it extends; we shall use it for your Service.

THE Governor said, *Canassatego* did well to mend his Speech; he might always do it whenever his Memory should fail him in any Point of Consequence, and he thanked him for the very agreeable Addition.

*Brother Assarago;*

You told us Yesterday, that all Disputes with you being now at an End; you desired to confirm all former Treaties between *Virginia* and us, and to make our Chain of Union as bright as the Sun.

WE agree very heartily with you in these Propositions; we thank you for your good Inclinations; we desire you will pay no Regard to any idle Stories that may be told to our Prejudice. And, as the Dispute about the Land is now intirely over, and we perfectly reconciled, we hope, for the future, we shall not act towards each other but as becomes Brethren and hearty Friends.

\* *Onantio*, the Governor of *Canada*.

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WE are very willing to renew the Friendship with you, and to make it as firm as possible, for us and our Children with you and your Children to the latest Generation, and we desire you will imprint these Engagements on your Hearts in the strongest Manner; and, in Confirmation that we shall do the same, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

*Which was received with Yo-hah from the Interpreter and all the Nations:*

*Brother Assaragoa,*

You did let us know Yesterday, that tho' you had been disappointed in your Endeavours to bring about a Peace between us and the *Catawbas*, yet you would still do the best to bring such a Thing about. We are well pleased with your Design, and the more so, as we hear you know what sort of People the *Catawbas* are, that they are spiteful and offensive, and have treated us contemptuously. We are glad you know these Things of the *Catawbas*; we believe what you say to be true, that there are, notwithstanding, some amongst them who are wiser and better; and, as you say, they are your Brethren, and belong to the Great King over the Water, we shall not be against a Peace on reasonable Terms, provided they will come to the Northward to treat about it. In Confirmation of what we say, and to encourage you in your Undertaking, we give you this String of Wampum:

*Which was received with the usual Ceremonies.*

*Brother Assaragoa;*

You told us likewise, you had a great House provided for the Education of Youth, and that there were several white People and *Indians* Children there to learn Languages, and to write and read, and invited us to send some of our Children amongst you, &c.

WE must let you know we love our Children too well to send them so great a Way, and the *Indians* are not inclined to give their Children Learning. We allow it to be good, and we thank you for your Invitation; but our Customs differing from yours, you will be so good as to excuse us.

WE hope \* *Tarachawagon* will be preserved by the good Spirit to a good old Age; when he is gone under Ground, it will be then time enough to look out for another; and no doubt but amongst so many Thousands as there are in the World, one such Man may be found, who will serve both Parties with the same Fidelity as *Tarachawagon* does; while he lives there is no Room to complain. In Token of our Thankfulness for your Invitation, we give you this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Ceremony.*

*Brother Tocarry-hogan,*

You told us Yesterday, that since there was now nothing in Controversy between us, and the Affair of the Land was settled to your Satisfaction, you would now brighten the Chain of Friendship which hath subsisted between

*Tarachawagon, Conrad Weiser:*

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tween you and us ever since we became Brethren ; we are well pleased with the Proposition, and we thank you for it ; we also are inclined to renew all Treaties, and keep a good Correspondence with you. You told us further, if ever we should perceive the Chain had contracted any Rust, to let you know, and you would take care to take the Rust out, and preserve it bright. We agree with you in this, and shall, on our Parts, do every thing to preserve a good Understanding, and to live in the same Friendship with you as with our Brother *Onas* and *Affaragoa* ; in Confirmation whereof, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

*On which the usual Cry of Yo-hah was given.*

*Brethren,*

WE have now finished our Answer to what you said to us Yesterday, and shall now proceed to *Indian* Affairs, that are not of so general a Concern.

*Brother Affaragoa,*

THERE lives a Nation of *Indians* on the other Side of your Country, the *Tuscaroraes*, who are our Friends, and with whom we hold Correspondence ; but the Road between us and them has been stopped for some Time, on account of the Misbehaviour of some of our Warriors. We have opened a new Road for our Warriors, and they shall keep to that ; but as that would be inconvenient for Messengers going to the *Tuscaroraes*, we desire they may go the old Road. We frequently send Messengers to one another, and shall have more Occasion to do so now that we have concluded a Peace with the *Cherikees*. To enforce our Request, we give you this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Cry of Approbation.*

*Brother Affaragoa,*

AMONG these *Tuscaroraes* there live a few Families of the *Conoy Indians*, who are desirous to leave them, and to remove to the rest of their Nation among us, and the straight Road from them to us lies through the Middle of your Country. We desire you will give them free Passage through *Virginia*, and furnish them with Passes ; and, to enforce our Request, we give you this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Cry of Approbation.*

*Brother Onas, Affaragoa, and Tocarry-hogan,*

AT the Cloſe of your respective Speeches Yesterday, you made us very handsome Presents, and we should return you something suitable to your Generosity ; but, alas, we are poor, and shall ever remain so, as long as there are so many *Indian* Traders among us. Theirs and the white Peoples Cattle have eat up all the Grass, and made Deer scarce. However, we have provided a small Present for you, and tho' some of you gave us more than others, yet, as you are all equally our Brethren, we shall leave it to you to divide it as you please.—And then presented three Bundles of Skins, which were received with the usual Ceremony from the three Governments.

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WE have one Thing further to say, and that is, We heartily recommend Union and a good Agreement between you our Brethren. Never disagree, but preserve a strict Friendship for one another, and thereby you, as well as we, will become the stronger.

OUR wise Forefathers established Union and Amity between the *Five Nations*; this has made us formidable; this has given us great Weight and Authority with our neighbouring Nations.

WE are a powerful Confederacy; and, by your observing the same Methods our wise Forefathers have taken, you will acquire fresh Strength and Power; therefore whatever befalls you, never fall out one with another.

The Governor replied :

THE honourable Commissioners of *Virginia* and *Maryland* have desired me to speak for them; therefore I, in Behalf of those Governments, as well as of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, return you Thanks for the many Proofs you have given in your Speeches of your Zeal for the Service of your Brethren the *English*, and in particular for your having so early engaged in a Neutrality the several Tribes of *Indians* in the *French* Alliance. We do not doubt but you will faithfully discharge your Promises. As to your Presents, we never estimate these Things by their real Worth, but by the Disposition of the Giver. In this Light we accept them with great Pleasure, and put a high Value upon them. We are obliged to you for recommending Peace and good Agreement amongst ourselves. We are all Subjects, as well as you, of the Great King beyond the Water; and, in Duty to his Majesty, and from the good Affection we bear to each other, as well as from a Regard to our own Interest, we shall always be inclined to live in Friendship.

THEN the Commissioners of *Virginia* presented the Hundred Pounds in Gold, together with a Paper, containing a Promise to recommend the *Six Nations* for further Favour to the King; which they received with *Yo-hab*, and the Paper was given by them to *Conrad Weiser* to keep for them. The Commissioners likewise promised that their publick Messengers should not be molested in their Passage through *Virginia*, and that they would prepare Passes for such of the *Conoy Indians* as were willing to remove to the Northward.

THEN the Commissioners of *Maryland* presented their Hundred Pounds in Gold, which was likewise received with the *Yo-hab*.

*Canaastago* said, We mentioned to you Yesterday the Booty you had taken from the *French*, and asked you for some of the Rum which we supposed to be Part of it, and you gave us some; but it turned out unfortunately that you gave us it in *French* Glasses, we now desire you will give us some in *English* Glasses,

THE Governor made answer, We are glad to hear you have such a Dislike for what is *French*. They cheat you in your Glasses, as well as in every thing else. You must consider we are at a Distance from *Williamsburg*, *Annapolis*, and *Philadelphia*, where our Rum Stores are, and that altho' we brought up a good Quantity with us, you have almost drunk it out; but, notwithstanding this, we have enough left to fill our *English* Glasses, and will shew the  
Difference

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Difference between the Narrowness of the *French*, and the Generosity of your Brethren the *English* towards you.

THE *Indians* gave, in their Order, five *Yo-habs*; and the honourable Governor and Commissioners calling for some Rum, and some middle sized Wine Glasses, drank Health to the *Great King of ENGLAND* and the *Six Nations*, and put an End to the Treaty by three loud Huzza's, in which all the Company joined.

IN the Evening the Governor went to take his Leave of the *Indians*, and, presenting them with a String of Wampum, he told them, that was in return for one he had received of them, with a Message to desire the Governor of *Virginia* to suffer their Warriors to go through *Virginia* unmolested, which was rendered unnecessary by the present Treaty.

THEN, presenting them with another String of Wampum, he told them, that was in return for theirs, praying him, that as they had taken away one Part of *Conrad Weiser's* Beard, which frightened their Children, he would please to take away the other, which he had ordered to be done.

*The Indians received these two Strings of Wampum with the usual Yo-hah.*

THE Governor then asked them, what was the Reason that more of the *Shawanaes*, from their Town on *Hobio*, were not at the Treaty? But seeing that it would require a Council in Form, and perhaps another Day to give an Answer, he desired they would give an Answer to *Conrad Weiser* upon the Road on their Return home, for he was to set out for *Philadelphia* the next Morning.

*CANASSATEGO in Conclusion spoke as follows :*

WE have been hindered, by a great deal of Business, from waiting on you, to have some private Conversation with you, chiefly to enquire after the Healths of *Onas* beyond the Water; we desire you will tell them, we have a grateful Sense of all their Kindnesses for the *Indians*. Brother *Onas* told us, when he went away, he would not stay long from us; we think it is a great While, and want to know when we may expect him, and desire, when you write, you will recommend us heartily to him; which the Governor promised to do, and then took his Leave of them.

THE Commissioners of *Virginia* gave *Canassatego* a Scarlet Camblet Coat; and took their Leave of them in Form, and at the same time delivered the Passes to them, according to their Request.

THE Commissioners of *Maryland* presented *Gacbradosew* with a broad Gold-laced Hat, and took their Leave of them in the same Manner.

*A true Copy, compared by*

*RICHARD PETERS, Secry:*

T H E E N D





A N  
A C C O U N T  
O F T H E  
T R E A T Y

Held at the CITY of  
*Albany*, in the Province of *NEW-YORK*,  
By His EXCELLENCY the  
Governor of that PROVINCE,  
And the HONOURABLE the  
COMMISSIONERS for the Provinces  
O F  
*MASSACHUSETTS, CONNECTICUT,*  
A N D  
*PENNSYLVANIA,*  
WITH THE  
I N D I A N S  
O F T H E  
S I X N A T I O N S,  
In *OCTOBER*, 1745.

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*PHILADELPHIA:*

Printed by B. FRANKLIN, at the NEW-PRINTING-OFFICE,  
near the Market, M,DCC,XLVI.



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A N

# A C C O U N T

O F T H E

## T R E A T Y, &c.

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TO THE HONOURABLE

*GEORGE THOMAS, Esq;*

With the King's Royal Approbation, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, and Counties of *Newcastle, Kent*, and *Suffex*, on *Delaware*, under the Honourable JOHN PENN, THOMAS PENN, and RICHARD PENN, Esqs; true and absolute Proprietors of the said Province and Counties.

*May it please the GOVERNOR,*

**H**AVING been honoured with a Commission, authorizing us, the Subscribers, in Conjunction with the Governors of the Neighbouring Colonies, or their Delegates, or separately, to treat with the *Indians* of the Six United Nations at *Albany*, in *October* last; we think it our Duty to render an Account of our Conduct therein; which be pleased to receive as follows.

THE next Day after the Receipt of the Commission, that is, on the *Twenty-seventh* Day of *September* last, we set out for *Albany*, where we arrived on the *Third* of *October* following. On the *Fourth* of *October*, the Day appointed to treat with the *Indians*, pursuant to the Instructions given us, we waited on the Governor of *New-York*, acquainted him with our Appointment, and shewed him the Commission by which we were impowered to treat.

THE Governor desired his Secretary might take a Copy of it; to which we consented. The *Indians* of Five of the Six United Nations, in Number about Four Hundred and Sixty, arrived the same Day, none of them *Senecas*; it being, as we were inform'd, a Time of great Sickness and Mortality among them, which prevented their Coming.

BUT

## [ 4 ]

BUT the Commissioners from the *Massachusetts* not being come, the Treaty was deferred until their Arrival. Two Days after, being the *Sixth* of *October* in the Evening, we received a Message from the Governor of *New-York*, by his Secretary, desiring to know of us at what Time we would confer with a Committee of his Council, either alone, or with the Commissioners of the other Colonies, all then arrived, *viz.*

For the *Massachusetts*,

<i>Jacob Wendal</i> , Esq;	a Member of the Council,	
<i>John Stoddart</i> ,		} Esqs; Members of Assembly.
<i>Samuel Wells</i> ,		
<i>Thomas Hutchinson</i> ,		

For *Connecticut* Colony,

——— *Wolcot*, Esq; Lieutenant Governor, And  
Col. ——— *Stanley*.

WE agreed to return our Answer to his Message in the Morning.

ACCORDINGLY in the Morning we returned our Answer by *James Read*, that we would meet the Committee of Council at a Quarter after Ten that Day, and chose to have our first Conference with them only. About the Time appointed we went; but the Commissioners from the other Colonies coming into the Room soon after, deprived us of the separate Conference proposed. Being all thus met, the Gentlemen of the Council, *to wit*, *Daniel Horsmanden*, and *Joseph Murray*, Esqs; let us know, they were appointed by the Governor of *New-York*, a Committee to confer with us concerning the Treaty which was to ensue; that their Governor desired to be inform'd of our Sentiments, whether we were inclinable to speak to the *Indians* of the United Nations separately, or whether we thought a joint Speech to be delivered on Behalf of all the Colonies, might be best, either being indifferent to him.

THE Commissioners from *New-England* declared their Opinions for a joint Speech, as what would show our Union, and consequently, have the greater Weight with the *Indians*. On the Part of *Pennsylvania* it was objected, that we had divers Matters in Charge which related to our own Government only, which would be improper in such a joint Speech; and perhaps it might be the Case of other of the Colonies: That such a joint Speech would require much Time in forming; and with Difficulty, if at all likely to be agreed on.

BUT it was replied, this would be best judged of when the Heads of such joint Speech were read; and the Committee of Council producing what they had prepared to this Purpose, it was agreed to be read. On Reading of which we observed, that it mentioned a Complaint against the Eastern *Indians* for killing some white People; and therefore, among other Things, proposed the *Indians* of the Six United Nations should be put on declaring War against the Eastern *Indians*; and to assure them that the several Colonies would support them in it. To this Article it was objected, on the Part of *Pennsylvania*, That it was necessary the Legislature of each Government

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Government should be consulted before the *Indians* were put on Declaring of War: That it would be very mischievous to all the Colonies, as it would be a Means of drawing the War nearer on their Borders: That the *Indians* did not seem disposed to enter into a War with each other, but rather to remain Neutral: That in this Disposition, little better could be expected from them than what was remarked to be the Case in the last War, when the *Indians* of opposite Parties passed each other without fighting, and only scalp'd the white People: That as to the People who had been killed, the *Indians* might be put on demanding Satisfaction, and might possibly obtain it, and prevent the Cause of War; or if they were put on Declaring of War, at least Care should be first taken to provide them with the Requisites necessary for defending themselves, and carrying on such War; without which, it would in Effect, be a Betraying them. What Provision was made by the Government of *New-York*, the Gentlemen of the Council best knew. In *Pennsylvania* we knew no Provision was made for them. That therefore if this Article was inserted in the Speech propos'd, we must insist on Treating separately. To the Proposal for putting the *Indians* of the Six United Nations on demanding Satisfaction, one of the Commissioners of the *Massachusetts* answer'd, That Proposal ought to come on the Part of the *Indians*; for that if no more was propos'd to them on the Behalf of the Governments, than that they should demand Satisfaction for the Injury done, they would offer something yet less. At length it was agreed all the other Governments, *Pennsylvania* excepted, should treat jointly; and we were desir'd to be assistant in their joint Treaty so far as we judg'd fit.

A COMMITTEE was then named to prepare the joint Speech to be deliver'd by the Governor of *New-York*. When it was prepar'd we were to meet again to consider the same.

It was two Days after this before the Speech was ready; and in the mean Time the Governor and Council of *New-York* made Enquiry concerning the Alarm which happen'd the last Winter amongst the *Mohawks*, occasion'd by a Report spread amongst them that the *English* were coming to cut them off. To this Purpose the Governor of *New-York* sent for the *Mohawks*, and let them know that the String of Wampum which had been sent him by them not to make any further Enquiry concerning that Affair, he could not accept of; that it was necessary the Authors of this false Rumour should be known and punish'd; and therefore he insist'd they would discover all they knew concerning the Authors; and if they had any other Cause of Uneasiness, to communicate it to him: And thereupon he deliver'd back the String of Wampum sent him. The *Mohawks* agreed to return their Answer the next Day. Some of the *Mohawks* accordingly attended the Governor of *New-York* the next Day, and nam'd to him a Person who they said was the Author of this false Alarm. The Person being sent for, own'd his having heard and mention'd the Report; but deny'd his being the Author of it.

AFTER the strictest Enquiry and Examination, the Governor and Council seem'd to believe him innocent, and that the Rumour had been rais'd and spread by Means of some one or more of the *Mohawks* themselves.

## [ 6 ]

ON the Tenth of *October*, the Speech proposed to be delivered to the *Indians* by the Governor of *New-York*, being prepared, we were desired to meet the other Commissioners, and hear the same read. Accordingly, about Ten of the Clock in the Forenoon, we met them; the Speech was read; after which it was objected on the Part of *Pennsylvania*, that it contain'd a Narrative of many Facts to which we were altogether Strangers; and therefore were not proper to be made Parties in the Relation: That it press'd the *Indians* on making of War; which we thought might be attended with mischievous Consequences to all the Colonies: That as we are to treat separately, and they had already heard our Reasons against a War, they must judge for themselves how far it would be prudent in them to press it. The Result was, the Commissioners of the other Colonies agreed to the Speech, as it had been prepared; and in the Afternoon of the same Day, the Deputies of the *United Nations* were desired to attend the Governor of *New-York*: They came accordingly; and the Governor in Behalf of his Government, and those of the *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut*, and in the Presence of the Commissioners from thence, read the Speech agreed on; which was interpreted to the *Indians*: A Copy whereof was delivered to us, and follows in these Words, *viz.*

BRETHREN,

HERE are present upon the Occasion of this Interview, Commissioners from the Governments of the *Massachusetts-Bay* and *Connecticut*, conven'd with me on the same righteous Intention of Renewing, Bright'ning, and Strengthening the Covenant Chain which has tied you and His *Britannick* Majesty's several Colonies on this Continent, in the firmest Engagements to each other, for Supporting and Maintaining our Common Cause.

WE are glad to see so many of our Brethren, and we bid you Welcome here; at the same Time, that we heartily condole the Absence of our Brethren the *Senecas*, and the Calamities which have occasioned it; may the Almighty comfort them under their grievous Afflictions, and soon wipe off all Tears from their Eyes.

WE do with you our Brethren, and with you as their Representatives, ratify, confirm, and establish all former Engagements enter'd into by us and our Brethren of the Six United Nations; and assure you, that we shall ever hold them inviolable, and we doubt not of the same from you.

A B E L T.

*Brethren,*

THE Rumour which last Winter gave an Alarm to our Brethren the *Maquas*, and was from thence spread to the other Nations, now appears to have been without Foundation; and I cannot help observing on this Occasion, that you ought not for the future to suffer any such idle Tales to be raised or propagated among you, as they not only tend to separate your and our Affections each from the other; but also to make us jealous of our own People, without sufficient Grounds for it.

*A String of Wampum.*

*Brethren,*



## [ 7 ]

Brethren,

It must be further observed to you, that we hear several of the Chiefs and others of our Brethren of the *Six Nations*, have contrary to our Inclinations, and against our express Advice, had an Interview with the Governor of *Canada* this Summer at *Montreal*.

AND that your Pretence for holding this Correspondence with our declared Enemies, was for the publick Good and the Preservation of the House at *Ojwego*.

To tell the Governor of *Canada* that they must not make any Attack or Attempt upon that Place, for that our Brethren are resolved to defend it, and that it should remain a Place of Peace and Trade.

You declared your Intent was Good, and that the Governor of *Canada* should never prevail upon you in any Thing hurtful to your Brethren the *English*, who you knew did not like your going thither; that yet upon your Return from thence, your Brother the Governor of *New-York* should know all that passed between them and the Governor of *Canada*.

WE will tell our Brethren what we hear was done, whilst they were with the Governor of *Canada*, and we expect the whole Truth from them according to their Promise, and whether what we hear is true or not.

WE hear that whilst our Brethren were with the Governor of *Canada*, the *French Indians* took up the Hatchet against the *English*; which we believe to be true, for Reasons you shall hear by and by; and thereby the Treaty of Neutrality concluded between you and them, is become vain.

WE hear likewise, that our Brethren of the *Six Nations* there present, were so far prevailed upon by our Enemies the *French*, as to accept of the Hatchet, upon Condition to carry it home to their Council to deliberate upon, and then to return the Governor of *Canada* their Answer; which we cannot believe to be true, till we have it from our Brethrens own Mouths.

WE expect a plain and full Answer from our Brethren concerning these Matters, that the Way may be cleared, for wiping off all Stains from the Covenant Chain; and that we may preserve it bright, firm, and inviolable, as long as the Sun shall shine.

A B E L T.

Brethren,

WE must now acquaint you of some Things relating to the War; the Success of his Majesty's Arms against the *French* in this Part of the World; and the Rise and Occasion of our Attacks upon the Enemy in this Quarter.

WHEN you were here last Summer, you were told that War was declared between the Crowns of *Great-Britain* and *France*: The Events that have since happened are too numerous to relate particularly.

HIS Majesty's Subjects in this Country lay still the last Summer without attempting any Thing against the *French* Settlements: But the *French* first  
attack'd

## [ 8 ]

attack'd and destroyed a small Place belonging to us call'd *Canfo*, about twenty five Leagues from *Cape Breton*.

AFTERWARDS they laid Siege to *Annapolis-Royal*; but therein they proved unsuccessful.

THEY then agreed to make another Trial for that Place next Spring; and in the mean Time they sent to *France*, hoping to obtain some of the King's Ships to facilitate the Reduction of it.

THEY having proceeded thus far, Mr. *Shirley*, the Governor of the *Masachusetts-Bay*, thought it high Time to do something to curb the Insolence of that haughty People; and did therefore raise a small Army, which was joined by a Number of Men from the Governments of *Connecticut* and *New-Hampshire*, and sent them early last Spring against *Louisburgh*.

THEY were likewise joined by a Number of His Majesty's Ships of War; and after about seven Weeks Siege, that important and strong fortified Place was, through the Goodness of Divine Providence, delivered up to our Forces.

WHEREUPON the rest of the Inhabitants of the Island of *Cape Breton*, together with those that were settled in Parts adjacent, surrendered themselves Prisoners to the *English*.

AND during the Siege, and since, many *French* Ships were taken, and divers of them of great Value; and the Design of the *French* against *Annapolis-Royal* was frustrated.

WE have in this Part of the Country lain still, both the last Summer and this, hoping that our Neighbours in *Canada* would either be quiet, or carry on the War in a manly and christian-like Manner.

AND to induce them thereto, a Message was sent from this Place to the Government of *Canada* the last Summer, by which he was assured, that if he should renew their former vile Practice of treating His Majesty's Subjects inhumanly, the several Governors, together with the *Six Nations*, would join and make Reprisals on them.

AND at the same Time you publickly declared, That if any of His Majesty's Subjects, in any of His Governments, should be killed by any *Indian*, you would immediately join in the War against them and the *French*.

YOU likewise sent your Delegates last Summer to the Eastern *Indians* to warn them not to engage in the War against the *English*, threatening them in Case they should do so.

NOTWITHSTANDING these Things, divers Hostilities have been committed.

SOME Months ago the Eastern *Indians*, who had formerly acknowledged their Subjection to the Crown of *Great Britain*, entered into solemn Engagements with the King's Subjects, and had been since treated by them with great Kindness.

BUT

## [ 9 ]

BUT at the Infatigation of the *French*, they have lately killed one *Englishman*, and also great Numbers of Horses and Cattle ; burnt a Saw-Mill, and many Dwelling-houses, and attack'd an *English* Garrison.

NOTWITHSTANDING such outrageous Insults, the Governor of *Massachusetts-Bay* was so tender of them, that he resentedit no further than to fend a Message to them, demanding the Delivery of the Murderers, as they would avoid the Consequence of their Neglect.

THIS Proposal was rejected by them, and since that Time they have killed two or three others ; whereupon the Governor of the *Massachusetts* declared War against them.

AND we are informed the *English* have killed two of them, and taken another Prisoner.

ABOUT three Months since some of the *Canada-Indians* killed two *Englishmen* near *Connecticut* River ; the Body of one of them was treated in a most barbarous Manner, by which they left a Hatchet of War, thereby daring us to take it up and return it.

THERE has likewise been several other Parties that have attempted to destroy his Majesty's Subjects of *New-England*, but have hitherto been prevented.

THESE Facts plainly shew that the *French* are still acted by the same Spirit that they were formerly governed by ; and they seem never pleased but when they are at War, either with the *English*, or some of the Tribes of *Indians* ; and if they had it in their Power, they would doubtless destroy all about them.

IT is likewise evident, that the most solemn and sacred Engagements are broken through by those *Indians* that have committed the late Murders.

THAT Belts of Wampum will not bind them to the Performance of their Promises.

THAT we are slighted, and you contemned, as though they thought you not worthy to be regarded.

BUT now the *French* and their *Indians*, by the little Regard they have shewn to your Threatnings, or to the Covenants they have made with you, do declare that they think you do not intend to perform what you have threatned, or that they do not fear your Displeasure ; both which do reflect equal Dishonour on you.

IT is high Time for us and you to exert our selves and vindicate our Honour ; and although it is well known that we delight not in the Destruction of our Fellow-creatures, but have chosen rather to suffer our selves to be abused ; yet we cannot think our selves obliged any longer to bear their Insults and evil Treatment.

C

THEREFORE

## [ 10 ]

THEREFORE since neither our peaceable Dispositions, nor Examples, nor any Methods we have been able to use, have been sufficient to prevail upon them to forbear their barbarous Treatment of us, but they will force our Repentments; in the Name of GOD, we are resolv'd, not only to defend our selves, but by all proper Ways and Methods to endeavour to put it out of their Power to misuse and evil intreat us as they have hitherto done.

AND we doubt not of your ready and chearful Concurrence with us, agreeable to your solemn Promise made in this Place last Summer, in joining with us against our Enemies the *French*, and such *Indians* as are or shall be instigated by them; for we esteem them Enemies to God, as well as to all their Fellow-Creatures who dwell round about them.

*A large Belt, with the Figure of a Hatchet bung to it.*

THE publick Affairs of my Government have prevented my Meeting you sooner.

I WAS apprehensive I should not have been able to meet you this Fall, and it was determin'd upon on a sudden, so that there could not be timely Notice sent to the rest of His Majesty's Governments, or, I doubt not, they would likewise have sent Commissioners to be present at this Interview.

WE are all subject to the same Prince, united in the same Bonds of Duty and Allegiance to the Great King, our common Father, and in Friendship and Affection to each other; and in this Union consists that Strength that makes us formidable to our Enemies, and them fearful of our Repentments.

WE are all united with you in the same Covenant-chain, which as long as we preserve it free from Rust, must remain impregnable: And you on your Parts, have declared that you will preserve it so strong and bright, that it shall not be in the Power of the Devil himself, with all his Wiles and Art, to break or dirty it.

You are also united with all the far Nations of *Indians* in League with our Great King, with whom we recommend to you to preserve strict Friendship, and hold frequent Correspondence.

THAT your selves, who many of you live scattered and dispersed; should dwell in Bodies closer together, as you have heretofore promised to do.

AND we advise you to keep your young Men at home, and within Call, excepting such as may be sent from Time to Time a Hunting, or against our Enemies; and you may depend upon the most ready and effectual Assistance from us in all Times of Danger.

*A B E L T.*

THE *Indians* of the United Nations promised to call a Council the next Morning; and, if they could, to return their Answer to this Speech the same Day.

THE next Day we waited on the Governor of *New-York*, and delivered to him, according to our Agreement, the Speech we propos'd to make to the

## [ I I ]

the *Indians* of the United Nations, in order for his Perusal, and then to be returned us; which he promised to do by the next Morning.

OCTOBER the Twelfth, in the Morning, we received a Message from the Governor of *New-York*, with the Speech he proposed to make to the *Mohiggans*, or *River Indians*; which we perused, and returned to the Secretary, without making any Objections against what was proposed to be said to them. Some Time after we received a second Message, desiring us to be present when the Governor delivered this Speech, and at the Receiving the Answer of the *Six Nations* to the Speech made to them.

WE attended accordingly. The Commissioners for the *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut* also attended: And the Speech prepared for the *River Indians* was read by Paragraphs, and translated to them; a Copy of which was delivered us, and is as follows:

CHILDREN,

I AM glad to see you here, and bid you welcome. I sent for you to meet me at this Place, that I might have an Opportunity to renew and confirm the Covenants and Engagements made from Time to Time between us. And I do now publicly promise, that nothing shall be wanting on my Part; but that the Covenant Chain shall remain bright and strong for ever.

*Children,*

I MUST put you in mind of what you promised me last Year. You engaged that you would keep your People at Home, which, I am informed, you have not done; but many of your People have lately left *Schabkook*, and are gone to *Canajoherie*, and some to *Attowawie*. I want to know for what Reason they have left their Habitations, and charge you to send for them back as soon as you can; and that you would live together at *Schabkook*.

*A String of Wampum.*

*Children,*

LAST Year I acquainted you that War was declared between the Great King, your Father, and the *French* King; and told you what I expected of you. You answered me; that in all Things relating to the War you would take the *Six Nations* for an Example; which I expect you will do.

A B E L T.

To this Speech the *River Indians* the same Day returned their Answer; of which, with what further past between them and the Governor of *New-York*, we obtained a Copy, which follows in these Words:

FATHER,

WE are glad to see you here in Health. Your Children here present bid you all welcome.

*Father,*

You have renewed the Covenant, and have assured us that you will keep it inviolable. We do now likewise assure you, that nothing shall be wanting on our Parts, but that we will keep the Covenant Chain clear and free from Rust.

*Father,*

## [ 12 ]

*Father,*

WHEN we were here last, you told us that you was glad to see so great a Number of us together ; and now you ask us what is the Reason so many of us have left *Schabkook* and are gone to *Canajoberie* and *Attowawie* ; and that you are sorry so many of us have left our Habitations.

*Father,*

You have told us that War is proclaimed between the *English* and *French*, and that you designed to go and fight the *French*. You told us that we should do as our Uncles the *Six Nations* did with respect to the War.

*Father,*

You told us that you would keep the Covenant ; and we are resolved to do the same ; as a Token whereof we give this

*B E L T.*

*Father,*

You must not be surprized that so many of our People have left *Schabkook*. They are not gone to a strange Country, but are only among our Uncles the *Six Nations*, with whom we are united in Covenant.

*A String of Wampum.*

*Father,*

RESPECTING the War with the *French*, we will do as the *Six Nations*, and our Father ; and will take them for Examples in all Things relating thereto.

*A B E L T.*

*Father,*

WE are glad the *Six Nations* design to send some of their People to *Canada*, to treat with the *Indians* there. We have been two or three Times to the Carrying-place to treat with some of those *Indians*, in order to keep Peace ; and design to send some of our People to *Canada*, to speak with some of the *Indians* there, upon the same Business.

*Give some Skins,*

HIS Excellency recommended to them, that they should use their Endeavours to prevail upon the *Albicanhook Indians*, and all the rest of the *Indians* who have left their old dwelling Place, to return to *Schabkook*.

THEY answered, they would.

THE *Indians* of the United Nations then delivered their Answer to the Speech made to them, *Canassatego* being Speaker : A Copy of which, with what ensued, as we received it, follows in these Words.

BRETHREN,

TWO Days ago you spoke to us, and we are now come to give you our Answer. You must not expect that we can answer particularly to the several Heads you mentioned to us, but only to the principal Articles. You have renewed to us the Covenant Chain, and we do now renew the same on our Parts ; and it is impossible that it can ever Rust, for we daily wipe off the Rust and Dirt, and keep it clean ; which we will ever continue to do.

*A B E L T.*

*Brethren,*



[ 13 ]

*Brethren,*

You thought fit to mention to us, that there had been an Uproar among us last Winter, and told us, We ought not to entertain any such Notions of you our Brethren, especially as we had no Grounds to believe any such Thing. It is true, Brethren, there was such a Rumour among us ; but it was immediately buried and forgot ; and we did not expect that our Brethren would have mentioned any Thing concerning that Affair to us, at this Interview ; and we desire you to think no more of it. We are always mindful of the Covenants between us and our Brethren ; and here is a Certificate \*, whereby it appears, that we are in Covenant with our Brethren of *Boston*.

*A String of Wampum.**Brethren,*

You spoke to us concerning our going to *Canada*, and told us, that the Commissioners of *Indian Affairs* had last Winter told us not to go there ; but some of us went. As to what you tell us, that we had taken up the Hatchet against you our Brethren, and promised him to consider of it at home, it is not so. The *Mohawks* and *Tuskaroroes* at their Return, gave the Commissioners of *Indian Affairs*, an Account of all that passed there ; and we are convinced that that Account is true.

*A B E L T.**Brethren,*

You have thought fit to relate to us several Particulars concerning the War between you and the *French*, and what Reason you had for taking up the Hatchet against the *French* and their *Indians*. We thank you for giving us a particular Account of the Provocations and Inducements you had for declaring War against them. You have also mentioned to us, that we are one Body and one Flesh, and that if one of us is touched or hurt, the other is likewise ; and you have informed us, that you were molested and attacked by the Enemy, and had therefore taken up the Hatchet against them, and desired, as we are one Flesh with you, that we would also take up the Hatchet against the *French*, and those under their Influence, in Conjunction with you. We *Six Nations* accept of the Hatchet, and will keep it in our Bosom. We are in Alliance with a great Number of *far Indians*, and if we should so suddenly lift up the Hatchet, without acquainting our Allies, it would perhaps disoblige them ; we will therefore, before we make Use of the Hatchet against the *French*, or their *Indians*, send four of our People who are now ready, to *Canada*, to demand Satisfaction for the Wrongs they have done our Brethren ; and if they refuse to make Satisfaction, then we will be ready to use the Hatchet against them, whenever our Brother the Governor of *New-York*, orders us to do it.

*A B E L T.*

HIS Excellency ask'd them what Time they thought necessary to see whether the *French Indians* would make such Satisfaction ?

THEY answered, Two Months.

\* They here produc'd a Certificate under the Seal of the *Massachusetts*.

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HIS Excellency asked them, That if in Case the Enemy should commit any further Hostilities in the mean time, Whether they would then, upon his Commands, immediately make Use of the Hatchet ?

THEY answered, Yes.

*Brethren,*

You desired us to gather together our People who are scattered, and to settle in a Body ; especially as it is very uncertain how soon we may have occasion for them : Your Request is very reasonable, and we will use our Endeavours to that End.

A B E L T.

*Brethren,*

WE have now finished our Answer ; and have nothing further to say, but only one Request to make to you all ; which is, That you our Brethren should be all united in your Councils, and let this Belt of Wampum serve to bind you all together ; and if any Thing of Importance is to be communicated to us, by any of you, this is the Place where it should be done.

A B E L T.

THE Answer thus delivered by the United Nations, was received with the Approbation of the Governor of *New-York* ; the Commissioners from the *Massachusetts* only expressed their Dissatisfaction ; for that, as they alledged, the *Indians* the last Year had engaged, that if Hostilities were committed against the *English*, they would in such Case, declare War : That Hostilities had been since committed ; and therefore that by those Engagements, the *Six Nations* ought now to declare War with the *French* and *Indians*.

THIS Day we proposed to have delivered our Speech to the *Indians* ; but the Time being too far spent, and this the last Day of the Week, we were obliged to postpone it, until the Beginning of the next.

THE Fourteenth of *October*, being the Time we appointed for speaking with the *Indians*, we gave Directions to *Conrad Weiser* to give them Notice to attend. But before they came to the Place appointed, we received a Message from the Governor of *New-York*, that he was then met in Council, and desired to speak with us. We went accordingly. When we came to the Governor's, besides himself and his Council, there were present the Commissioners from the *Massachusetts* ; who then presented to the Governor Letters that they had received by an Express, giving an Account that a Party of *French* and *Indians*, had a few Days before made an Attack on the Great Meadow Fort, about Fifty Miles, as we are informed, from *Albany*. That they had taken Prisoner a Person whom they found at some Distance from it. That two others coming down a Creek near that Fort, were shot at, one killed, the other made his Escape. The Number of *French* and *Indians* was not mentioned. On reading of these Letters, the Commissioners for the *Massachusetts* were requested to be explicit in what they desired on this Occasion. They thereupon represented, That their Government thought it unreasonable the whole Burden of the War should remain on

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one Province, whilst the rest remained Neutral : That they desired the *Indians* of the *Six Nations* might be engaged to assist them : That tho' they thought it was reasonable other Provinces should bear a Part of the Expence ; yet rather than want the Assistance of the *Indians* on the present Occasion, they would be at the whole Expence themselves. The Governor of *New-York* complained, the *Massachusetts* Government had been too precipitate in their Declaration of War : That the other Governments were not obliged to follow the Example : Said that he had done all in his Power towards being better provided for a War : That in the Condition the Inhabitants of that Province were in on the Borders, it would be imprudent in him to engage the *Indians* of the *Six Nations* in a War : That proper Provision should first be made, which could not be done without his Assembly, who were to sit in a little Time, and before whom he would lay this Affair. After this, and more of like Import said, we parted. The Governor of *New-York* having delivered the Presents from that Government to the *Indians* of the United Nations, embarked for the City of *New-York* and we proceeded to meet the *Indians* according to our Appointment. When we came to the Place agreed on for this Purpose, we found the Deputies of the United Nations attending, and the Speech we had before agreed on was now read, and interpreted to them by *Conrad Weiser* ; the Interpreters of *New-York* and the *Massachusetts* being also present, and assisting : Which Speech follows in these Words :

Brethren of the Six Nations,

**A**L T H O' it is not long since a Treaty was held with you in *Pennsylvania*, yet our Governor, and the Assembly of the Province, being informed of your coming hither, have, at the Invitation of the Governor of *New-York*, sent us here, to be present at the Treaty now held with you. We attend accordingly, and are glad to see you. In Token whereof, we present you with this

*String of Wampum:*

Brethren,

BEFORE your last going to *Canada*, you promised our Governor, That on your return you would open your Hearts, and give a full Account of all that passed between you and the *French* Governor ; and we have it in Charge to desire you now to perform this Promise.

Brethren,

WE are also to put you in Mind, that, by the Treaty made last Year with our Governor, at *Lancaster*, you promised him, that neither the Governor of *Canada*; nor any of his People, should come through your Country to hurt your Brethren the *English*, nor any of the Settlements belonging to them : Notwithstanding which, some of the *Shawnee* *Indians*, in Conjunction with some *Frenchmen* from *Canada*, committed a Robbery on our Traders, and took from them a great Quantity of Goods. This, our Governor sometime since gave you Notice of by *Conrad Weiser*, and you undertook to demand Satisfaction for the Injury, of the Governor of *Canada* and the *Shawnee* *Indians*. We therefore now desire to be informed whether you have made this Demand, and what Satisfaction you have obtained. The *Frenchmen* who did this Injury came through the Lands you claim, and the Robbery was committed on our Traders on those Lands. It was therefore a manifest Breach

## [ 16 ]

Breach of the Neutrality the Governor of *Canada* pretended to observe towards you, and shews the Perfidy of the *French*, and that they regard the Treaties they make, no longer than whilst they think it their Interest to do.

WE hope their Example will not influence you, but that you will fulfil all the Treaties you have entered into with your Brethren the *English*. To impress this on your Minds, and to enforce our Request, we present you with this

*Belt of Wampum.*

*Brethren,*

BESIDES what we have already said, we are also to remind you, that our Governor, at the Request of the Government of *Virginia*, became a Mediator between you and the Southern *Indians* called *Catabaws*: And you promised him next Spring to send Deputies to *Philadelphia*, to meet some of that Nation, in order to conclude a Peace with them: And that in the mean Time all Hostilities shall be suspended. But our Governor is since informed that a Party of the *Oneidas* Warriors are gone to attack the *Catabaws*. Whether this be true or not, or whether any of your young Men went without your Knowledge, we do not know; and therefore desire you now to inform us of all the Particulars; and if any of your Warriors are gone against the *Catabaws*, that you will forthwith recal them, and take Care that no more go against them during the Time agreed on.

*Brethren,*

YOU may remember, that at a Treaty held with our Government at *Philadelphia*, in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Two, you were advised, "To call home all those of your Nations who were at *Canada*, "or live amongst the *French*; lest if any Occasion or Difference should arise, "they might be prevented from returning." This, in your Answer made to our Governor in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred Thirty Six, you call "Sound Advice, say the *French* were formerly your cruel Enemies, "and that you were taking such Measures as you hoped would be effectual "to bring back your People if any new Breach should happen."

*Brethren,*

THE *French* are a subtle People. A Breach hath now happened, occasioned by an unjust Declaration of War made by the *French* King against the King of *Great Britain* and His Subjects; and, no doubt, if any of your People live amongst the *French*, they will endeavour to engage them in their Service; and, therefore, we think you would act very prudently, as soon as is possible, to persuade them to return and settle amongst you. To enforce this Request, we present you with this

*Belt of Wampum.*

*Brethren,*

WE have more to say to you from our Governor; but this we must defer until we hear your Answer to what we have already said.

THIS Speech being interpreted to them, and the *Indians*, by *Cannassatego* their Chief, signifying their Intention of an immediate Consultation, and in a little Time to return us an Answer, we withdrew.

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SOME Time after being informed the *Indians* were come to a Result, we again met them, and received their Answer; the Substance of which, as the same was translated to us, is as follows, the aforesaid *Canassatego* being Speaker.

BRETHREN,

YOU that come from *Pennsylvania* to represent our Brother *Onas*, you tell us that you come hither at the Invitation of the Governor of *New-York*, to the Council Fire at *Albany*, to hear what passes between us and our Brother the Governor of *New-York*. You were pleased to signify to us; that you were glad to see us, for which we return you our hearty Thanks. We are likewise glad to see you, in Token wherefore we return you this

*String of Wampum.*

Brethren,

THE first Thing you required of us this Morning was, that we would give you an Account of all that passed between us and the Governor of *Canada*, at our last Visit to him, according to the Promise we made the last Summer to *Conrad Weiser*, your Interpreter, at *Oswego*. And since you desire to hear with your own Ears, we are now ready to do it, tho' it will take up Time, and, therefore, another Opportunity might have suited better. Our Going to *Montreal* was at the Invitation of the Governor of *Canada*. At our coming there, several great Men, as well of the *French*, as *Indians*, being dead since our last Journey there, we, according to our Custom, spent some Days in bewailing their Death. During this Time, divers of the *French* Council took an Opportunity of sounding us, to learn from us how the War went on with the *English*, and how far we were engaged therein. On which Occasion we told them, That formerly we had inconsiderately engaged in Wars, but that we looked upon this War, as a War between the *English* and *French* only, and did not intend to engage on either Side; for that the *French* and *English* made War, and made Peace, at Pleasure; but when the *Indians* once engaged in Wars, they knew not when it would end. We also told the *French*, that they knew, and all the World knew, the Countries on which we were settled, and particularly the Lakes, were ours; and, therefore, if they would fight our Brethren, the *English*, they ought to fight on the salt Water, and that they must not come over our Land to disturb them, or to obstruct the Trade at *Oswego*. That they, the *French*, had two trading Houses on those Lakes, with which they ought to be contented. The Governor of *Canada* promised us he would not do it unless the King his Master should command him, and then he must obey. While these Things pass'd, News arrived at *Montreal*, of the taking of *Cape Breton* by the *English*, at which the *French* were much alarmed; and the Governor thereupon sent for all the *Indians* then at *Montreal*, to wit, the *French* *Indians*, and us, the Deputies of the *Six Nations*, who met together in a large House, where the Governor of *Canada* taking in his Hand a large Belt of Wampum, in which the Figure of a Hatchet was wrought, speaking to us of the *Six Nations*, said as follows:

Children,

YOUR Brethren the *English* have already taken one of my Towns (meaning *Cape Breton*) and their Fleet I suppose is now coming up to *Quebec*;

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and

## [ 18 ]

and therefore I must take up the Hatchet to defend my self against them. As for you, my Children (speaking to the *French Indians*) I have no Occasion to say much to you, for you must live and die with me, and cannot deny me your Assistance. And as for you, my Children of the *Six Nations* (speaking to us) he further said, I know you love your Brethren the *English*, and therefore I shall not say much to you; perhaps you would not be pleased with it: But Children, said he, should know their Duty to their Father. Then speaking to us all, he desired such who loved him to go with him and assist him in defending *Quebec*; and that those who went with him need not to take any thing with them save their Tobacco Pouches; that he would provide Guns, Pistols, Swords, Ammunition, Provisions, and every Thing, even Paint to paint them; and thereupon delivered the Belt to the Interpreter, who threw it at the Feet of the *Indians* present, some of whom inconsiderately, and without any Consultation first had, took it up, and danced the War Dance; and afterwards divers of the *Indians* present, chiefly of the *Praying Indians*, went with the *French* Governor to *Quebec*, where they staid eight or ten Days, but no Notice was taken of them, nor any Arms or Necessaries, so much as a Knife, provided for them, nor were they admitted to speak to the Governor; which so exasperated the *Praying Indians*, that they left *Quebec*, and are since gone against their common Enemies to the Southward. *Canassatego* added,

*Brethren,*

You also put us in mind this Morning of the Treaties of Friendship subsisting between you and us. The Last we made with the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, was at *Lancaster*, the last Year. By this Treaty we were to be Neutral (and we wish the *English* of all the Provinces would agree that we should remain so) unless the *French* should come through our Settlements to hurt our Brethren the *English*, which we would not permit. This, and all other our Treaties, with our Brethren the *English*, we are determined to observe; and in Token thereof, we return you this

*Belt of Wampum.*

*Brethren,*

You also put us in mind of our Brother *Onas* his Mediation between us and the *Catabaws*; and that you heard some of our Warriors were, notwithstanding, gone against them. It is not in our Power to restrain our Warriors as the *English* can do, until a Peace be finally concluded. This the *Catabaws* know. We have used our Endeavours to restrain them from going, and shall continue so to do; during the Time agreed on, altho' we doubt whether the *Catabaws* are so desirous of Peace as they would have our Brother *Onas* believe; otherwise they would have done as the *Cherokees* did, who, tho' they were at War with us, came to desire Peace; but the *Catabaws* have neither come to us, nor have they come to our Brother *Onas*: But the Account he has received, is only from the Government of *Virginia*. When *Conrad Weiser* brought us an Account of this Matter, we were going to *Canada*; and at our Return we had kindled a Council Fire; but receiving a Message from the Governor of *New-York*, we were obliged to rake it up until we return. *Canassatego* further said, We have spoke to the Governor of *Canada* concerning *Peter Chartier*, and the Robbing of your *Indian* Traders; the Governor of *Canada* said, He knew nothing of the Matter. At our Council before-mentioned, we were to have considered what we should do further

in



## [ 19 ]

in this Affair ; but were called away before we had come to any Resolution. He added, Your Traders go very far back into the Country, which we desire may not be done, because it is in the Road of the *French*. At our Return, we will hold a Council ; and in the Spring, when our Deputies come to meet those of the *Catabaws* at *Philadelphia*, we shall send our Brother *Onas* our Refult. *Canassatego* further said,

*Brethren,*

You put us in Mind of a Promise we made our Brother *Onas* at his coming over to *Pennsylvania*, That we would recal our People from *Canada*, who were settled there. We have invited them back to us, and have done all we can to effect it ; but cannot prevail : The Governor of *Canada* has taken them into his Lap, suckles them as his Children, and they are so well pleased with him, it is impossible for us to prevail with them to come and settle with us. We return you this Belt instead of that we received from you.

AFTER we had received this Answer of the *Indians*, we acquainted them by our Interpreter, that what we had farther to say to them, would be early the next Morning. In the mean Time we ordered them a Pair of Oxen and some Beer for their Subsistence, and then parted.

THE next Morning, being the Fifteenth of *October*, the *Indians* met us, pursuant to our Appointment ; when we spoke to them to the Effect following.

BRETHREN,

WE now put you in Mind, there are two Things remaining under your Consideration, concerning which, you have received Belts from our Governor, and have, as yet, return'd no full Answer : The First relates to the *Catabaws*, the Second to our *Indian* Traders. As you have signified to us your Inability of doing it at this time, we expect when you return home, a Council will be called, and that you will give our Governor a full Answer in the Spring.

*Brethren,*

WHEN our Governor and Assembly sent us hither, they did not think it fitting we should come empty handed ; but have directed us to provide you a Present. We considered Winter was approaching, that our Brethren would want Cloathing to preserve them from the Cold, and Powder and Lead to acquire their Livelihood by Hunting ; we have therefore provided the Goods which now lie before you, *to wit*,

Six Pieces of Strouds.

Four Pieces of *Indian* Blankets.

Two Pieces of striped Blankets.

Four Pieces of half Thicks.

One Piece of *Shrewsbury* Cotton.

Eight Dozen of Knives.

Four Hundred and Twenty-five Bars of Lead.

Four half Barrels of Pistol Powder.

THESE we present to you on Behalf of our Government, and have no more to say, but to wish you a good Journey Home.

THU

THIS Speech being interpreted to the *Indians*, after a short Consultation between themselves, they brought six Bundles of Skins ; and by *Canassatego* ; spoke as follows :

BRETHREN,  
WE thank you for the Goods you present to us. We are Poor, and have little to return ; however, out of what we have, we present you with the six Bundles of Skins which you see. These we desire may be accepted of, as a Token of our Affection.

To this we replied. We accepted them in the Manner they desired, wished them well, and then took Leave of them.

THE Sloop which brought us, waiting our Return, we embarked, arrived at *New York* on the Nineteenth of *October*. The same Day took Boat, and got to *Elizabeth Town Point*. Then mounted our Horses ; and on the Twenty-second of *October*, reached Home.

PERMIT us to add, That in the foregoing Relation, we do not pretend to have delivered the several Conversations which pass, *verbatim* ; but only the Substance, so far as we judge them material ; and where we have made any Omissions, they are of such Things as we think of too little Consequence to be inserted. If the Governor's Health, and other Affairs of Importance, had permitted his Attendance at this Treaty, we make no Question it would have been managed with greater Skill and Delicacy. Thus much, however, we may say, That so far as we were able, we have, pursuant to the Instructions we received, faithfully endeavoured to acquit ourselves of the Trust, to the Honour and Interest of the Province : But whether we are so happy as in any Degree to have succeeded herein, is humbly submitted to the Governor,

By

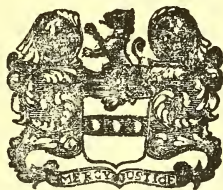
THO. LAWRENCE,  
JOHN KINSEY.



A  
T R E A T Y

BETWEEN THE  
PRESIDENT *and* COUNCIL  
OF THE  
Province of PENNSYLVANIA,  
AND THE  
*I N D I A N S* of *O H I O*,

Held at *P H I L A D E L P H I A*, *Nov. 13. 1747.*



*P H I L A D E L P H I A:*

Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN, at the New  
Printing-Office, near the Market. MDCCXLVIII.



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[ 3 ]

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A

# T R E A T Y, &c.

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*At a Council held at Philadelphia, the 13th of November, 1747.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable ANTHONY PALMER, Esq; President.*

<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>	<i>Samuel Hassell,</i>	}	Esqrs.
<i>William Till,</i>	<i>Abraham Taylor,</i>		
<i>Robert Strettell,</i>	<i>Benjamin Shoemaker,</i>		
<i>Joseph Turner,</i>	<i>William Logan,</i>		

**T**HE *Indian Warriors* from *Ohio*, having arriv'd in Town on *Wednesday*, the President sent them a Message Yesterday, by Mr. *Weiser*, the Interpreter, to bid them welcome: And understanding that they were desirous to be heard To-day, he summon'd the Council for this Purpose. Mr. *Weiser* attending, he was sent to tell the *Indians* the Council was sitting, and ready to receive them. They immediately came. The President inform'd them, the Council were glad to see their Brethren, took their Visit very kindly, and desired to know what they had to communicate.

After a Pause, the principal Warrior rose up, and spoke as follows :

*Brethren, the English, the Governor of York, the Commissioners at Albany, the Governor and Councillors of Pennsylvania,*

**W**E who speak to you are Warriors, living at *Ohio*, and address you on Behalf of ourselves, and the rest of the Warriors of the *Six Nations*.

You will, perhaps, be surprized at this unexpected Visit ; but we cou'd not avoid coming to see you, the Times are become so critical and dangerous. We are of the *Six Nations*, who are your ancient Friends, having made many Treaties of Friendship with the *English*, and always preserv'd the Chain bright. You know when our Father, the Governor of *Canada*, declar'd War against our Brethren, the *English*, you the Governor of *New-York*, the Commissioners of *Indian Affairs* at *Albany*, the Commissioners for this Province, sent to inform the Council at *Onondago* of it, and to desire that they wou'd not meddle with the War ; that they wou'd only look on, and see what wou'd be done ; that we, the *Indians*, wou'd let you fight it out by yourselves, and not pity either Side ; and that we would send to all the Nations in Alliance with us, to do the same : And accordingly the *Indians* did send to all their Friends and Allies, and particularly to the *Indians* about the Lakes, and in the

Places

## [ 4 ]

Places where we live, requesting they wou'd not engage on either Side ; and they all stood Neuters, except the *French Praying Indians*, who, tho' they promis'd, yet were not as good as their Words. This is the first Thing we have to say to our Brethren, and we hope they will receive this in good Part, and be willing to hear what we have further to say.

*Brethren,*

When the *Indians* received the first Message from the *English*, they thought the *English* and *French* would fight with one another at Sea, and not suffer War to be made on the Land : But some Time after this, Messengers were sent by all the *English* to *Onondago*, to tell us that the French had begun the War on the Land in the *Indian* Countries, and had done a great deal of Mischief to the *English*, and they now desired their Brethren, the *Indians*, would take up the Hatchet against the *French*, and likewise prevail with their Allies to do the same. The old Men at *Onondago* however refus'd. to do this, and would adhere to the Neutrality ; and on their declaring this, the *English* sent other Messengers again and again, who pressed earnestly that the *Indians* would take up their Hatchet, but they were still denied by the old Men at the Fire at *Onondago*, who, unwilling to come into the War, sent Message after Message to *Canada* and *Albany*, to desire both Parties would fight it out at Sea. At last the young *Indians*, the Warriors, and Captains, consulted together, and resolved to take up the *English* Hatchet against the Will of their old People, and to lay their old People aside, as of no Use but in Time of Peace. This the young Warriors have done, provoked to it by the repeated Applications of our Brethren the *English* ; and we now come to tell you, that the *French* have hard Heads, and that we have nothing strong enough to break them. We have only little Sticks, and Hickories, and such Things, that will do little or no Service against the hard Heads of the *French* : We therefore present this Belt, to desire that we may be furnished with better Weapons, such as will knock the *French* down ; and in Token that we are hearty for you, and will do our best if you put better Arms into our Hands, we give you this Belt.

*Here they gave a Belt of seven Rows.*

*Brethren,*

When once we, the young Warriors, engaged, we put a great deal of Fire under our Kettle, and the Kettle boil'd high, and so it does still (*meaning they carried the War on briskly*) that the *Frenchmens* Heads might soon be boil'd. But when we look'd about us, to see how it was with the *English* Kettle, we saw the Fire was almost out, and that it hardly boil'd at all ; and that no *Frenchmens* Heads were like to be in it. This truly surprizes us, and we are come down on Purpose to know the Reason of it. How comes it to pass, that the *English*, who brought us into the War, will not fight themselves ? This has not a good Appearance, and therefore we give you this String of Wampum to hearten and encourage you, to desire you wou'd put more Fire under your Kettle.

*Here they presented the String of Wampum of seven Strings.*

*Brethren,*

We have now done with general Matters ; but old *Scaibady* desires to inform the Council, that he was here in *James Logan's* Time, a long Time ago, when he had but one Child, and he a little one : That he was then employed in the Affairs of the Government : That *James Logan* gave him this String, to assure



## [ 5 ]

assure him, if ever he should come to want, and apply to this Government, they wou'd do something for him. *Scaibady* is now grown old and infirm, and recommends himself to *James Logan's* and the Council's Charity.

*Here be laid down a String of Wampum.*

The *Indians* withdrew, and the Council adjourn'd to To-morrow Morning, Eleven a Clock.

*In the Council-Chamber, 14th November 1747.*

P R E S E N T,

<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>	<i>Robert Strettell,</i>	} Esqrs.
<i>Benjamin Shoemaker,</i>	<i>William Logan,</i>	

THE President being indispos'd, and the other Members not attending, there could be no Council; the Members present, judg'd that before the Heads of an Answer to the Speech of the *Indians* could be considered, it was necessary previously to learn from Mr. *Weiser*, the particular History of these *Indians*, their real Disposition towards us, and their future Designs; and accordingly sent for him. He said the *Indians*, had in Part told him their Mind, and he thought they might be brought to tell him more; and when they did, he would inform the Council. The Members likewise judg'd, that it might be of Service to know Mr. *Logan's* Sentiments about what might be proper to be said to the *Indians*, and requested Mr. *Weiser* and the Secretary to wait on him for that Purpose.

*At a Council held at Philadelphia, 16th November 1747.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the PRESIDENT,

<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>	<i>Samuel Hassel,</i>	} Esqrs.
<i>William Till,</i>	<i>Abr. Taylor,</i>	
<i>Robert Strettell,</i>	<i>Benj. Shoemaker,</i>	
<i>Thomas Hopkinson,</i>	<i>William Logan,</i>	

MR. *Weiser* attending was called in, and inform'd the Council, that he had learn'd the following Particulars from the *Indians*, viz. That last Summer the Governor of *Canada* had sent the Hatchet to the *Indians* about the Lakes, and on the Branches of *Ohio*; that one Nation took it up; and that these *Indians*, and the *Indians* in those Quarters, consisting principally of Warriors, being afraid others would do the like, to prevent this took up the *English* Hatchet, and proclaim'd War against the *French*; which had a good Effect, no more daring after this to meddle with the *French* Hatchet: That these *Indians* on *Ohio*, had concluded to kindle a Fire in their Town, and had invited all the *Indians* at a considerable Distance round about them to come to their Fire in the Spring; and that they had consented to it. Mr. *Weiser* added, that the *Indians* in the Parts these People came from, were numerous, not less than Five Hundred Men, and had many Allies more numerous than themselves: That it was always the Custom in War Time, to put the Management into the Hands of the young People; and that it would be of the most pernicious Consequence not to give them Encouragement at this Time; and

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## [ 6 ]

particularly he thought the Council should at least tell them, they approv'd of their taking up the Hatchet ; and acknowledge the Service done to the *English* by their reasonable Declaration in their Favour : He thought Providence had furnished this Province with a fine Opportunity of making all the *Indians* about the Lakes their Friends, and warm Friends too.—Mr. *Weiser* being asked what Sort of a Present should be given them at this Time, He said Goods were now so dear, that the Value of 100 Pounds would appear but small, that they should have so much given them at least, and Half as much to the *Canayabaga Indians*. Not that this was by any Means sufficient, but would be a good Salutation-Present, and preparatory to a larger to be sent in the Summer. This he judged necessary to be done, and that they should now be told of this future Present : And, tho' he had never been in those Parts, yet he judged the attaching these *Indians* and their Friends to the *English* Cause to be so necessary, that he would, if the Council pleas'd, and his Health should permit, go with the Present himself, and see with his own Eyes what Number of *Indians* was there, and in what Disposition. He said further, that he accompanied the Secretary to Mr. *Logan's* Yesterday, and that the Secretary had inform'd Mr. *Logan* of all these Particulars, and taken his Sentiments in Writing, and on them form'd the Plan of an Answer. The Board order'd the Secretary to read what he had wrote ; and on considering this, and Mr. *Weiser's* Information, an Answer was agreed to, and the Presents settled. The Council adjourn'd to Four o' Clock in the Afternoon, and directed that the *Indians* should be told to be there, in order to receive the Answer of the Council to their Speech.

*At a Council held at Philadelphia, the 16th of November, 1747. P. M.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable ANTHONY PALMER, Esq; President ;

And the same Members as in the Forenoon.

The *Indians* having taken their Seats, the President spoke as follows :

*Brethren Warriors of the Six Nations,*

WE the President and Council of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, have taken what you said to us into Consideration, and are now going to give you an Answer.

We are always glad to see our Brethren, and are particularly pleas'd at this critical Time, with your present Visit. You are sensible of the constant Friendship this Government has always shewn to the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*; and that, from their first Settlement in the Country, their Interest has been put on the same Foot with our own. And as long as you shall act up to your Engagements, you will never want the most substantial Proofs that we can give of our Regard for your Nations.

You tell us, that at the Beginning of the War, you receiv'd a Message from all the *English*, to stand neuter, and to prevail with your Allies to do the same ; that in Compliance therewith, you did stand neuter, and all your Allies, except the Praying *Indians*, who promis'd, but broke their Word : That

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## [ 7 ]

the *French* commencing Hostilities, you received repeated Messages from the *English* to continue neuter no longer, but to take up their Hatchet against the *French*; and that you and your Allies have accordingly done this. *Brethren*, You did well to hearken to the Messages sent by the *English*. Your Allies so readily concurring with you, shews you keep up a good Understanding with them; for which you are to be commended. You live in small Tribes at a Distance from one another: Separate, you will be easily overcome; united, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to hurt you: Like the Strings on which you put your Wampum, a single Thread is soon snapp'd, a few require more Strength; but if you weave them into a Belt, and fasten them tight together, it must be a strong Hand that can break it.

We are pleased to hear, that at the pressing Instances of the Governors of *New-York* and *New-England*, you have taken up the Hatchet against the *French*; who you know, notwithstanding their fair Speeches, have been from the Beginning your inveterate Enemies: And in Confirmation that we approve of what you have done, we give you this Belt.

By your String of Wampum you tell us, that you observe the *English* Kettle does not boil high, and you give the String to all the *English*, to encourage them to put more Fire under their Kettle.

As you address this to all the *English*, we shall send your String to the other Governors: But to lessen your Concern on this Account, we are to apprise you, that the *French* were sending large Forces in big Ships, well arm'd with great Cannon, over the Seas to *Canada*; that the *English* pursued them, attack'd them, took their Men of War, killed a Number of their Men, and carried the rest Prisoners to *England*. This Victory put a Stop for the Present to the Expedition intended against *Canada*: You are therefore not to judge by the Appearance Things make now, that the *English* Fire is going out; but that this is only accidental, and it will soon blaze again.

As this is the first Visit paid us by our Brethren the Warriors living on the Branches of *Ohio*, to shew that we take it kindly of them, and are desirous to cultivate and improve the Friendship subsisting between the *Six Nations* and us, we have provided a Present of Goods; a List whereof will be read to you at the Close of our Answer. They are at *John Harris's*, and the Interpreter will go along with you, and deliver them to you there. In the Spring we propose to send Mr. *Weiser* to you, and he will be furnished with a proper Present to be distributed to all the *Indians* at *Ohio*, at *Canayabaga*, and about the Lake *Erie*. In Confirmation of what we say, we give you this String of Wampum.

Having receiv'd by the Traders a kind Message from the *Canayabaga Indians*, to let them see we are pleased with it, we have sent them a small Present of Powder and Lead, by Mr. *Croghan*, which you will inform them of, and likewise of our further Intentions in their Favour, with this String of Wampum, which is given you for that Purpose.

The President and Council at your Recommendation will take Care to give *Scaishady* a Present for his own private Use, and his old Friend Mr. *Logan* will do the same.

*A String of Wampum.*

The

## [ 8 ]

The *Indian* Speaker having consulted with *Scaibady*, took up the Belt and Strings of Wampum in the Order they were presented, and repeating the Substance of every Paragraph, express'd high Satisfaction at what the Council had said, and promis'd to send the String of Wampum to the *Canayiabaga Indians*, who being their own Flesh and Blood, they were pleas'd with the Regards shewn to them. And in Testimony of their intire Satisfaction and Devotion to the *English* Interest, they gave the *Indian* Marks of Approbation, and danc'd the Warrior Dance.

*A true Copy,*

Nov. 25. 1747.

RICHARD PETERS, *Secretary.*

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A  
T R E A T Y

HELD BY  
COMMISSIONERS,

MEMBERS of the COUNCIL of the  
PROVINCE of *PENNSYLVANIA*,

At the TOWN of *LANCASTER*,

With some CHIEFS of the *SIX NATIONS* at *OHIO*, and  
others, for the Admission of the *TWIGHTWEE NATION* into the  
Alliance of his MAJESTY, &c. in the Month of *July*, 1748.



*PHILADELPHIA:*

Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN, at the New  
Printing-Office, near the Market. MDCCXLVIII.





46494

To the HONOURABLE the

PRESIDENT *and* COUNCIL

O F T H E

Province of PENNSYLVANIA.

WE, the Subscribers, having been honoured with a Commission, authorizing us to hold a Treaty with some of the *Six Nations*, *Twigtwees*, and others, at *Lancaster*, do make the following Report of our Proceedings therein.

WE hope what we have done will be of Service to the Province, and to your Satisfaction. We are,

HONOURABLE GENTLEMEN,

*Your most Obedient,**Humble Servants,*

Benjamin Shoemaker,

Joseph Turner.

Thomas Hopkinson.

William Logan.

*Philadelphia, July*  
25. 1748.



[ 1 ]

A

## T R E A T Y, &amp;c.

*At the Court-House in Lancaster, Tuesday, July 19. 1748.*

P R E S E N T,

*Benjamin Shoemaker, Joseph Turner, } Esqrs.  
Thomas Hopkinson, William Logan, }*

*The Magistrates and Inhabitants of Lancaster County, Fifty-five Indians of several Nations, viz. of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawonefe, Nanticokes, and Twightwees; Conrad Weiser, Esq; Interpreter for the Six Nation Indians; Mr. Andrew Montour, Interpreter for the Shawonefe and Twightwees.*

**A** PROCLAMATION was made for Silence, and then a Commission, in His Majesty's Name, under the Great Seal of the Province, was read, constituting the honourable *Benjamin Shoemaker, Joseph Turner, Thomas Hopkinson, and William Logan*, Esquires, Commissioners to treat with these *Indians*; and the Interpreter was order'd to tell them the Purport thereof, and to bid them heartily welcome among their Brethren.

The Commissioners having been inform'd that *Scarrawady*, a Chief of the *Oncido* Nation, living at *Ohio*, was appointed Speaker for the *Indians*, but was so much hurt by a Fall, that he was unable to attend; order'd the Interpreter to tell them, that they condoled with them on this unfortunate Accident, but hoped, as what they came to transact was of a publick Nature, and well known to them all, this would occasion no Delay. As the Government had shewn them great Indulgence, in granting them a Council at *Lancaster*, so far from the usual Place of Business, and in so hot a Season, it was expected they would not detain the Commissioners, but deliver what they had to say Tomorrow Morning at Ten o' Clock; and further, to desire they would use no Manner of Reserve, but open their Hearts freely and fully, the Commissioners promising to treat them with the same Freedom and Plainness.

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*At*

## [ 2 ]

*At the Court-house at Lancaster, Wednesday, July 20. 1748.*

P R E S E N T,

*Benjamin Shoemaker, Joseph Turner, } Esqrs.  
Thomas Hopkinson, William Logan,*

*The Magistrates, and many of the Inhabitants of Lancaster County,*

*The same Indians as Yesterday.*

THE Interpreter inform'd the Commissioners, that *Scarowady* still continuing ill, and unable to attend, had deputed *Andrew Montour* to deliver his Speech, which the *Indians* desir'd might be receiv'd on their Behalf, the Substance thereof having been deliberated upon, and settled by them in Council.

The Commissioners saying they had no Objection to this, *Andrew Montour* said he was now going to speak for the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, living as *Ohio*.

*Brethren, the Governor of Pennsylvania, and all the Governors of the great King of England, over the Seas;*

You have often sent pressing Messages to the Council Fire at *Onondago*, to engage in your Interest as many of their Allies as they could influence: These Messages they have transmitted to us, desiring we would take all Opportunities of complying with your Request; in Consequence whereof we have now the Pleasure to present to you some of the Chiefs of the *Twightwee* Nation, a large and powerful Tribe, living on *Ouabache*, a great River running into *Ohio*, who come as Deputies sent by the whole Nation, with a Request that you would be pleas'd to admit them into your Amity. We join with them in the Petition; take their Hands, and let them, together with ours, be lock'd close in yours, and there held fast: We have opened unto you the Occasion of our Visit; and to make it acceptable, we lay down this String of Wampum.

*Brethren, Onas, and all the King of England's Governors,*

It will be necessary to lay before you what has pass'd between the *Twightwees* and us, previous to our coming here, that you may be sensible of our Zeal for your Service, and of the ardent Desire of that Nation to enter into your Alliance.

Last Fall they sent a Message address'd to all the Tribes of *Indians* at *Ohio* and elsewhere, in Amity with the *English*, which was deliver'd to the *Shawoneese*, as living the nearest to them, and by them communicated to us to this Effect.

*Brethren,*

" We, the *Twightwees*, are desirous to enter into the Chain of Friendship  
" with the *English*; and as you are the next to us of the *Indians* in their Al-  
" liance, we entreat you to signify this our Desire to the other *Indians*, and  
" 13

## [ 3 ]

“ that you and they will open us a Council Road to the *English* Governments: Make it so open and clear for us, that neither we, nor our Wives or Children, may hurt their Feet against any Log or Stump; and when once you have cleared a Road for us, we assure you we will keep it so, and it shall not be in the Power of *Onontio* to block up or obstruct the Passage. We further desire of you, that when you have cleared a Council Road for us to the *English*, you, and the other *Indians*, will join your Interest to recommend us in the most effectual Manner to them to be admitted into their Chain.” Upon receipt of this Message from the *Twightwees*, the following Answer was sent them.

*Brethren, the Twightwees,*

“ We received your String of Wampum expressing your Desire to enter into Friendship with our Brethren the *English*, and praying our Assistance to obtain this for you. We are glad you are in this Disposition, and would by all Means encourage you in it; but we are afraid lest you should have taken this Resolution too hastily. Are you Proof against the Solicitations that the Governor of *Canada* and his People will certainly use to engage your Adherence to him? Can you withstand his Resentment? Consider this well, lest when we shall have recommended you to our Brethren the *English*, you should prove unsteady, and so we should lose their Esteem. Take, therefore, we urge you, Time to consider, and let us know your Mind, and we will give you all the Assistance in our Power.”

The *Twightwees* having received this Answer, sent in the Spring a second Message, addressed to all the *Indians* on *Ohio* in Alliance with the *English*, to this purport:

*Brethren,*

“ Our Message in the Fall was not sent rashly or unadvisedly. We thought many Nights and Days of this Affair. We weighed every Thing well relating thereto before we took the Resolution of seeking the Friendship of the *English*, and we now repeat to you our Assurances, that this Request does not come from the Mouth only; no, it comes from the Heart, and is what we ardently wish to accomplish; and that we may not fail of Success, we desire your Assistance, and that of all the *Indians* in the *English* Chain, to help us to obtain this Favour; and particularly we desire some of you will go along with us, and present us to *Onas*.”

*Brethren,*

We have now faithfully related what passed between the *Twightwees* and us. We deliver over to you the Strings of Wampum which we received with their Messages. Their Nation has sent thirty Beaver Skins, which we desire you would accept; and now be pleased to hear what their Deputies have to say.

*Here were laid down two Strings of Wampum, and 30 Beaver Skins.*

Then *Andrew Montour* acquainted the Commissioners, that he was now going to be the Mouth of the *Twightwee* Deputies.

*Brethren,*

We present to you the Calumet Pipe, and pray we may be admitted to become a Link in your Chain of Friendship, and give you the strongest Assurances,

## [ 4 ]

rances, if this Favour be granted to us, that we will keep it bright as long as the Rivers run.

*Here the Deputies laid down a Calumet Pipe, with a long Stem, curiously wrought, and wrapp'd round with Wampum of several Colours, and fill'd with Tobacco, which was smoked by the Commissioners and the Indians according to Custom.*

*Bretbren,*

We the Deputies of the *Twightwees*, have it in Charge further to tell you, that our Nation received a Calumet Pipe from some of the Allies, consisting of twelve Towns or Nations, with a Message to this Effect: That they had a Report among them that we intended to solicit the *English* to be received into their Friendship and Alliance: That if such Report was true, they desired us to acquaint them with our Success, that they might apply for the same Favour, which they earnestly desire, and said they would wait a Day and a Night for an Answer.‡ Then the Deputies offered another Pipe to the Commissioners, not to keep, but that they might speak to it, and return it, with their Answer.

*Andrew Montour* said he was now going to resume the Speech of the *Six Nation Indians at Ohio.*

*Bretbren,*

You have now heard the *Twightwees* speak for themselves. We heartily join with them in their Petition. They are numerous, and, tho' poor, yet they are worthy of your Friendship, and, as such we most heartily recommend them to you by this Bundle of Skins.

*Here they laid down a Bundle of Deer Skins.*

*Bretbren,*

We beg Leave before we conclude to become Intercessors for the *Shawoneese*, who have given you just Cause of Complaint. They have told us, that the Governor of *Pennsylvania* sent them a Letter some Years ago, requiring them to come down; but being conscious they had acted wrong, they had delay'd hitherto to do it; and have taken this Opportunity of our coming, to make use of us; desiring us to ask that for them which they dare not ask for themselves; that is, That they may be receiv'd again into Favour, they having owned their Fault, and given us the strongest Assurances of their better Behaviour for the future. Forgive us, therefore, if we entreat you wou'd be pleas'd to drop your Repentment; and however they have behav'd hitherto, we hope a Sense of your Goodness will prevail with them to become good and faithful Allies for the future.

*Gave a String of Wampum.*

*Andrew Montour* informing the Commissioners he had delivered all that was given him in Charge to say at present, the *Indians* withdrew.

*At*

‡ N. B. A Day and a Night in the *Indian* Language signifies a whole Year.



## [ 5 ]

*At a Meeting of the Commissioners held at Lancaster, the 21<sup>st</sup> July, 1748.*

P	R	E	S	E	N	T,
Benjamin Shoemaker,			Joseph Turner,			} Esqrs.
Thomas Hopkinson,			William Logan,			

THE Secretary having settled the Minutes of Yesterday, the same were taken into Consideration, and that Part thereof which relates to the *Shawonefe* not giving the Commissioners Satisfaction, Mr. *Weiser* was sent to *Scarrowady* to consult with him thereupon; who return'd, and inform'd the Board, that according to Order he had consulted with *Scarrowady*, and he, in the Presence of *Andrew Montour*, deliver'd himself as follows:

“ *Neuchecanno, Kekewatcheky, Sonatziowanab, and Sequebeton, Chiefs of the Shawonefe, now left at Allegheny, met in Council, and address'd themselves to the Delawares, and to the Six Nations on Ohio, in the following Manner:*

*Grand Fathers and Brethren,*

“ We the *Shawonefe* have been misled, and have carried on a private Correspondence with the *French*, without letting you, or our Brethren, the *English*, know of it. We travell'd secretly thro' the Bushes to *Canada*, and the *French* promised us great Things, but we find ourselves deceiv'd. We are sorry that we had any Thing to do with them: We now find that we cou'd not see, altho' the Sun did shine; We earnestly desire you wou'd intercede with our Brethren, the *English*, for us who are left at Ohio, that we may be permitted to be restor'd to the Chain of Friendship, and be looked upon as heretofore the same Flesh with them. Thus far the *Shawonefe* \*.”

Whereupon the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, and the *Delawares*, having received these Assurances of their Concern for their past Behaviour, undertook to become their Intercessors, and have brought along with them three of the principal *Shawonefe*, to make their Submissions in Person.

*At the Court House at Lancaster, Friday the 22<sup>d</sup> July, 1748.*

P	R	E	S	E	N	T,
Benjamin Shoemaker,			Joseph Turner,			} Esqrs.
Thomas Hopkinson,			William Logan,			

*The Magistrates and many of the Inhabitants of Lancaster County,*  
*The same Indians as on Wednesday.*

*The Commissioners order'd the Interpreter to let the Indians know they were going to give them an Answer.*

*Brethren, you who live at Ohio, of the Six Nations, and others,*

WE are concern'd that *Scarrowady* continues so ill as not to be able to attend, but are pleas'd to hear he is in a fair Way of Recovery, and that he cou'd give the necessary Instructions to Mr. *Andrew Montour* about the Business

\* Some of the *Shawonefe* were seduc'd by *Peter Chartier*, a noted *Indian* Trader and Inhabitant of *Pennsylvania*, at the Beginning of the *French* War, and remov'd from their Towns to be nearer to the *French* Settlements on the *Mississippi*. Some Time after, several of these Deserters return'd; of which *Neuchecanno* and his Party were some; these, it seems, together with *Kekewatcheky*, the old *Shawonefe* King, and his Friends, who had withstood the Solicitations of *Chartier*, join'd together, and apply'd in this submissive Manner to *Scarrowady*.

## [ 6 ]

finest which brought you here ; We take it for granted, that your Sentiments are fully and truly express'd in the Speeches deliver'd, and shall therefore answer the several Matters contain'd therein in the Order they were spoke.

*Brethren of the Six Nations, and others, living at Ohio,*

It gives us no small Satisfaction to observe the Regard you have shewn to the Messāges sent you by the Governors of his Majesty's Provinces, in endeavouring to gain over to His Majesty's Interest as many of your Allies as you cou'd influence : This is agreeable to your Duty, and was recommended to you in a particular Manner by the Governor of this Province at the Commencement of the *French War*. As the *Twightwees* shew'd so great an Inclination to enter into our Friendship, and desir'd you to conduct them hither, the Part you have acted on this Occasion was kind and prudent, and we think ourselves oblig'd to you for encouraging them, and shewing them the Way.

*Our Approbation of your Conduct is testified by this String of Wampum.*

*Brethren,*

As there is Reason to think from the Manner in which the *Twightwees* have made their Application for a Council Road to the *English* Provinces, that it is not a sudden, or a hasty Step, but well consider'd by them, and may take its Rise from the different Treatment which *Indians* of all Nations meet with at the Hands of the *English*, from what they experience while in the *French* Interest, we are inclinable to think them sincere, and that when admitted into our Chain, they will not lightly break it.

A Council Road to this Province is a Measure which nearly concerns you, as it is to be laid out thro' your Towns, and no doubt you have thought well of this, and conceive you may depend on the Sincerity of their Professions, and that it may be for our mutual Benefit, or you wou'd not join with them in making this Request. At your Instance therefore, and from the Opinion we have of your Prudence and Integrity, we consent that such Road may be opened ; and it may be depended on, that on our Parts it will always be kept clean, not the least Obstruction shall be suffer'd to remain in it. In Confirmation whereof

*We give this String of Wampum.*

*Brethren of the Twightwee Nation,*

At the Intercession of our good Friends and Allies the *Six Nations*, we have granted you a Council Road, whereby you have free Access to any of His Majesty's Provinces ; we admit you into our Friendship and Alliance, and therefore now call you BRETHREN, an Appellation which we hold sacred, and in which is included every Thing that is dear. It obliges us to give you Assistance on all Occasions, to exercise unfeign'd Affection towards you, to take you into our Bosoms, to use our Eyes, and Ears, and Hands, as well for you, as for ourselves. Nothing is put in Competition by an *Englishman* with the Faith and Honour due to those whom our gracious King pleases to take into his Protection, admit into his Chain of Friendship, and make them our Fellow Subjects : From that Moment they become our own Flesh and Blood, and what hurts them will equally hurt us. Do you, on your Parts, look upon this important Name of Brethren in the same Light ; You must no more think of *Onontio*, and his *Children* ; all that sort of Relationship now ceases ; His Majesty's Friends are your Friends, and His Majesty's Enemies

## [ 7 ]

Enemies are Your Enemies. On these Conditions we accept your Calumet Pipe, and shall lay it up very carefully, that it may be always ready for Use when you and we come together. In Token of our Readiness to receive you into our Chain of Friendship, we present you

*With this double Belt of Wampum, as an Emblem of our Union.*

*Brethren of the Twigthwee Nation,*

We understand that by an ancient Custom observ'd by your Ancestors, the Delivery and Acceptance of the Calumet Pipe are the Ceremonies which render valid, and bind fast your Alliances: We must now tell you what our Usages are on these Occasions. The *English* when they consent to take any Nation into their Alliance, draw up a Compact in Writing, which is faithfully interpreted to the contracting Parties, and when maturely consider'd, and clearly and fully understood by each Side, their Assent is declar'd in the most publick Manner, and the Stipulation render'd authentick by sealing the Instrument with Seals, whereon are engraven their Families Arms, writing their Names, and publishing it as their Act and Deed, done without Force or Constraint, freely and voluntarily. This is the *English* Method of ratifying Treaties; this is the grand Security each gives of his Faith; and our Brethren of the *Six Nations*, the *Delawares*, *Shawoneese*, and all other *Indian* Nations, when they first enter'd into the Chain of Friendship with us, executed Instruments of this Nature; and as you are now one People with us, in the same Manner with all other of our *Indian* Allies, it will be expected by this, and His Majesty's other Governments, that you will do the same. For your Satisfaction we now shew you some of the Deeds that the *Indians* executed when they first enter'd into our Alliance.

*Brethren, Deputies of the Twigtwees,*

You say some of your Allies having heard of your Intentions to apply for Admittance into the Friendship and Alliance with the *English*, desired you to acquaint them with the Success of such Application, to the End that they might have an Opportunity of asking the same Favour. As we don't know the Names of those of your Allies, their Number or Situation, we cannot be more particular at present on this Head, than to tell you, that we are always ready to receive favourably the Applications of all those whom our Brethren of the *Six Nations* shall recommend as worthy of our Friendship and Regard.

*In Testimony whereof we have wrapped a String of Wampum round the Calumet Pipe sent by your Allies.*

*Brethren of the Six Nations, &c. at Ohio,*

You perceive that at your Request we have received the *Twigtwees* into our Friendship: We take kindly your conducting them to us for that End; and as a Proof of our being well pleas'd with your Conduct on this Occasion, we have ordered our Interpreter to deliver to you at Mr. *Croghan's* some *English* Goods, that are lodged there for the use of the *Indians*.

*Brethren,*

Your Intercession for the *Shawoneese* puts us under Difficulties. It is at least two Years since the Governor of *Pennsylvania* wrote to *Cackewatcheka* a Letter, wherein he condescended, out of regard to him, and a few other *Shawoneese*, who preserved their Fidelity, to offer those who broke the Chain a Pardon on their Submission, on their Return to the Towns they had deserted, and

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and on their coming down to *Philadelphia* to evidence in Person the Sincerity of their Repentance. This they should have immediately complied with, and they would have readily been admitted into Favour; but as they did not do it, what can be said for them? You who live amongst them best know their Dispositions, and wou'd not, it may be hoped, become Mediators for them, were you not persuaded they wou'd return to their Duty. Some of them, it may be allowed, are weak People, and were perverted from their Duty by the Perswasions of others; but this cannot be thought to be the Case of *Neuchecunno*, and a few more. As therefore you have taken upon you the Office of Intercessors, take this String of Wampum, and therewith chastise *Neuchecunno* and his Party in such Terms as shall carry a proper Severity with them, tho' the Expressions are left to your Discretion; and then tell the delinquent *Shawonefe*, that we will forget what is pass'd, and expect a more punctual Regard to their Engagements hereafter.

*Here was deliver'd a String of Wampum.*

'Tis but Justice to distinguish the Good from the Bad; *Cackewatcheky* and his Friends, who had Virtue enough to resist the many fine Promises made by the Emiffaries of the *French*, will ever be remember'd with Gratitude, and challenge our best Services. To testify our Regard for these, we present them with this

*Belt of Wampum.*

And have order'd our Interpreter, who is going to *Ohio*, to give them a Present of Goods.

The Commissioners gave a handsome Entertainment to the Deputies of the *Twightwees*, and the *Indians* who conducted them from *Ohio*, and after Dinner enter'd into a free Conversation with them about the Numbers and Situation of their Towns, and those of their Allies; and by their Informations it appears that the River *Ouabache* takes its Rise from a Lake at a small Distance from the West-End of Lake *Erie*, from which it runs South Westerly four or 500 Miles, and falls into the *Ohio*, about three hundred Miles from the *Mississippi*; that on this River, and another River call'd the *Hatchet*, the *Twightwees* and their Allies have twenty Towns, and that they count One Thousand fighting Men; that it is a plain Country, and of a rich Soil, abounding with Game. The principal Deputy of the *Twightwees* laid down with Chalk the Courses of the *Mississippi*, of *Ouabache* and of *Ohio*, marking the Situation of their own Towns, of Lake *Erie*, and of two Forts that the *French* have on the *Mississippi*; whereby it is manifest, that if these *Indians* and their Allies prove faithful to the *English*, the *French* will be depriv'd of the most convenient and nearest Communication with their Forts on the *Mississippi*, the ready Road lying thro' their Nations, and that there will be nothing to interrupt an Intercourse between this Province and that great River.

## [ 9 ]

*At the Court-House at Lancaster, Friday, July 22. 1748. P. M.*

P R E S E N T,

*The same as in the Morning.*

Taminy Buck, *one of the Chiefs of the Shawonefe, stood up, and spoke as follows :*

*Brethren,*

WE, the *Shawonefe*, sensible of our ungrateful Returns for the many Favours we have been all along receiving from our Brethren the *English*, ever since we first made the Chain of Friendship, came along the Road with our Eyes looking down to the Earth, and have not taken them from thence till this Morning, when you were pleased to chastise us, and then pardon us. We have been a foolish People, and acted wrong, tho' the Sun shone bright, and shew'd us very clearly what was our Duty. We are sorry for what we have done, and promise better Behaviour for the future. We produce to you a Certificate of the Renewal of our Friendship in the Year 1739 by the Proprietor and Governor. Be pleased to sign it afresh, that it may appear to the World we are now admitted into your Friendship, and all former Crimes are buried, and intirely forgot.

The Commissioners receiv'd the Deed, but refused to sign it, letting them know they were forgiven on Condition of better Behaviour for the future ; and when they shall have performed that Condition, it will be time enough to apply for such Testimonials. Orders were given for mending their Guns and Hatchets, and then the *Twightwees* were told that the Secretary was preparing an Instrument for rendering authentick our Treaty of Friendship with them, which wou'd be ready at Nine o' Clock in the Morning, to which Time the Commissioners adjourn'd.

*At the Court-house at Lancaster, Saturday the 23d July 1748.*

P R E S E N T,

<i>Benjamin Shoemaker,</i>	<i>Joseph Turner,</i>	} Esqrs.
<i>Thomas Hopkinson,</i>	<i>William Logan,</i>	

*The Magistrates, and many of the Inhabitants of Lancaster County,*

*The same Indians as Yesterday.*

THE Instrument and Counterpart having been prepar'd and approv'd by the Commissioners, the Contents thereof were read, and carefully Interpreted to, and approv'd by the *Indians*, and then they were executed by the Commissioners, and the three Deputies of the *Twightwees*, the other *Indians* mention'd therein signing as Witnesses, together with the Magistrates and Inhabitants present.

The Commissioners then enquired if the *Indians* had any particular News to communicate, and, after some Time spent in Conference, *Suchraquery* spoke as follows :

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The *Indians* of the several Nations, living at *Ohio*, return you Thanks for your Acceptance of their good Offices in conducting the *Twightwees*, and admitting them into your Alliance ; likewise for your Goodness in accepting their Mediation on Behalf of the *Shawonefe*, and thereupon forgiving their late Breach of Faith. Our new Brethren the *Twightwees* tell us, that they have brought a few Skins to begin a Trade, and they desire you will be pleased to order the Traders to put less Stones into their Scales, that their Skins may weigh more, and that they may allow a good Price for them, which will encourage them and their Nation to trade more largely with you. This the Commissioners promised to do.

The Commissioners informed the *Indians*, that there was likely to be a Peace between the King of *England* and the *French* King ; that the News was but just arriv'd, and imperfectly told ; but that there was actually a Cessation of Arms. The *Indians* making no Reply, the Commissioners, after ordering a Present to the *Twightwee* Deputies, rose, and put an End to the Treaty.

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F I N I S



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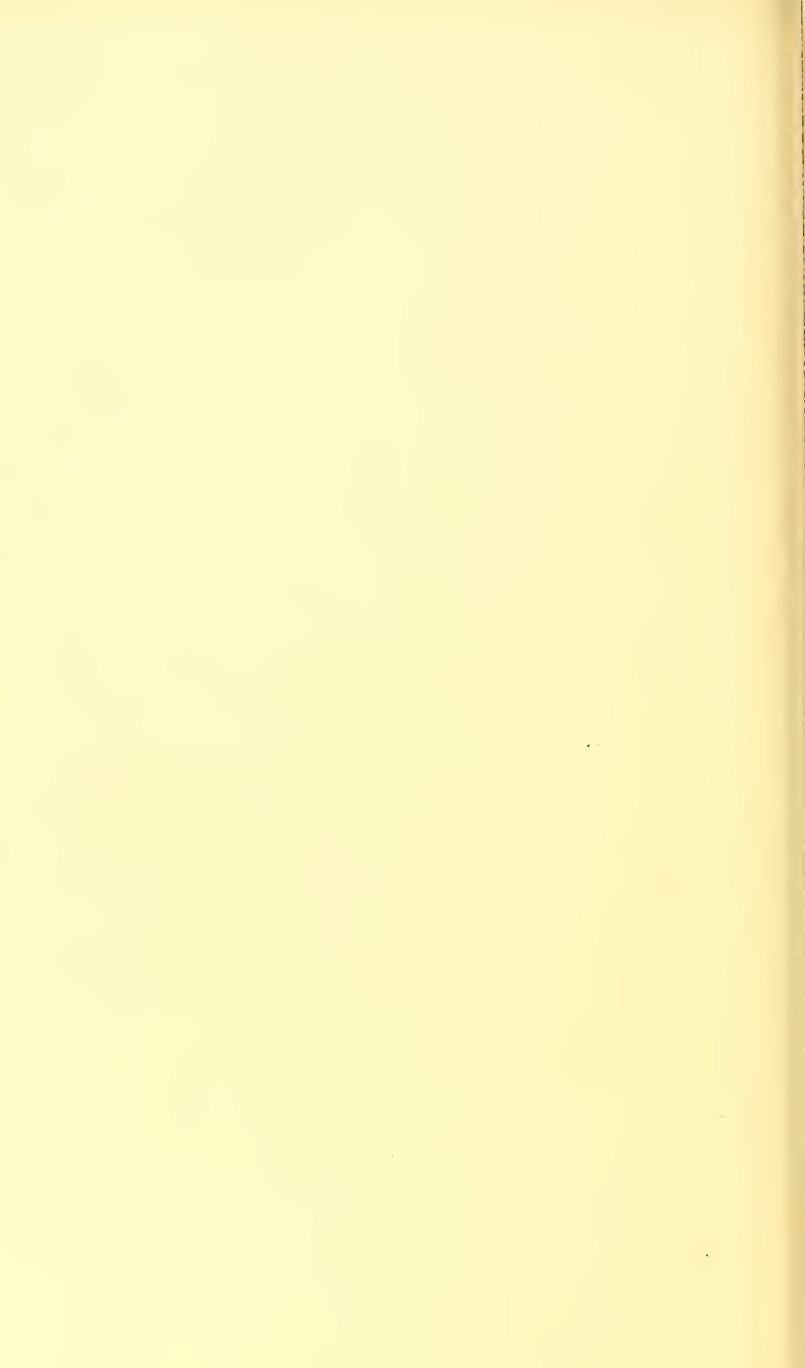
A T  
C A R L I S L E,

In OCTOBER, 1753.



*P H I L A D E L P H I A :*

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*New-Printing-Office*, near the Market. MDCCLIII.



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## T R E A T Y, &amp;c.

To the Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief, of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of New-Castle, Kent and Suffex, upon Delaware,

The R E P O R T of RICHARD PETERS, ISAAC NORRIS, and BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Esquires, Commissioners appointed to treat with some Chiefs of the Ohio Indians, at Carlisle, in the County of Cumberland, by a Commission, bearing Date the 22d Day of September, 1753.

May it please the GOVERNOR,

N O T knowing but the *Indians* might be waiting at Carlisle, we made all the Dispatch possible, as soon as we had received our Commission, and arrived there on the Twenty-sixth, but were agreeably surprized to find that they came there only that Day. 1753.

IMMEDIATELY ON OUR Arrival we conferred with *Andrew Montour*, and *George Croghan*, in order to know from them what had occasioned the present coming of the *Indians*, that we might, by their Intelligence, regulate our first Interchange with them; and were informed, that tho' their principal Design, when they left *Ohio*, was to hold a Treaty with the Government of *Virginia*, at *Winchester*, where they had accordingly been; yet they intended a Visit to this Province, to which they had been frequently encouraged by *Andrew Montour*, who told them, he had the Governor's repeated Orders to invite them to come and see him, and assured them of an hearty Welcome; and that they had moreover some important Matters to propose and transact with this Government.

THE Commissioners finding this to be the Case, and that these *Indians* were some of the most considerable Persons of the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, *Shawoneese*, with Deputies from the *Twightwees*, and *Owendaets*, met them in Council, in which the Commissioners declared the Contents of their Commission, acknowledged the Governor's Invitation, and bid them heartily welcome among their Brethren of *Pennsylvania*, to whom their Visit was extremely agreeable.---*Conrad Weiser* and *Andrew Montour* interpreting between the Commissioners and *Indians*, and several Magistrates, and others, of the principal Inhabitants of the County, favouring them with their Presence.

THE *Twightwees* and *Delawares* having had several of their great Men cut off by the *French* and their *Indians*, and all the Chiefs of the *Owendaets* being lately dead, it became necessary to console their Loss; and no Business could be begun, agreeable to the *Indian* Customs, till the Condolances were passed; and as these could not be made, with the usual Ceremonies, for want of the Goods, which were not arrived, and it was uncertain when they would, the Commissioners were put to some Difficulties, and ordered the Interpreters to apply to *Scarrooyady*, an *Oneido* Chief, who had the Conduct of the Treaty in *Virginia*, and was a Person of great Weight in their Councils, and to ask his Opinion, whether the Condolances would be accepted by Belts and Strings, and Lifts of the particular Goods intended to be given, with Assurances of their Delivery as soon as they should come. *Scarrooyady* was pleased with the Application; but frankly declared, that the *Indians* could not proceed to Business while the Blood remained on their Garments, and that the Condolances could not be accepted unless the Goods, intended to cover the Graves, were actually spread on the Ground before them. A Messenger was therefore forthwith sent to meet and hasten the Waggoners, since every Thing must stop till the Goods came.

It was then agreed to confer with *Scarrooyady*, and some other of the Chiefs of the *Shawoneese* and *Delawares*, on the State of Affairs at *Ohio*, and from them the Commissioners learned, in sundry Conferences, the following Particulars, viz.

“ THAT when the Governor of *Pennsylvania*'s Express arrived at *Ohio*, with the Account of the March of a large *French* Army to the Heads of *Ohio*, with Intent to take Possession of that Country, it alarmed the *Indians* so much, that the *Delawares*, at *Weningo*, an *Indian* Town, situate high up on *Ohio* River, went, agreeable to a Custom established among the *Indians*, and forbade, by a formal Notice, the Commander of that Armament, then advanced to the Straits, between Lake *Ontario* and Lake *Erie*, to continue his March, at least not to presume to come farther than *Niagara*. This had  
not

1753.

not however any Effect, but, notwithstanding this Notice, the *French* continued their March; which, being afterwards taken into Consideration by the Council, at *Logs-Town*, they ordered some of their principal *Indians* to give the *French* a second Notice to leave their Country, and return Home; who meeting them on a River running into Lake *Erie*, a little above *Wenigo*, addressed the Commander in these Words:

*The second Notice delivered to the Commander of the French Army, then near Wenigo.*

*Father Onontio,*

YOUR Children on *Ohio* are alarmed to hear of your coming so far this Way. We at first heard you came to destroy us; our Women left off planting, and our Warriors prepared for War. We have since heard you came to visit us as Friends, without Design to hurt us; but then we wondered you came with so strong a Body. If you have had any Cause of Complaint, you might have spoke to *Onas*, or *Corlaer* (meaning the Governors of *Pennsylvania*, and *New-York*) and not come to disturb us here. We have a Fire at *Logs-Town*, where are the *Delawares*, and *Shawonefe*, and Brother *Onas*; you might have sent Deputies there, and said openly what you came about, if you had thought amiss of the *English* being there; and we invite you to do it now, before you proceed any further.

*The French Officer's Answer.*

*Children,*

I FIND you come to give me an Invitation to your Council Fire, with a Design, as I suppose, to call me to Account for coming here. I must let you know that my Heart is good to you; I mean no Hurt to you; I am come by the great King's Command, to do you, my Children, Good. You seem to think I carry my Hatchet under my Coat; I always carry it openly, not to strike you, but those that shall oppose me. I cannot come to your Council Fire, nor can I return, or stay here; I am so heavy a Body that the Stream will carry me down, and down I shall go, unless you pull off my Arm: But this I will tell you, I am commanded to build four strong Houses, viz. at *Wenigo*, *Mohongialo Forks*, *Logs-Town*, and *Beaver Creek*, and this I will do. As to what concerns *Onas*, and *Assaragosa* (meaning the Governors of *Pennsylvania* and *Virginia*) I have spoke to them, and let them know they must go off the Land, and I shall speak to them again; if they will not hear me, it is their Fault, I will take them by the Arm, and throw them over the Hills. All the Land and Waters on this Side *Allegheny Hills* are mine, on the other Side theirs; this is agreed on between the two Crowns over the great Waters. I do not like your felling your Lands to the *English*; they shall draw you into no more foolish Bargains. I will take Care of your Lands for you, and of you. The *English* give you no Goods but for Land, we give you our Goods for nothing."

WE were further told by *Scarrooyady*, that when the Answer to this Message was brought to *Logs-Town*, another Council was held, consisting of the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, and *Shawonefe*, who unanimously agreed to divide themselves into two Parties, one to go to *Virginia*, and *Pennsylvania*, with *Scarrooyady*, and the other to go with the *Half King* to the *French* Commander, who had it in Charge to make the following Declaration, as their third and last Notice.

*The third Notice, delivered by the Half King to the Commander of the French Fortes.*

*Father,*

You say you cannot come to our Council Fire at *Logs-Town*, we therefore now come to you, to know what is in your Heart. You remember when you were tired with the War (meaning Queen *Anne's* War) you of your own Accord sent for us, desiring to make Peace with us; when we came, you said to us, Children, we make a Council Fire for you; we want to talk with you, but we must first eat all with one Spoon out of this Silver Bowl, and all drink out of this Silver Cup; let us exchange Hatchets; let us bury our Hatchets in this bottomless Hole; and now we will make a plain Road to all your Countries, so clear, that *Onontio* may sit here and see you all eat and drink out of the Bowl and Cup, which he has provided for you. Upon this Application of yours we consented to make Peace; and when the Peace was concluded on both Sides, you made a solemn Declaration, saying, Whoever shall hereafter transgress this Peace, let the Transgressor be chastised with a Rod, even tho' it be I, your Father.

Now, Father, notwithstanding this solemn Declaration of yours, you have whipped several of your Children; you know best why. Of late you have chastised the *Twigbrawees* very severely, without telling us the Reason; and now you are come with a strong Band on our Land, and have, contrary to your Engagement, taken up the Hatchet without any previous Parley. These Things are a Breach of the Peace; they are contrary to your own Declarations: Therefore, now I come to forbid you. I will strike over all this Land with my Rod, let it hurt who it will. I tell you, in plain Words, you must go off this Land. You say you have a strong Body, a strong Neck, and a strong Voice, that when you speak all the *Indians* must hear you. It is true, you are a strong Body, and ours is but weak, yet we are not afraid of you. We forbid you to come any further; turn back to the Place from whence you came.

*SCARROOYADY*, who was the Speaker in these Conferences, when he had finished this Relation, gave his Reason for setting forth these three Messages to the *French* in so distinct a Manner; because, said he, the Great Being who lives above, has ordered us to send three Messages of Peace before we make War:—And as the *Half King* has, before this Time, delivered the third and last Message, we have nothing now to do but to strike the *French*.

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THE Commissioners were likewise informed, by Mr. *Croghan*, that the *Ohio Indians* had received from the *Virginia Government* a large Number of Arms in the Spring, and that at their pressing Instances a suitable Quantity of Ammunition was ordered in the Treaty at *Winchester* to be lodged for them, in a Place of Security, on this Side the *Ohio*, which was committed to the Care of three Persons, viz.

*Guest*, *William Trent*, and *Andrew Montour*, who were impowered to distribute them to the *Indians* as their Occasions and Behaviour should require. That all the Tribes settled at or near *Allegheny* would take their Measures from the Encouragement which these *Indians* should find in the Province of *Virginia*; and that the kind Intentions of this Government in the Appropriation of a large Sum of Money for the Use of these *Indians*, in case they should be distressed by their Enemies, and their Hunting and Planting prevented, were well known to them by the repeated Informations of *Andrew Montour* and the Traders.

*CONRAD WEISER*, to whom it was earnestly recommended by the Commissioners, to procure all the Information possible from the *Indians* of his Acquaintance, touching their Condition and Disposition, and the real Designs of the *French*, did likewise acquaint us, that all Persons at *Ohio* would have their Eyes on the Reception of those *Indians*, now at *Carlisle*, and judge of the Affection of this Province by their Treatment of them; and that as the intended Present was no Secret to those *Indians*, it was his Opinion, that the Whole should, at this Time, be distributed; for if any Thing can, such a generous Donation must needs attach the *Indians* entirely to the *English*.

THESE several Matters being taken into Consideration by the Commissioners, and the Governor having given them express Directions to accommodate themselves to the Circumstances of the *Indians*, as they should appear in examining them at the Place of Treaty, we were unanimously of Opinion, that an Addition should be made to the Goods bought at *Philadelphia*, in which a Regard should be had to such Articles as were omitted or supplied in less Quantities than was suitable to the present Wants of the *Indians*. On this Resolution the Lists of Goods were examined, and an additional Quantity bought of *John Carjon*, at the *Philadelphia Price*, and usual Rate of Carriage.

DURING these Consultations, it was rumoured that the *Half King* was returned to *Logstown*, and had received an unsatisfactory Answer, which was confirmed, but not in such Manner as could be positively relied on, by a Brother of *Andrew Montour*, and another Person who came directly from *Allegheny*. This alarmed the Commissioners, and made them willing to postpone Business till they should know the Certainty thereof, judging, that if the *Half King* was returned, he would certainly send a Messenger Express to *Carlisle*, with an Account of what was done by him; and from this the Commissioners might take their Measures in the Distribution of the Present.

A LETTER, wrote by *Taaf*, and *Callender*, two *Indian Traders*, dated the Twenty-eighth Day of September, from a Place situate a little on this Side *Allegheny River*, directed to *William Buchanan*, was given him the Morning of the first Day of October, and he immediately laid it before the Commissioners for their Perusal. In this Letter an Account is given, that the *Half King* was returned, and had been received in a very contemptuous Manner by the *French Commander*, who was then preparing with his Forces to come down the River; and that the *Half King*, on his Return, shed Tears, and had actually warned the *English Traders* not to pass the *Ohio*, nor to venture either their Persons or their Goods, for the *French* would certainly hurt them. On this News the Conferences with *Scarrooyady*, and the Chiefs of the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, and *Shawonefe*, were renewed, and the Letter read to them, at which they appeared greatly alarmed; but, after a short Pause, *Scarrooyady*, addressing himself to the *Delawares* and *Shawonefe*, spoke in these Words:

*Brethren and Cousins,*

I LOOK on this Letter as if it had been a Message from the *Half King* himself: We may expect no other Account of the Result of his Journey. However, I advise you to be still, and neither say nor do any Thing till we get Home, and I see my Friend and Brother the *Half King*, and then we shall know what is to be done.

THE Forms of the Condolances, which depend entirely on *Indian Customs*, were settled in Conferences with *Scarrooyady*, and *Cayanguileguca*, a sensible *Indian*, of the *Mohock Nation*, and a Person intimate with and much consulted by *Scarrooyady*, in which it was agreed to take the *Six Nations* along with us in these Condolances; and accordingly the proper Belts and Strings were made ready, and *Scarrooyady* prepared himself to express the Sentiments of both in the *Indian Manner*. And as the Goods arrived this Morning before Break of Day, the several Sorts used on these Occasions were laid out; and the *Indians* were told that the Commissioners would speak to them at Eleven a Clock.

At a Meeting of the Commissioners, and Indians, at *Carlisle*, the first Day of October, 1753.

P R E S E N T,

RICHARD PETERS, }  
ISAAC NORRIS, } Esquires, Commissioners.  
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, }

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, *Shawonefe*, *Twightwees*, and *Owendauts*.

CONRAD WEISER, } Interpreters. JAMES WRIGHT, }  
ANDREW MONTOUR, } JOHN ARMSTRONG, } Esquires, Members of Assembly.

The Magistrates, and several other Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of Cumberland.

The Speech of the Commissioners.

Brethren, *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, *Shawonefe*, *Twightwees*, and *Owendauts*;

THOUGH the City of *Philadelphia* be the Place where all *Indians* should go, who have Business to transact with this Government, yet at your Request, signified to Colonel *Fairfax*, at *Metzler*, and by him communicated to our Governor, by an Express to *Philadelphia*, he has been

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1753. pleaded on this particular Occasion to dispense with your coming there, and has done us the Honour to depute us to receive and treat with you at this Town, in his Place and Stead; this is set forth in his Commission, which we now produce to you, under the Great Seal of this Province, the authentick Sign and Testimony of all Acts of Government.

*Brethren,*

By this String we acquaint you, that the *Six Nations* do, at our Request, join with us in condoling the Losses you have of late sustained by the Deaths of several of your Chiefs and principal Men; and that *Scarrooyady* is to deliver for both what has been agreed to be said on this melancholy Occasion.

*Here the Commissioners gave a String of Wampum.*

*Then Scarrooyady spoke as follows:*

*Brethren, the Twightwees and Shawonefe,*

It has pleased Him who is above, that we shall meet here To-day, and see one another; I and my Brother *Onas* join together to speak to you. As we know that your Seats at Home are bloody, we wipe away the Blood, and set your Seats in Order at your Council Fire, that you may sit and consult again in Peace and Comfort as formerly; that you may hold the antient Union, and strengthen it, and continue your old friendly Correspondence.

*Here a String was given.*

*Brethren, Twightwees, and Shawonefe,*

We suppose that the Blood is now washed off. We jointly, with our Brother *Onas*, dig a Grave for your Warriors, killed in your Country; and we bury their Bones decently; wrapping them up in these Blankets; and with these we cover their Graves.

*Here the Goods were given to the Twightwees, and Shawonefe.*

*Brethren, Twightwees, and Shawonefe,*

I, and my Brother *Onas*, jointly condole with the Chiefs of your Towns, your Women and Children, for the Losses you have sustained. We partake of your Grief, and mix our Tears with yours. We wipe your Tears from your Eyes, that you may see the Sun, and that every Thing may become clear and pleasant to your Sight; and we desire you would mourn no more.

*Here a Belt was given.*

THE same was said to the *Delawares*, *mutatis mutandis*.

AND then he spoke to the *Owendachts*, in these Words:

*Our Children, and Brethren, the Owendachts,*

You have heard what I and my Brother *Onas* have jointly said to the *Twightwees*, *Shawonefe*, and *Delawares*: We now come to speak to you. We are informed that your good old wife Men are all dead, and you have no more left.

We must let you know, that there was a Friendship established by our and your Grandfathers; and a mutual Council Fire was kindled. In this Friendship all those then under the Ground, who had not yet obtained Eyes or Faces (that is, those unborn) were included; and it was then mutually promised to tell the same to their Children, and Childrens Children: But so many great Men of your Nation have died in so short a Time, that none but Youths are left; and this makes us afraid, lest that Treaty, so solemnly established by your Ancestors, should be forgotten by you: We therefore now come to remind you of it, and renew it; we re-kindle the old Fire, and put on fresh Fuel.

*Here a String was given.*

THE other Speeches, of burying the Dead, &c. were the same as those to the *Twightwees*, &c.

AFTER each had been spoken to, *Scarrooyady* proceeded thus:

*Brethren, Delawares, Shawonefe, Twightwees, and Owendachts,*

We, the *English*, and *Six Nations*, do now exhort every one of you to do your utmost to preserve this Union and Friendship, which has so long and happily continued among us: Let us keep the Chain from rusting, and prevent every Thing that may hurt or break it, from what Quarter soever it may come.

THEN the Goods allotted for each Nation, as a Pefent of Condolance, were taken away by each, and the Council adjourn'd to the next Day.

*At a Meeting of the Commissioners, and Indians, at Catliffe, the 2d of October, 1753.*

## P R E S E N T,

The Commissioners, The same Indians as Yesterday,  
The Magistrates, and several Gentlemen of the County.

*The Speech of the Commissioners.*

*Brethren, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawonefe, Twightwees, and Owendachts,*

NOW that your Hearts are eased of their Grief, and we behold one another with cheerful Countenances, we let you know that the Governor, and good People of *Pennsylvania*, did not send us to receive you empty-handed; but put something into our Pockets, to be given to such as should favour



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**F**avour us with this friendly Visit: These Goods we therefore request you would accept of, and divide amongst all that are of your Company, in such Proportions as shall be agreeable to you. You know how to do this better than we. What we principally desire, is, that you will consider this Present as a Token of our cordial Esteem for you; and use it with a Frugality becoming your Circumstances, which call at this Time for more than ordinary Care.

*Brethren,*

WITH Pleasure we behold here the Deputies of five different Nations, *viz.* the *United Six Nations*, the *Delawares*, the *Shawonee*, the *Twightwees*, and the *Owendacts*. Be pleased to cast your Eyes towards this Belt, whereon six Figures are delineated, holding one another by the Hands. This is a just Resemblance of our present Union: The five first Figures representing the five Nations, to which you belong, as the sixth does the Government of *Pennsylvania*; with whom you are linked in a close and firm Union. In whatever Part the Belt is broke, all the Wampum runs off, and renders the Whole of no Strength or Consistency. In like Manner, should you break Faith with one another, or with this Government, the Union is dissolved. We would therefore hereby place before you the Necessity of preserving your Faith entire to one another, as well as to this Government. Do not separate: Do not part on any Score. Let no Differences nor Jealousies subsist a Moment between Nation and Nation; but join all together as one Man, sincerely and heartily. We on our Part shall always perform our Engagements to every one of you. In Testimony whereof, we present you with this Belt.

*Here the Belt was given.*

*Brethren,*

We have only this one Thing further to say at this Time: Whatever Answers you may have to give, or Business to transact with us, we desire you would use Dispatch; as it may be dangerous to you, and incommodious to us, to be kept long from our Homes, at this Season of the Year.

*At a Meeting of the Commissioners, and Indians, the 3d of October, 1753.*

P R E S E N T,

The Commissioners,

The same *Indians* as before.

Several Gentlemen of the County.

*Scarrooyady*, Speaker.

*Brother Onas,*

**W**HAT we have now to say, I am going to speak, in Behalf of the *Twightwees*, *Shawonee*, *Delawares*, and *Owendacts*.

You have, like a true and affectionate Brother, comforted us in our Affliction. You have wiped away the Blood from our Seats, and set them again in order. You have wrapped up the Bones of our Warriors, and covered the Graves of our wise Men; and wiped the Tears from our Eyes, and the Eyes of our Women and Children: So that we now see the Sun, and all Things are become pleasant to our Sight. We shall not fail to acquaint our several Nations with your Kindness. We shall take Care that it be always remembered by us; and believe it will be attended with suitable Returns of Love and Affection.

*Then one of the Twightwees stood up, and spoke as follows: (Scarrooyady Interpreter.)*

*Brother Onas,*

THE *Ontawas*, *Cheepaways*, and the *French*, have struck us.---The Stroke was heavy, and hard to be borne, for thereby we lost our King, and several of our Warriors; but the Loss our Brethren, the *English*, suffered, we grieve for most. The Love we have had for the *English*, from our first Knowledge of them, still continues in our Breasts; and we shall ever retain the same ardent Affection for them.---We cover the Graves of the *English* with this Beaver Blanket. We mourn for them more than for our own People.

*Here he spread on the Floor some Beaver Skins, sewed together in the Form of a large Blanket.*

*Then Scarrooyady spoke as follows:*

*Brother Onas,*

I SPEAK now on Behalf of all the *Indians* present, in Answer to what you said when you gave us the Goods and Belt. What you have said to us Yesterday is very kind, and pleases us exceedingly. The Speech which accompanied the Belt, is particularly of great Moment. We will take the Belt home to *Ohio*, where there is a greater and wiser Council than us, and consider it, and return you a full Answer. We return you Thanks for the Present.

*Gave a String.*

*Brother Onas;*

LAST Spring, when you heard of the March of the *French* Army, you were so good as to send us Word, that we might be on our Guard: We thank you for this friendly Notice.

*Brother Onas,*

YOUR People not only trade with us in our Towns, but disperse themselves over a large and wide extended Country, in which reside many Nations: At one End live the *Twightwees*, and at the other End



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End the *Caghnawagas*, and *Adirondacks*; these you must comprehend in your Chain of Friendship, they are, and will be, your Brethren, let *Onontio* say what he will.

*Gave a String.*

*Brother Onas,*

I DESIRE you would hear and take Notice of what I am about to say now. The Governor of *Virginia* desired Leave to build a strong House on *Ohio*, which came to the Ears of the Governor of *Canada*; and we suppose this caused him to invade our Country. We do not know his Intent; because he speaks with two Tongues. So soon as we know his Heart, we shall be able to know what to do; and shall speak accordingly to him. We desire that *Pennsylvania* and *Virginia* would at present forbear settling on our Lands, over the *Allegheny* Hills. We advise you rather to call your People back on this Side the Hills, lest Damage should be done, and you think ill of us. But to keep up our Correspondence with our Brother *Onas*, we will appoint some Place on the Hills, or near them; and we do appoint *George Croghan*, on our Part, and desire you to appoint another on your Part, by a formal Writing, under the Governor's Hand. Let none of your People settle beyond where they are now; nor on the *Juniata* Lands, till the Affair is settled between us and the *French*. At present, *George Croghan's* House, at *Juniata*, may be the Place where any Thing may be sent to us. We desire a Commission may be given to the Person intrusted by the Government of *Pennsylvania*; and that he may be directed to warn People from settling the *Indians* Lands, and impowered to remove them.

*Gave a Belt and String:*

*Brother Onas,*

ALL we who are here desire you will hear what we are going to say, and regard it as a Matter of Moment: The *French* look on the great Number of your Traders at *Ohio* with Envy; they fear they shall lose their Trade. You have more Traders than are necessary; and they spread themselves over our wide Country, at such great Distances, that we cannot see them, or protect them. We desire you will call back the great Number of your Traders, and let only three Sets of Traders remain; and order these to stay in three Places, which we have appointed for their Residence, *viz. Logstown*, the Mouth of *Canaawa*, and the Mouth of *Mobongely*; the *Indians* will then come to them, and buy their Goods in these Places, and no where else. We shall likewise look on them under our Care, and shall be accountable for them. We have settled this Point with *Virginia* in the same Manner.

*Gave a String.*

*Brother Onas,*

THE *English* Goods are sold at too dear a Rate to us. If only honest and sober Men were to deal with us, we think they might afford the Goods cheaper: We desire therefore, that you will take effectual Care hereafter, that none but such be suffered to come out to trade with us.

*Gave a String.*

*Brother Onas,*

YOUR Traders now bring scarce any Thing but Rum and Flour: They bring little Powder and Lead, or other valuable Goods. The Rum ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in such Quantities, by regulating the Traders. We never understood the Trade was to be for Whiskey and Flour. We desire it may be forbidden, and none sold in the *Indian* Country; but that if the *Indians* will have any, they may go among the Inhabitants, and deal with them for it. When these Whiskey Traders come, they bring thirty or forty Cags, and put them down before us, and make us drink; and get all the Skins that should go to pay the Debts we have contracted for Goods bought of the Fair Traders; and by this Means, we not only ruin ourselves, but them too. These wicked Whiskey Sellers, when they have once got the *Indians* in Liquor, make them sell their very Clothes from their Backs.---In short, if this Practice be continued, we must be inevitably ruined: We most earnestly therefore beseech you to remedy it.

*A treble String.*

*Brother Onas,*

I HAVE now done with generals; but have something to say for particular Nations.

THE *Shawonefe* heard some News since they came here, which troubled their Minds; on which they addressed themselves to their Grandfathers, the *Delawares*; and said, Grandfathers, we will live and die with you, and the *Six Nations*: We, our Wives and Children; and Children yet unborn.

N. B. This was occasioned by Conrad Weiser's having told them in private Conversation, that while he was in the Mohock Country, he was informed, that the *French* intended to drive away the *Shawonefe* (as well as the *English*) from *Ohio*.

SCARROOYADY then proceeded, and said, I have something farther to say on Behalf of the *Shawonefe*.

*Brother Onas,*

AT the Beginning of the Summer, when the News was brought to us, of the Approach of the *French*, the *Shawonefe* made this Speech to their Uncles, the *Delawares*, saying, "Uncles, you have often told us, that we were a sensible and discreet People; but we lost all our Sense and Wits, when we slipped out of your Arms; however, we are now in one another's Arms again, and hope we shall slip out no more. We remember, and are returned to our former Friendship, and hope it will always continue. In Testimony whereof, we give you, our Uncles, a String of ten Rows."

THE *Shawonefe* likewise, at the same time, sent a Speech to the *Six Nations*, saying, "Our Brethren, the *English*, have treated us as People that had Wit: The *French* deceived us: But we now turn our Heads about, and are looking perpetually to the Country of the *Six Nations*, and our Brethren, the *English*, and desire you to make an Apology for us; and they gave eight Strings of Wampum."

The

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The *Delawares* and *Six Nations* do therefore give up these Strings to *Onas*, and recommend the *Shawonefe* to him as a People who have seen their Error, and are their and our very good Friends.

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*Gave eight Strings.*

*Brother Onas,*

BEFORE I finish, I must tell you, we all earnestly request you will please to lay all our present Transactions before the Council of *Onondago*, that they may know we do nothing in the Dark. They may perhaps think of us, as if we did not know what we were doing; or wanted to conceal from them what we do with our Brethren; but it is otherwise; and therefore make them acquainted with all our Proceedings: This is what we have likewise desired of the *Virginians* when we treated with them at *Winchester*.

*Brother Onas,*

I FORGOT something which I must now say to you; it is to desire you would assist us with some Horses to carry our Goods; because you have given us more than we can carry ourselves. Our Women and young People present you with this Bundle of Skins, desiring some Spirits to make them cheerful in their own Country; not to drink here.

*Presented a Bundle of Skins.*

*Then he added:*

THE *Twightwees* intended to say something to you; but they have mislaid some Strings, which has put their Speeches into Disorder; these they will rectify, and speak to you in the Afternoon.

*Then the Indians withdrew.*

*At a Meeting of the Commissioners and Indians the 3d of October, 1753. P. M.*

## P R E S E N T,

The Commissioners,

The same Indians as before.

The Magistrates, and several Gentlemen of the County.

*The Twightwees speak by Andrew Montour.*

*Brother Onas,*

H E A R K E N what I have to say to the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, *Shawonefe*, and *English*.

THE *French* have struck us; but tho' we have been hurt, it is but on one Side; the other Side is safe. Our Arm on that Side is entire; and with it we laid hold on our Pipe, and have brought it along with us, to shew you it is as good as ever: And we shall leave it with you, that it may be always ready for us and our Brethren to smoke in when we meet together.

*Here he delivered over the Calumet, decorated with fine Feathers.*

*Brother Onas,*

WE have a single Heart. We have but one Heart. Our Heart is green, and good, and sound: This Shell, painted green on its hollow Side, is a Resemblance of it.

THE Country beyond us, towards the Setting of the Sun, where the *French* live, is all in Darkness; we can see no Light there: But towards Sun-rising, where the *English* live, we see Light; and that is the Way we turn our Faces. Consider us as your fast Friends, and good Brethren.

*Here he delivered a large Shell, painted green on the Concave-side, with a String of Wampum tied to it.*

*Brother Onas,*

THIS Belt of Wampum was formerly given to the King of the *Piankashas*, one of our Tribes, by the *Six Nations*; that if at any Time any of our People should be killed, or any Attack made on them by their Enemies, this Belt should be sent with the News, and the *Six Nations* would believe it.

THE *Twightwees*, when they brought this Belt to the Lower *Shawonefe* Town, addressed themselves to the *Shawonefe*, *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, and then to the *English*, and said;

*Brethren,*

WE are an unhappy People: We have had some of our Brethren, the *English*, killed and taken Prisoners in our Towns. Perhaps our Brethren, the *English*, may think, or be told, that we were the Cause of their Death: We therefore apply to you the *Shawonefe*, &c. to assure the *English* we were not. The Attack was so sudden, that it was not in our Power to save them. And we hope, when you deliver this Speech to the *English*, they will not be prejudiced against us, but look on us as their Brethren: Our Hearts are good towards them.

*A large Belt of fourteen Rows.*

*Brethren,*

ONE of our Kings, on his Death bed, delivered to his Son, the young Boy who sits next to me, these eight Strings of Wampum, and told him, Child, "I am in Friendship with the *Shawonefe*, *Delawares*, *Six Nations*, and *English*; and I desire you; if by any Misfortune I should happen to die, or be killed by my Enemies, you would send this String to them, and they will receive you in Friendship in my Stead.

*Delivers the Strings.*

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THE following is a Speech of the Wife of the *Piankafsa* King, after her Husband's Death, addressed to the *Shawonefe*, *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, and *English*: "Remember, Brethren, that my Husband took a fast Hold of the Chain of Friendship subsisting between your Nations: Therefore I now deliver up his Child into your Care and Protection, and desire you would take Care of him; and remember the Alliance his Father was in with you, and not forget his Friendship, but continue kind to his Child."

*Gave four Strings black and white.*

*Brethren*, *Shawonefe*, *Delawares*, *Six Nations*, and *English*,

WE acquaint all our Brethren, that we have prepared this Beaver Blanket as a Seat for all our Brethren to sit on in Council. In the Middle of it we have painted a green Circle, which is the Colour and Resemblance of our Hearts; which we desire our Brethren may believe are sincere towards our Alliance with them.

*Delivered a Beaver Blanket.*

*Then Scarrooyady stood up and said:*

*Brother Onas,*

THE *Shawonefe* and *Delawares* delivered this Speech to the *Six Nations*, and desired they would deliver it to the *English*; and now I deliver it on their Behalf.

*Brethren,*

WE acquaint you, that as the Wife of the *Piankafsa* King delivered his Child to all the Nations, to be taken Care of, they desire that those Nations may be interceded with, to take Care that the said Child may be placed in his Father's Seat, when he comes to be a Man, to rule their People. And the *Six Nations* now, in Behalf of the Whole, request, that this Petition may not be forgot by the *English*, but that they would see the Request fulfilled.

*Gave four Strings.*

THEN *Scarrooyady* desired the *Six Nations* Council might be made acquainted with all these Speeches: And added, that they had no more to say; but what they have said is from their Hearts.

*At a Meeting of the Commissioners, and Indians, the 4th of October, 1753.*

P R E S E N T,

The Commissioners,

The same Indians as before.

The Gentlemen of the County.

*The Commissioners, unwilling to lose any Time, prepared their Answers early this Morning, and sent for the Indians; who having seated themselves, the following Speech was made to them:*

*Brethren*, *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, *Shawonefe*, *Twightwees*, and *Owendachts*,

THE several Matters delivered by you Yesterday have been well considered; and we are now going to return you our Answers.

THE Concern expressed by the *Twightwees* for the Death and Imprisonment of the *English*, with their Professions of Love and Esteem, denotes a sincere and friendly Disposition, which entitles them to our Thanks, and the Continuance of our Friendship; this they may certainly depend on.

*Brethren,*

You have recommended to us the several Nations, who, you say, live in that great Extent of Country, over which our Traders travel to dispose of their Goods, and especially the *Twightwees*, *Adirondacks*, and *Caghnawagas*, who you say live at different Extremities, and have good Inclinations towards the *English*.--We believe you would not give them this Character unless they deserved it. Your Recommendations always will have a Weight with us, and will dispose us in Favour of them, agreeable to your Request.

*Brethren,*

THE several Articles which contain your Observations on the *Indian* Traders, and the loose straggling Manner in which that Trade is carried on, thro' Countries lying at great Distances from your Towns--Your Proposals to remedy this, by having named three Places for the Traders to reside in, under your Care and Protection, with a Request, that the Province would appoint the particular Persons to be concerned in this Trade, for whom they will be answerable.--What you say about the vast Quantities of Rum, and its ill Effects, and that no more may be brought amongst you; all these have made a very strong Impression upon our Minds; and was it now in our Power to rectify these Disorders, and to put Matters on the Footing you propose, we would do it with great Pleasure: But these are Affairs which more immediately concern the Government; in these therefore, we shall imitate your Example, by laying them before the Governor, assuring you, that our heartiest Representations of the Necessity of these Regulations shall not be wanting, being convinced, that unless something effectual be speedily

## [ II ]

speedily done in these Matters, the good People of this Province can no longer expect Safety or Profit in their Commerce, nor the Continuance of your Affection.

1753.

*Brethren,*

WE will send an Account to *Onondago* of all that has been transacted between us.

WE will assist you with Horses for the Carriage of the Goods given you.

WE grant your Women and young Men their Request for Rum, on Condition it be not delivered to them until you shall have passed the Mountains.

SCARROOVADY some Days ago desired us to give Orders for the Mending of your Guns, &c. and we did so; being obliged to send for a Gunsmith out of the Country, as no One of that Trade lived in the Town; who promised to come: But having broke his Word, it has not been in our Power to comply with this Request.

*Here the String given with the Request was returned.*

HAVING delivered our general Answer, we shall now proceed to give one to what was said by particular Nations, as well by the *Shawonefe* in the Forenoon, as by the *Twightwees* in the Afternoon.

*Brethren, Delawares, and Shawonefe,*

WE are glad to see you in such good Dispositions to each other. We entreat you to do every Thing you can to preserve the Continuance of this agreeable Harmony. The *Shawonefe* may be assured we retain no Manner of Remembrance of their former Miscarriages: We are perfectly reconciled, and our Esteem for their Nation is the same as ever.

*Gave a large String.*

*Brethren, Twightwees,*

WE shall take your several Presents, Shells, Strings, Beaver Blanket, and Calumet Pipe, with us, and deliver them to the Governor; that these, and the several Things said at the Delivery of them, may remain in the Council Chamber, at *Philadelphia*, for our mutual Use and Remembrance, whenever it shall please the Great Being, who sits above, to bring us together in Council again.

*Gave a long String.*

*Brethren,*

WE desire you will send these two Strouds to the young King, as an Acknowledgment of our affectionate Remembrance of his Father's Love to us, and of our Good-will to him.

BE pleased to present to the Widow of the *Piankasho* King, our late hearty Friend, these Handkerchiefs, to wipe the Tears from her Eyes; and likewise give her Son these two Strouds to clothe him.

*Here two Handkerchiefs and two Strouds were given.*

*Brethren Twightwees,*

WE assure you we entertain no hard Thoughts of you; nor in any wife impute to you the Misfortune that befel the *English* in your Town; it was the Chance of War: We were struck together; we fell together; and we lament your Loss equally with our own.

*Brethren, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawonefe, Twightwees, and Owendaets,*

WE have now finished our Answers; and we hope they will be agreeable to you: Whatever we have said, has been with a hearty Good-will towards you; our Hearts have accompanied our Professions, and you will always find our Actions agreeable to them. Then the Commissioners were silent; and, after a Space of Time, renewed their Speeches to them.

*Brethren, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawonefe, Twightwees, and Owendaets,*

WE have something to say to you, to which we entreat you will give your closest Attention, since it concerns both us and you very much.

*Brethren,*

WE have held a Council on the present Situation of your Affairs. We have Reason to think, from the Advices of *Taaf* and *Callender*, that it would be too great a Risque, considering the present Disorder Things are in at *Ohio*, to encrease the Quantity of Goods already given you: We therefore acquaint you, that, though the Governor has furnished us with a larger Present of Goods, to put into your publick Store-house, as a general Stock, for your Support and Service, and we did intend to have sent them along with you; we have, on this late disagreeable Piece of News, altered our Minds, and determined, that the Goods shall not be delivered till the Governor be made acquainted with your present Circumstances, and shall give his own Orders for the Disposal of them. And that they may lie ready for your Use, to be applied for, whenever the Delivery may be safe, seasonable, and likely to do you the most Service; we have committed them to the Care of your good Friend *George Crogan*, who is to transmit to the Governor, by Express, a true and faithful Account how your Matters are likely to turn out; and on the Governor's Order, and not otherwise, to put you into the Possession of them.

THIS we hope you will think a prudent Caution, and a Testimony of our Care for your real Good and Welfare.

*Brethren,*

1753.

*Breibren,*

WE have a Favour of a particular Nature to request from your Speaker, *Scarrooyady*, in which we expect your Concurrence, and joint Interest; and therefore make it to him in your Presence. Here the Commissioners applying to *Scarrooyady*, spoke as follows:

*Respected Chief and Brother Scarrooyady,*

WE have been informed by *Andrew Montour*, and *George Crogban*, that you did at *Winchester*, in publick Council, undertake to go to *Carolina*, to solicit the Release of some Warriors of the *Shawonee* Nation, who are said to be detained in the publick Prison of *Charles-Town*, on Account of some Mischief committed by them, or their Companions, in the inhabited Part of that Province; and these two Persons, who are your very good Friends, have given it as their Opinion, if, after you know what has passed at *Ohio*, you shall now leave this Company of *Indians*, and not return with them to their Families, and assist in the Consultations with one *Half King*, and their other Chiefs, what Measures to take in this unhappy Situation of your Affairs, all may be irrecoverably lost at *Allegheny*, and the Loss with Justice be laid at your Door. You may, perhaps, be afraid to disoblige the *Shawonee*, as it was at their Instance you undertook this Journey; but we intend to speak to them, and have no Doubt of obtaining their Consent; convinc'd as we are, that the Release of these Prisoners will be sooner and more effectually procur'd by the joint Interposition of the Governors of *Pennsylvania* and *Virginia*, than by your personal Solicitation; in as much as our Governor, to whom we shall very heartily recommend this Affair, can send, with greater Dispatch, his Letters to *Carolina*, than you can perform the Journey; for at this Season, Opportunities present every Day of sending by Sea to *Charles-Town*; and an Express by Land may be dispatched to Governor *Durwiddie*, as soon as we return to *Philadelphia*.

*Gave a String.*

THE *Shawonee* Chiefs expressing Dissatisfaction at this Endeavour of the Commissioners to stop *Scarrooyady*, it gave us some Trouble to satisfy them, and obtain their Consent; but at last it was effected; and when this was signified to *Scarrooyady*, he made this Answer.

*Brother Onas,*

I WILL take your Advice, and not go to *Virginia* at this Time,---but go Home, and do every Thing in my Power for the common Good. And since we are here now together, with a great deal of Pleasure I must acquaint you, that we have set a Horn on *Andrew Montour's* Head, and that you may believe what he says to be true, between the *Six Nations* and you, they have made him one of their Counsellors, and a great Man among them, and love him dearly.

*Scarrooyady gave a large Belt to Andrew Montour, and the Commissioners agreed to it.*

AFTER this Difficulty was got over, nothing else remained to be done; and as the Absence of these *Indians* was dangerous, the Commissioners put an End to the Treaty, and took their Leave of them, making private Presents at parting, to such of the Chiefs, and others, as were recommended by the Interpreters to their particular Notice.

THUS, may it please the Governor, we have given a full and just Account of all our Proceedings, and we hope our Conduct will meet with his Approbation. But, in Justice to these *Indians*, and the Promises we made them, we cannot close our Report, without taking Notice, That the Quantities of strong Liquors sold to these *Indians* in the Places of their Residence, and during their Hunting Seasons, from all Parts of the Counties over *Sasquebannab*, have encreased of late to an inconceivable Degree, so as to keep these poor *Indians* continually under the Force of Liquor, that they are hereby become dissolute, enfeebled and indolent when sober, and untractable and mischievous in their Liquor, always quarrelling, and often murdering one another: That the Traders are under no Bonds, nor give any Security for their Observance of the Laws, and their good Behaviour; and by their own Intemperance, unfair Dealings, and Irregularities, will, it is to be feared, entirely estrange the Affections of the *Indians* from the *English*; deprive them of their natural Strength and Activity, and oblige them either to abandon their Country, or submit to any Terms, be they ever so unreasonable, from the *French*. These Truths, may it please the Governor, are of so interesting a Nature, that we shall stand excused in recommending in the most earnest Manner, the deplorable State of these *Indians*, and the heavy Discouragements under which our Commerce with them at present labours, to the Governor's most serious Consideration, that some good and speedy Remedies may be provided, before it be too late.

RICHARD PETERS,

ISAAC NORRIS,

BENJ. FRANKLIN.

November 1, 1753.



M I N U T E S  
O F  
C O N F E R E N C E S,

HELD WITH THE  
*INDIANS*, at *EASTON*,

In the Months of *July* and *November*, 1756;

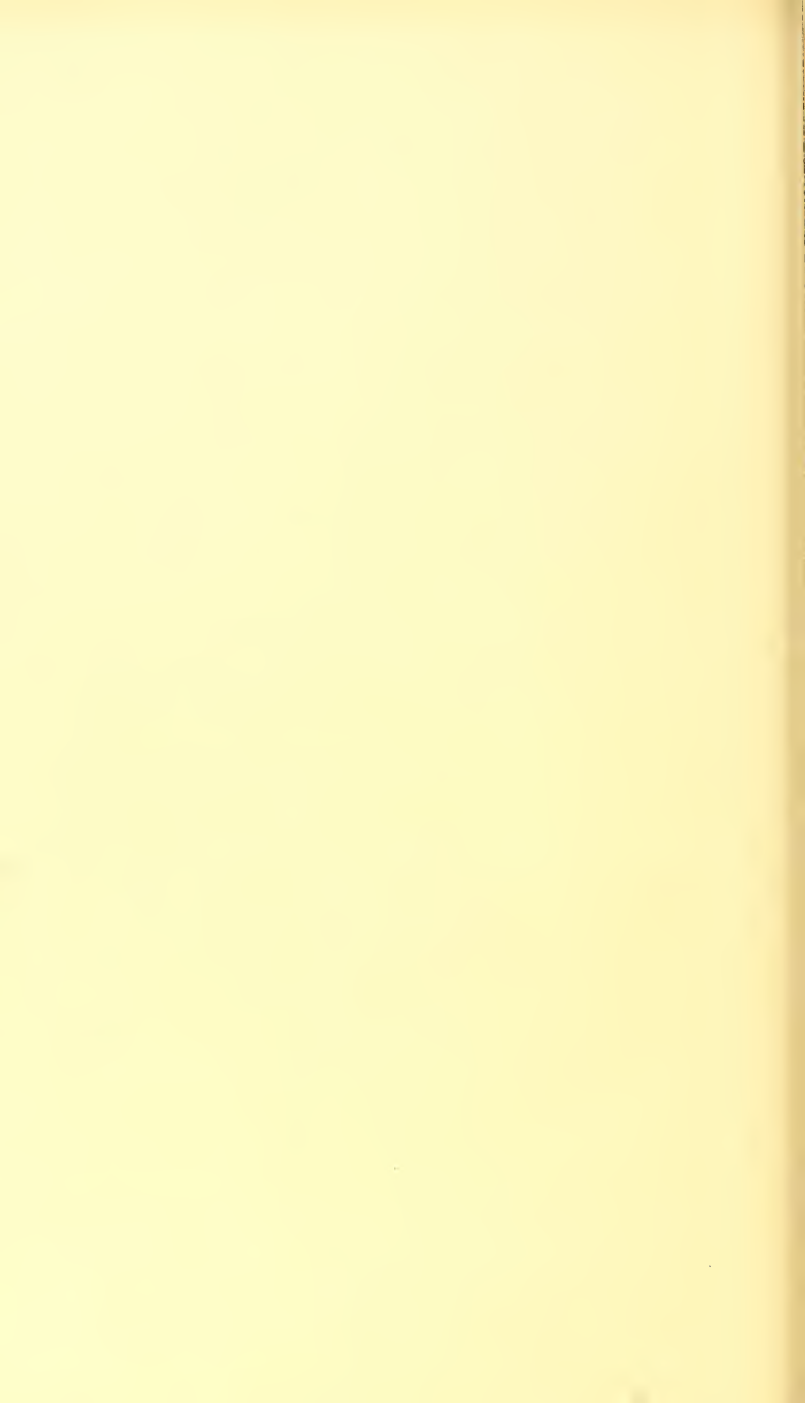
TOGETHER WITH

Two MESSAGES sent by the GOVERNMENT to the  
*Indians* residing on *Sasquebannab*; and the REPORT of the COM-  
MITTEE appointed by the ASSEMBLY to attend the GOVERNOR at  
the last of the said Conferences.



PHILADELPHIA:

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[ 3 ]

# M I N U T E S

## O F

### C O N F E R E N C E S, &c.

#### P H I L A D E L P H I A.

*After the Ending of the Conferences between Scarroyady and some of the People called Quakers, the three Indians, Newcastle, Jagrea, and William Locquies, being prepared to set out for Wioming, the Governor (who, during these Conferences, received Messages from the Governor of New-York) delivered them the following Message to the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, living on Sasquehannah, viz.*

B R E T H R E N,

April 26, 1756.

I HAVE received an Account from Sir William Johnson, sent me by Sir Charles Hardy, Governor of New-York, that, immediately after the Council held at Fort Johnson, Deputies were dispatched by the Six Nations to Atsiningo, and that they convened the Delawares, Shawanese, and other Indians, from the several Towns on the Sasquehannah, to the Number of Three Hundred, to whom they delivered Messages from that Council, blaming them for taking up the Hatchet against their Brethren the English, and commanding them to lay it down immediately; and that they had hearkened to this Message, and agreed to strike no more.-----What I tell you is in this Letter: [*Here the Governor gave Mr. Weller Sir Charles Hardy's Letter of the 16th of April, to interpret to them. And when he had made them understand what Sir Charles Hardy had wrote, the Governor took a Belt in his Hand, and proceeded.*]

1756.

Brethren,

I think it necessary that the Indians at Wioming, as well Enemies as Friends, should know, that Sir Charles Hardy has sent this Account to me from Sir William Johnson; and as two of you are of the Six Nations, and one a Delaware, I think it proper that you should undertake to notify this to them; and at the same Time to let them know, as from yourselves, that if they are sincerely disposed to Peace, and will deliver up the English Prisoners to the Six Nations, and hearken to their Advice in laying down the Hatchet, and abide by such Terms as shall be agreed on, you can venture to assure them, that tho' much Blood has been spilt, and that the English, in Repentment of this, are well prepared to avenge themselves, yet they have so great Regard for the Six Nations, that it will be in their Power to persuade the English not to prosecute the War, but to accept fair, just and honourable Terms; and I provide you with this Belt, to deliver it to them with such a Speech.

Brethren,

I speak my own sincere Inclinations, when I say I am for Peace; and not only my own, but the Sentiments of others, and particularly the earnest Desire of a Number of People, who are the Descendants of those that came over with the first Proprietor; all those are extremely desirous to interpose with the Government, to receive the Submission of the Delawares, and to overlook what is past, and establish for the future a firm and lasting Agreement, Peace and Affection between us, and have repeatedly applied to me for this Purpose.

Brethren,

As many Stories have been told to the Indians to our Prejudice, I desire you will undeceive them; and particularly I do charge William Locquies to acquaint the Delawares, that those of their Tribe who live among us, have not had any Mischief done them; but are treated with our usual Kindness, and are at Liberty, and live in Peace and Plenty among us.-----I charge you William Locquies, to declare the Truth to the Indians, and to assure them

## [ 4 ]

1756. them that they have been imposed on; and relate the Care that has been taken, as well by the Government of *New-Jersey*, as this, of all the *Indians* who have staid with us, and that they enjoy our Protection, and live as happily as ever:

*A String.*

*Brethren,*

*Paxinofa*, and some other *Shawanese*, and other *Indians*, have not broke Faith with us, but endeavoured to dissuade the *Delawares* from striking us.----When they could not succeed, they separated from them, and now live together in some Place near *Wiming*; I would have you go to them, and let them likewise know this Account from Sir *William Johnson*, and assure them from me, that if they are inclined to come within the Inhabitants, you have my Orders to conduct them; or if they do not incline to come now, but at any other Time, they will, on sending me a Message, be provided with a safe Conduct, and meet with an hearty Welcome.---Let them know that *Scarryady* related to me what had passed between him and them; and that *Aras* and *David* have likewise made me acquainted with what was said by them when they were last at *Wiming*.

*Then the Governor gave them a String to give to Paxinofa.*

*Newcastle, Jagrea, and William Locquies, returned the Governor an Answer, viz.*

That the Messages were very good, and what they approved mightily, and would undertake the Journey, and deliver them faithfully; but then they must desire the Governor would make their Apology to Colonel *Clapham*, and tell him, that nothing but the Governor's Commands would have induced them to delay their coming to him.

The Governor promised he would; and then told them, that Mr. *Spangenberg* was desired to be present, having some *Delaware Indians* under his Care, that he might hear what was delivered to them.---He desired they would go by Way of *Betlehem*, and take with them one or more of the *Indians* there, and that Mr. *Spangenberg* would prepare those *Indians* for their Visit, and persuade some of them to accompany them to *Wiming*.

The Messengers returned, and on the 31st of *May*, 1756, made the following Report, viz. *That on their Arrival at Wiming, they found the Indians had left the Town, and gone up the River; they therefore proceeded to Teagoon, where they met with a great Number of Indians, and informed them they had brought a Message from the Governor of Pennsylvania, and desired a Meeting of all their People in that Town and near it; which being obtained in two Days, they then delivered their Message.---After which, Paxinofa, as Speaker of their Council, returned the following Answer, viz.*

*Brethren, The Governor, and People of Pennsylvania,*

**T**HE dark Clouds overspread our Country so suddenly, that we have been all at once separated, and that dark Cloud got in between us; and as it has pleased the most High to dispel it a little, so that we can just see one another again, our Eyes are now running with Tears, because of the melancholy Sight of seeing our Country covered with our own Blood (we mean yours and ours.) Give me Leave to wipe off the Tears from your Eyes, though at the same Time my own Eyes run with Tears in Abundance for what has passed.

*Gave a String.*

*Brethren,*

As you came a great Way, and through dangerous Places, where evil Spirits reign, who might have put several Things in your Way to obstruct your Business, this String serves to clear your Mind, and the Passage from your Heart to your Mouth, that you may speak freely to us.

*Gave a String.*

*Teedyuscung, a Delaware Chief, spoke next.*

*Brother Onas, and the People of Pennsylvania,*

We rejoice to hear from you, and that you are willing to renew the old good Understanding, and that you call to Mind the first Treaties of Friendship made by *Onas*, our great Friend, deceased, with our Fore-Fathers, when himself and his People first came over here. We take hold of these Treaties with both our Hands, and desire you will do the same, that a good Understanding and true Friendship may be re-established. Let us both take hold of these Treaties with all our Strength, we beseech you; we on our Side will certainly do it.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brother Onas,*

What you said to us we took to Heart, and it entered into our Heart; and we speak to you from our Heart; and we will deal honestly with you in every Respect.

*Gave a String.*

*Brother*

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Brother Onas,

We desire you will look upon us with Eys of Mercy. We are a very poor People; our Wives and Children are almost naked. We are void of Understanding, and destitute of the Necessaries of Life. Pity us.

1756.

*Gave a String.*

*The Delawares, Memfikes, and Mohickons, to Onas, and the People of Pennsylvania.*

Brethren,

There is a great Number of our People among you, and in a Manner confined; we desire you will set them at Liberty, or rather give them a safe Conduct to *Wicoming*, where we intend to settle as on your Fire Side; there we will jointly with you kindle a Council-Fire, which shall always burn, and we will be one People with you.

*Gave two Belts.*

Brother Onas, and all the People of Pennsylvania,

We had the Misfortune that a great and dark Cloud overspread our Country; but by our Prudence, and that of our Uncles, the *Six Nations*, it is now almost dispelled, and we see the clear Heavens again. We the *Delawares*, the *Shawaneff*, the *Mohickons*, and *Memfikes*, give you this String of Wampum, and desire you, that the Bitterness which might have gathered in this dark and unhappy Time may be removed, and that you may by this Means spit it out; take or accept this as a certain Cure for that Purpose, and pass by all that is past, and think on your poor foolish Brethren with Mercy, and forget all the Evil done to you by them.

*Gave several Strings of Wampum.*

Brother Onas,

What our Uncles the *Six Nations* required of us, in your and their Behalf, by their Delegates, at *Otsefingo*, we that live on the River *Sasquehannah* have agreed to. We have laid aside our Hatchet, and will never make use of it any more against you or your Brethren, the *English*: All our young Men have been consulted about this, and all earnestly agree to it, and we now speak in their Presence.

We must give you this Caution, not to charge them with any Thing that may be done by the *Ohio Indians*, who are under the Influence of the *French* against you. We assure you, our young Men will do no more Mischief to your People.

*Gave a String.*

*At a COUNCIL held at Philadelphia, on Tuesday, the 8th of June, 1756.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

BENJAMIN SHOEMAKER, JOSEPH TURNER, } Esquires.  
RICHARD PETERS, JOHN MIFFLIN, }

Captain NEWCASTLE, } Indians of the Six Nations.  
JAGREA, or SATAGAROWYES, }

CONRAD WEISER, Esq; Interpreter.

*The Governor and the People of Pennsylvania, to the Indians on Sasquehannah, gathered at Teagon.*

Brethren,

I RETURN you the Thanks of this Government for the kind Reception you gave to my Messengers: This I look upon as an Act of Friendship, and a Token of your good Intentions.

*A String of four Rows*

Brethren,

I am glad to find a good Spirit at last prevailing amongst you, and that you hearkened to my Message, and laid it to Heart; you will ever find us, your Brethren, sincerely disposed to consult and act for your truest Interest, and in the several Matters which were or shall now be particularly promised on our Part, you may rest assured we mean punctually to perform them, and expect the same Disposition in you.

*A String of four Rows.*

*Brethren,*

1756.

*Brethren, the Shawanefe, Delawares, Memkies, and Mohickons,*

As you on your Parts have confirmed the Treaties and Leagues of Amity subsisting between you and this Government, and given a Belt in Confirmation thereof, and desire the same be done on our Part; I do now, by this Belt, ratify and confirm all former Treaties and Engagements, and assure, that they shall be most inviolably observed as long as the Sun shines.

*Here a large Belt was given.*

*Brethren,*

As Your Confirmation of former Treaties was accompanied with Professions of Sincerity, so I make you the strongest Assurances of Truth in the Confirmation this Government has now made.

*A String of four Rows.*

*Brethren,*

That you and I may have an Opportunity of making these mutual Declarations at a publick Convention, I now kindle a Council-Fire at the House of *Conrad Weiser*, who is one of the Council of the *Six Nations*, and the publick Interpreter of the Province.

*A large Belt of fourteen Rows.*

N. B. *Mr. Weiser said it was necessary to name a particular Place; but the Indians were, notwithstanding this, always at Liberty to name another; and he believed, from something Captain Newcastle had dropped, the Indians would chuse the Forks-of-Delaware.*

*Brethren,*

Having appointed a Place for us to meet in Council, I now clear the Roads to this Place, and remove the Logs and other Obstructions out of it, so that it may be perfectly safe for every one desirous to use it to travel to their Brethren when met in Council.

*A Belt of eight Rows, and eight Strings tied to it.*

*Brethren,*

It is offensive to see Blood spilt upon the Road used by People who have lived in Friendship together; I therefore remove all Blood out of the Road that leads to the Council-Fire.

*A Belt of nine Rows.*

*Brethren,*

Your *Indians* who live among us go where they please; they live as we do; and enjoy their Liberty. We only hinder them from going to the Frontiers, where they might be mistaken for Enemies, and hurt or killed; and that the *Indians* may know the Truth of this, we send some of them along with our Messengers to *Tcaogon*, who will declare what Treatment they have had from us. What few we have in Confinement shall be set at Liberty when the Council meets, and be brought there.

*A String.*

*Brethren,*

This last is a very important Article, and what we absolutely depend upon, That all Prisoners taken on both Sides shall be delivered up, as there can be no Sincerity on either Side where this is not done, and that in the most faithful and ample Manner, without keeping back a single Prisoner; this Belt assures you that it shall be punctually performed by us, and we expect the same punctually on your Side.

*Two Belts, the one of seven, the other of eight Rows.*

*Brethren,*

You have mentioned to us the Distresses you have been, and are, in, for Want of Necessaries; these are owing to your having given Way to the Influences of an evil Spirit, and struck us your Brethren without any Cause; and as you have brought it on yourselves, you have the less Reason to complain: But now that a good Spirit begins to shew itself in you, and you desire to meet us in Council, I shall bring with me a Sufficiency of Clothes and Provisions to relieve those Distresses.

*A String.*

*Brethren,*

As you have laid down the Hatchet, and desire the same may be done by us, our Messenger carries with him our Proclamation for Suspension of Hostilities within the Limits therein specified, of which we have informed the *Six Nations*.

*Brethren,*

Agreeable to the repeated Advice and Request of *Scarroyady*, and other *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, then residing in this Province, I engaged to build a Fort at *Shamokin*, for the Protection of our Friendly *Indians*, their Wives and Children; and I now acquaint you with the March of the Forces, in order to effect this useful Work, that it may give no Umbrage; the Commander having in my Orders not to act offensively.

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*Brethren,*

You are to take Notice, that nothing proposed by me is to interfere with any Invitation you may have received from Sir *William Johnson*, or your Uncles, the *Six Nations*; they have acquainted me, that a great Council is to be held in the Country of the *Six Nations*; and those *Indians* at *Teaogon* are invited to it: I would have them by all Means give their Attendance there. You may go to either Place as you incline, for we are both in the Service of one King, and act by his Direction.

1756.

*Brother Newcastle,*

I have now finished what I would have you say in the Name of this Province to the *Indians* gathered at *Teaogon*. You will adapt the several Articles to *Indian* Customs, retaining the Spirit and Substance of them.

*At a CONFERENCE held at Easton, on Wednesday the 28th of July, 1756.*

## P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.*

WILLIAM LOGAN,  
RICHARD PETERS, } *Esquires, of*  
BENJAMIN CHEW, } *the Council.*  
JOHN MIFFLIN,

JOSEPH FOX,  
JOHN HUGHES, } *Commissioners.*  
WILLIAM EDMONDS,

TEEDYUSCUNG, *the Delaware Chief,*  
and 14 other Chiefs,  
CONRAD WEISER, *Esq; Interpreter*  
for the *Six Nations*.

JOHN PUMPSHIRE, } *Interpreters for*  
JOSEPH PEEPY, } *the Delawares.*  
BEN,

*A large Company, consisting of Officers of the Royal American Regiment, and of the Provincial Forces; Magistrates and Freeholders, of this and the neighbouring Province; and about forty Citizens of the City of Philadelphia, chiefly of the People called Quakers.*

*The Governor acquainted the Indians he was going to speak, and desired them to be attentive.*

*Brethren,*

BY a Belt which I sent by *Newcastle*, and the other *Indian* Messengers, to *Diabogo*, I informed the *Indians* there, that I had kindled a Council Fire; by another String I invited them to it; and by a String of Wampum I cleared the Road, that they might come in Safety to us. I assured you of an hearty Welcome as soon as I came here, and of my Protection; and I now, in the Name of this Government, again bid you welcome. As Captain *Newcastle* brought me no Answer to some Part of the Messages I sent last by him, I expect to receive them by you. I hope you come prepared to speak to us freely, sincerely, and openly, and desire you may do so.

Conference a  
Easton.

*A String.*

To which *Teedyuscung* immediately answered,

Last Spring you sent me a String; and as soon as I heard the good Words you sent, I was glad; and as you told us, we believe it came from your Hearts, so we felt it in our Hearts, and received what you said with Joy.

*Brethren,*

The first Messages you sent me, came in the Spring; they touched my Heart; they gave me Abundance of Joy. I returned an Answer to them, and waited for your second Messages, which came after some Time, and were likewise very agreeable. By the last you acquainted me that you had kindled a Council Fire, and invited me and my People to it. We accepted the Invitation; and I came accordingly, and have staid several Days, smoaking my Pipe with Patience, expecting to meet you here. We are ready to hear what you have to say, and not only we, but five other Nations, in all ten Nations, are now turning their Eyes this Way, and wait what will be said and done at this Meeting.

*Brother,*



1756.

*Brother,*

I solemnly, and with the utmost Sincerity, declare, that tho' you may think I am alone here, yet it will not be long before you will be convinced that I am here by the Appointment of ten Nations, among which are my Uncles the *Six Nations*, authorizing me to treat with you, and what I do they will all confirm. The Truth of this you will soon have made evident to you.

*Brother,*

Hearken to what I am going to say: I declare, in the most solemn Manner, that what I now relate is the Truth. Abundance of Confusion, Disorder and Distraction has arisen among the *Indians*, from People taking upon them to be Kings, and Persons of Authority. In every Tribe of *Indians* there have been such Pretenders, who have held Treaties, sometimes publick, and sometimes in the Bushes; sometimes what these People did came to be known, but frequently it remained in Darknes, or at least no more was imparted to the Publick than they were pleased to publish. To some they held up their Belts, but others never saw them; this bred among the *Indians* great Heart-burnings and Quarrels, and I can assure you, that the present Clouds do, in a great Measure, owe their Rise to this wild and irregular Way of doing Business.—The *Indians*, sensible of this Mistake of our Ancestors, are now determined to put an End to this Multitude of Kings, and to this dark Way of proceeding; they have agreed to put the Management of their Affairs into the Hands of a very few, and these shall no longer have it in their Power to huddle up and give partial Representations of what is done. I assure you, that there are only two Kings appointed to transact publick Business, of which I am one. For the future, Matters will go better on both Sides; you as well as we will know who we are to deal with. We must beseech the most High to scatter the Clouds which have arisen between us, that we may settle Peace as heretofore.

*A String.**Brethren, the English, and particularly the Governor of Pennsylvania,*

You know you have invited me here; I came therefore; my Uncles, the *Six Nations*, will confirm what I say. In your Messages to the *Indians* at *Diabego* you signified to us, that you heard we were in Want and Distress, which to be sure we are, and pitied us and our poor Wives and Children. We took it kindly, and as a Word that came from your Heart. Now is the Time for you to look about, and act the Part of a charitable and wise Man.—Be therefore strong—be assured that, though I am poor, I will do my Share. Whatever Kindness you do to me, or my People, shall be published to ten *Indian Nations*. We will not hide any Presents you shall give us; every Body shall know that we have heard your good Words. We will not do as others, and some of our Uncles, the *Six Nations*, have done, sneak away, and hide your Words and Presents in the Bushes, but shall publish far and near, that all may join with us. Exert yourselves now in the best Manner you can, and you will obtain your End.

*Brother,*

The Conclusion of my Words is no more than this; the Matter in Hand is of too great Moment for one Man. I am but a Messenger from the *United Nations*, though I act as a Chief Man for the *Delawares*. I must now hear what you have to say to my People at this Council-Fire. If it be good, I shall lay hold of it, and carry it to the *United Nations*, who will smile and be pleased to hear good News. If what you will say be disagreeable, I will, notwithstanding, keep it close (*here he closed his Fist*) and deliver it faithfully to the *United Nations*, and let them, as they are my Superiors, do as they see Cause.

Being asked if he had done, he said he had for the present; the main Thing, he added, is yet in my Breast, laying his Hand to his Heart, but this will depend on what Words the Governor will speak to us. Then he repeated the *Delaware* Word, *Whisb-shickfy*, the same in *Mobock* Language as *Jago*, with great Earnestness, and in a very pathetick Tone. Mr. *Weiser*, who knew the Word to have a very extensive and forcible Sense, desired the Interpreter to ask him what he meant by *Whisb-shickfy* on this particular Occasion, and explained himself in the following Manner. Suppose you want to remove a large Log of Wood, that requires many Hands, you must take Pains to get as many together as will do the Business; if you fall short but one, though never so weak an one, all the rest are to no Purpose. Though this be in itself nothing, yet, if you cannot move the Log without it, you must spare no Pains to get it. *Whisb-shickfy*; be strong; look round you; enable us to engage every *Indian Nation* we can; put the Means into our Hands; be sure perform every Promise you have made to us; in particular do not pinch Matters neither with us or other *Indians*; we will help you; but we are poor, and you are rich; make us strong, and we will use our Strength for you; and, besides this, what you do, do quickly; the Times are dangerous; they will not admit of Delay.—*Whisb-shickfy*; do it effectually, and do it with all possible Dispatch.

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*The Governor then spoke.*

1756.

*Brother,*  
I have heard with Attention all you have said. I thank you for the Openness with which you have declared your Sentiments; the Matters mentioned are of Importance; I have laid them to Heart; I will consider them with my Council; when I am prepared to speak, I will let you know; I will use Dispatch, the Times being, as you justly observe, very dangerous.

*At a CONFERENCE held at Easton, on Thursday the 29th, of July, 1756.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the GOVERNOR.

The Gentlemen of the Council.

The same *Indians*.

The Commissioners.

The same Interpreters.

The same Audience.

*Bretbren,*  
I AM going to speak to you on the Affair we are met about; my Speech will contain Matters of great Moment: By this String of Wampum therefore I open your Ears, that you may give a proper Attention.

*A String.*

*Bretbren,*  
The Inhabitants of this Province have ever been a peaceable People, and remarkable for their Love and constant Friendship to the *Six Nations*, and other *Indians* in Alliance with them.

When our Back Inhabitants were attacked last Fall, we at first were at a Loss to know from whence the Blow came; and were much surprized when we were informed that it was given by our old Friends and Neighbours the Cousins of our Brethren the *Six Nations*; we wondered at it; and the more so, as we had not, to our Knowledge, given them any just Cause of Offence.---As soon as we knew this, we sent to the *Six Nations*, and informed them of it, and desired to know, whether this Blow had been struck by their Direction, or with their Privy or Consent: And on receiving Assurances from them, that it was not done with their Consent, and that they greatly disapproved such Conduct, we made ready to revenge the Injury we had received, and we wanted neither Men or Arms, Ammunition, nor Strength to do it, and to take Vengeance for the Injury done us; yet, when we had the Hatchet in our Hands, and were prepared not only to defend ourselves, but to carry the War into the Country of those who had struck us, we sent again to the *Six Nations*, agreeable to the Treaties subsisting between us, to acquaint them of our Intentions. They let us know they had held a Grand Council, at *Fort Johnson*, on this Matter, and that Deputies from thence were sent to summon a Meeting of *Delawares* and *Shawanese* at *Otsaningo*, who were returned with an Account, That their Nephews had, at their Interposition, laid down the Hatchet, and would strike the *English* no more. The *Six Nations* having received these Assurances from the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*, requested us not to execute our hostile Purposes, but to suspend Hostilities; declaring, that they would fully accommodate this Breach, and bring about a Peace. At this Request of the *Six Nations*, we kept our Warriors at Home, for guarding and protecting our Frontiers. I then sent *Newcastle*, and other *Indian* Messengers to you, to notify the Advices of the *Six Nations*, with respect to what had been determined at *Otsaningo*, instructing him, in case he found you sincerely disposed for Peace, and inclined to return to your Alliance with us, to assure you, on the Behalf of this Government, that we were willing to it, on just and honourable Terms. *Newcastle*, and the other Messengers, returned with your Answers; in which you acknowledged, you had been under the Influence of an Evil Spirit, but were well disposed to return to your old Amity and Friendship; at the same Time letting us know, that you was sorry for what had passed; that you was in Distress, and desired we would pity your Distresses.---To shew our Readiness to enter into a Treaty, and our Sincerity in what was said by *Newcastle*, I sent him back again to you, to let you know, on the Behalf of this Government, that I had kindled a Council-Fire, invited all your People to it, cleared the Road, washed off the Blood, and promised, if your People would come to Council, and renew former Leagues, and do what is further necessary on the Occasion, I would bring something with me to relieve your Distresses.---I thought it right to go through this Account in this particular Manner, that you might know from myself what was the Subject of the Messages sent by *Newcastle*, and what was the Substance of the Answers I received by him. And now, I suppose (as I do not see the Body of your *Indians* here) your People, in general, did not believe *Newcastle*, but sent you to know if he had my

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Authority



1756. Authority for the several Matters he delivered to you, and to hear them from my own Mouth. I do not blame you for this Caution, it bespeaks your Care. The Matters he was charged with being of the last Concern, for the Satisfaction of all your People, how wide soever they are dispersed, I do in this publick Assembly, in the Name of the Government, and People of this Province, assure you, that Captain *Newcastle* acted by my Authority; and in Confirmation of what I have said, and that what he delivered, was by Authority from me, I give you this Belt.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

Being now convinced out of my Mouth, of the Sincerity of my Professions made to you by Captain *Newcastle*, and of the Dispositions of the People of this Province, to renew the antient Friendship that subsisted between *William Penn* and the *Indians*, I desire you will report this to the *Indians* at *Diabogo*, and to the *Six Nations*, and to all the *Indians* far and near, as my Words, spoken to them in the Name, and on the Behalf of the Government of *Pennsylvania*. I invite them all to this Council-Fire; the greater the Number that shall come, the more acceptable it will be to me. I invite, and desire you will bring with you, your whole People; but then you must bring here with you also all the Prisoners you have taken during these Disturbances; I must insist on this, as an Evidence of your Sincerity to make a lasting Peace, for, without it, though Peace may be made from the Teeth outwards, yet while you retain our Flesh and Blood in Slavery, it cannot be expected we can be Friends with you, or that a Peace can come from our Hearts. I repeat this Article of the Prisoners as a necessary Condition of Peace, and desire you will consider it as such: If in this you deal with us sincerely, we shall esteem you sincere in every Thing else, and proceed to renew our former Leagues and Covenants, and become again one Flesh as before. And I must remind you (as we are acting in Confort with the *Six Nations*) to bring some of your Uncles along with you, that they may see all that passes, and be Witnesses of the good Effects of their and our Messages to you.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

In Testimony of the Satisfaction you have given all our People by your coming to this Council-Fire, they have put into my Hands a small Present for you and your young Men, which will be given you at any Time you shall think proper. I have likewise given Orders to the Captains of the Forts, on the Frontiers, to furnish you with as much Provisions as you can carry, for the Use of the People you have left behind you.

*Brethren,*

Only a few of you are now come down; this Present of Goods therefore is but small; when the Body of your Nation comes here, which I expect they will, and the Prisoners are delivered up, and a firm Peace made, larger Presents will be given, and your Distresses relieved in a more ample Manner.

*Brother,*

Great Works require strong Hands and many; this is a good and a great one, the Work of Peace; it requires strong Heads, and sound Hearts; we desire many such may be joined together: I therefore desire your Assistance for *Pennsylvania* in this Matter; having great Influence with many who live far distant from us, you are esteemed, and will be heard; we therefore chuse you as Agent and Counsellor for this Province; engage in it heartily. You ought to do it; you owe it to the Country in which you was born; you owe it to your Brethren the *English*; you owe it to your Uncles the *Six Nations*; you owe it to your own People over which you preside: We desire you will heartily undertake it, and use your utmost Endeavours to bring about this great and good Work we have now begun.

*A large Belt.*

*Teedyuscung* answered, that he had received the Governor's Words kindly, and would, in a few Words, answer him. Then taking a large Belt in his Hand, he proceeded.

*Brother,*

At the very Time *Newcastle* came with your last Messages, I was in Treaty with the *Six Nations*, and then received this Authority from them. [*Lifting up the Belt.*] This Belt denotes, that the *Six Nations*, by their Chiefs, have lately renewed their Covenant Chains with us; formerly we were accounted Women, and employed only in Womens Buiness; but now they have made Men of us, and as such we are now come to this Treaty. Having this Authority as a Man to make Peace, I have it in my Hand, but have not opened it; but will soon declare it to the other Nations. This Belt holds together ten Nations; we are in the Middle, between the *French* and *English*; look at it. There are but two Chiefs of the ten Nations; they are now looking on, and their Attention is fixed, to see who are disposed really

## [ I I ]

really for Peace.---This Belt further denotes, that whoever will not comply with the Terms of Peace, the ten Nations will join against him and strike him; see the dangerous Circumstances I am in; strong Men on both Sides; Hatchets on both Sides; whoever does incline to Peace, him will I join.

1756.

*Brother,*

This is a good Day; whoever will make Peace, let him lay hold of this Belt, and the Nations around shall see and know it. I desire to conduct myself according to your Words, which I will perform to the utmost of my Power. I wish the same good Spirit that possessed the good old Man *William Penn*, who was a Friend to the *Indians*, may inspire the People of this Province at this Time.

*Then delivered the Belt.*

The Governor received it, and said, I take hold of the Belt, and am pleased with what has been said; it is all very good.

*Teedyuscung* then explained the Belt, saying, it was sent him by the *Six Nations*, and he accepted of it: You see, says he, a Square in the Middle, meaning the Lands of the *Indians*, and at one End the Figure of a Man, indicating the *English*; and at the other End another, meaning the *French*; our Uncles told us, that both these coveted our Lands; but let us join together to defend our Lands against both, you shall be Partakers with us of our Lands.

*Teedyuscung* and his Son came and dined with the Governor; and after Dinner, some more of the *Indians* coming in, the Governor acquainted *Teedyuscung* that he had something of Importance to communicate to him. The Governor then informed him, That as he was going to Council this Morning, he received a Letter from the Northern Frontiers, with very bad News, that gave him a great deal of Concern. By this Letter he received Advice, that some *Indians* had killed four of our White People at the *Minisinks*; this occasioned our Forces to be upon their Guard, and a Party of them fell in with three *Indians*, and judging them to be Enemy *Indians*, one of them was killed in endeavouring to make his Escape; and then the Governor entered into the Particulars related in *Van Etten's* Letter. The Governor said, he did not know what *Indians* had done this Mischief. If the *Indian* who was killed was our Friend, he was sorry for it; but if our Enemy, he was glad of it.

*Teedyuscung* said, that when he came here to Council, all the *Indians* thereabouts knew of it; and therefore he believed it must be the *French Indians* that killed our People; but that if his People were so foolish as to come on our Borders at this Time, and were killed any how, they must take the Reward of their Folly. None of these private Deaths ought to affect a publick Measure; nor would this make any Alterations in his Councils.

*At a CONFERENCE held at Easton, on Friday, the 30th of July, 1756.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the GOVERNOR,

The Gentlemen of the Council.

The same *Indians*.

The Commissioners.

The same Interpreters.

The same Audience.

*The Goods were brought, and placed on the Council Table, and were delivered to the Indians, the Governor speaking as follows.*

*Brethren,*

I ACQUAINTED you Yesterday, that the People of *Pennsylvania* had put into my Hands a small Present to relieve you, and your Wives and Children, from their present Distresses. I think it further necessary to inform you, That a Part of this Present was given by the People called *Quakers* (who are the Descendants of those who first came over to this Country with your old Friend *William Penn*) as a particular Testimony of their Regard and Affection for the *Indians*, and their earnest Desire to promote the good Work of Peace in which we are now engaged.

*Brethren,*

1756.

*Brethren,*

This is not only their Sentiments but my own, and those of the People of this Province; who will all rejoice to see this good Work of Peace perfected; and therefore, as you have now received from us this substantial Proof of our Disposition to relieve your Distresses, you will be the better enabled to encourage others to return to their former Friendship with us. I say, Brother, by this we give you a clear Testimony of our Readiness and good Dispositions for Peace. Shew you the same Readiness, and comply with the Terms I have proposed to you.

*A String.*

*Teedyuscung* returned Thanks; and repeated his Assurances of doing all in his Power to perfect a general Peace with the *Indians*.---From the Council, the Governor proceeded to an Entertainment that was provided for the *Indians*, the Officers, and all the Company then in Town, accompanying him.

*Teedyuscung*, whilst at Dinner, was so well pleased with his kind Reception and generous Entertainment, that he declared, in the warmest Manner, no Endeavours of his should be wanting to bring over to the Peace, all the *Indians* far and near, that he could speak or send to; and repeatedly desired the Governor would publish what was done, through his and the neighbouring Provinces, and he would do the same at Home.---The *Philadelphia Quakers* going after Dinner to take their Leave of him, he parted with them in a very affectionate Manner; but the other Part of the Company staying, he entered into a free Conversation with the Governor; wherein he related many entertaining Particulars respecting his Journey to *Niagara*, and afterwards made a Council Speech with a String of Wampum, saying:

*Brother,*

You are so good, and received us so kindly, I will also give you some of that good Tobacco that the *Six Nations* have put into my Pipe; you shall smoke of it yourselves; you will find it is good, and I will give of the same Tobacco wherever I go (meaning the Message from the *Six Nations* to them, to be at Peace with the *English*.) The same Thing that I have offered to you I will offer to all the *Indians*, and at the same time tell them, that you have smoked of this Tobacco; but to do this requires me to be rich, and yet I am poor.---It will take up a long Time, as there are many Nations to send the Pipe to; but in two Months I hope to go my Rounds, and be here again with a large Number, of different Nations; I say it may be in two Months, but it may be longer, as the People live at a great Distance from one another. I assure you I will execute every Thing you have desired of me, and let the *Six Nations* know all that has passed between us; and that I am your Agent and Counsellor in the *Delaware* Nation.

*A String.**Brethren,*

I would not have you mistake me, as if I meant that I could prevail on the *Ohio Indians*: I cannot tell that they will leave off doing Mischief.---I hope you will strengthen yourselves against them; pray make yourselves as strong as possible on that Side. I must warn you likewise of another Thing; perhaps on the East Side of *Sasquehannab* there may be Mischief done by *Indians* in my Absence; but be assured it will not be by any of my People; it will be by the *French Indians* from *Ohio*, who can easily pass over *Sasquehannab*, and do what Mischief they please: Against these, you must be sure to arm yourselves in the best Manner you can; remember I give you this Warning.

*A String.*

*At a COUNCIL held at Easton, on Friday, the 30th of July, 1756, P. M.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the GOVERNOR.

WILLIAM LOGAN,  
RICHARD PETERS,BENJAMIN CHEW, } Esquires.  
JOHN MIFFLIN.

CONRAD WEISER, Esquire.

**M**R. *WEISER* was ask'd, Whether it was intended the Governor should keep the Belt *Teedyuscung* gave, or return it? Mr. *Weiser* answered, That having some Doubts about it, he put the same Question to *Newcastle*, who said the Belt was sent by the *Six Nations*

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tions to the *Delawares*, and as it was given by them to the Governor, it ought to be preserved among the Council Wampum, being a Belt of great Consequence ; and it would be well to return another of a Fathom long, and at the Delivery of it, which must be in Council To-morrow, to make a proper Address to *Teedyuscung*, that he would be diligent, and carry it to all the Nations within his Influence. *Newcastle* said further, That *Teedyuscung* would want Abundance of Wampum, and if he had it not, the Cause would suffer exceedingly. He hoped the Council Bag was full, and desired it might be emptied into the Lap of *Teedyuscung*. Mr. *Weiser* concurring in Opinion, and saying, that the *French* gave great Quantities of Wampum to their *Indians*, and on Matters of Consequence their Belts were several Fathom long, and very wide, the Secretary was ordered to bring what Wampum he had into Council, viz. Fifteen Strings, and seven Belts, a Parcel of new black Wampum, amounting to seven Thousand ; and having no new white Wampum, nor any proper Belts to give in Return for *Teedyuscung's* Peace Belt, a Messenger was sent to *Bethlehem*, and he returned with five Thousand ; upon which the *Indian* Women were employed to make a Belt of a Fathom long, and sixteen Beads wide ; in the Center of which was to be the Figure of a Man, meaning the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, and on each Side five other Figures, meaning the ten Nations mentioned by *Teedyuscung*.

1756.

The King, who was very irregular in his Visits, as well as in his Discourses, bolted all of a sudden into the Room, and with a high Tone of Voice spoke as follows, viz.

*Brother,*

I desire all that I have said, and you have said to one another, may be taken down aright ; some speak in the Dark ; do not let us do so ; let all be clear and known. What is the Reason the Governor holds Councils so close in his Hands, and by Candle Light ? The *Five Nations* used to make him sit out of Doors like a Woman.---If the *Five Nations* still make him a Woman, they must ; but what is the Reason the Governor makes him a Woman, meaning, Why does he confer with *Indians* without sending for him, to be present and hear what was said ?

The Governor answered, That he holds Councils on a Hill ; has no Secrets ; never sits in Swamps, but speaks his Mind openly to the World ; what happens here he has a Right to hear : The Women were sent for to make a Belt, not to Council. The *Six Nations* may be wrong, they are not under his Direction ; and therefore he is not answerable for their Conduct, if they have not treated the *Delawares* as Men.

The Chief thanked the Governor, seemed well pleased, and said, To-morrow he would speak more, and what he had to say was from the *Six Nations* :---He that won't make Peace must die.

*A String.*

It was agreed in the Morning the Governor should deliver the new Belt, then in making, to *Teedyuscung*, with a proper Speech ; that by two Belts tied together, *Newcastle* and *Teedyuscung* should be made joint Agents for this Government, and they be desired to consult together, to love one another, and to act for the best ; that the new black Wampum, and all the Belts and Strings, should be given to *Teedyuscung*, and a private Present made to him and his Interpreter, *Ben*.

1756.

*At a COUNCIL held at Easton, on Saturday, the 31<sup>st</sup> of July, 1756*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the GOVERNOR.

The same Members as before.  
CONRAD WEISER, Esq;

TEEDYUSCUNG,  
NEWCASTLE.

*The Names of the Indians present at the Treaty were taken down by Mr. Edmonds. and ordered to be entered.*

*Mr. Weiser having enquired of Newcastle what Messages had been received by the Delawares, at Diahogo, from the Six Nations, received the following Information, which he took down in Words that are the literal Interpretation of what Newcastle said, viz. "The large Belt, given by Teedyuscung, was sent to the Delawares by the Council of the Six United Nations, with a Message to the following Purport.*

*Cousins, the Delaware Indians,*

**Y**OU will remember that you are our Women; our Fore-Fathers made you so, and put a Petticoat on you, and charged you to be true to us, and lie with no other Man; but of late you have suffered the String that tied your Petticoat to be cut loose by the *French*, and you lay with them, and so became a common *Bawd*, in which you acted very wrong, and deserve Chastisement; but notwithstanding this, we have still an Esteem for you, and as you have thrown off the Cover of your Modesty, and become stark naked, which is a Shame for a Woman, you must be made a Man; and we now give you a little Power, but it will be some Time till you shall be a complete Man; we advise you not to act as a Man yet, but be first instructed by us, and do as we bid you, and you will become a noted Man.

*Cousins,*

The *English* and *French* fight for our Lands; let us be strong, and lay our Hands to it, and defend it; in the mean time turn your Eyes and Ears to us, and the *English*, our Brethren, and you will live as well as we do.

Then the Governor sent to *Newcastle* and *Teedyuscung* the new Belt; not being finished, he explained the proposed Figure to them, and desired the Women might finish it on rainy Days, or resting on their Journey, which was promised.

*Then the Governor spoke as follows:*

*Brother Newcastle, and Teedyuscung,*

I set an high Value upon this Belt; it is the Peace Belt which *Teedyuscung* delivered in Council; I very chearfully lay hold of it; I will lay it up with the Council Belts, and declare to you, I am most heartily disposed to effect the Meaning of this Belt, a speedy and honourable Peace, and a Return of the Offices of Love and Friendship between the *Indians* and their Brethren the *English*.---In Return, I give you the Belt now making, which you will consider as finished; and when done, shew it every where, and make our Dispositions and the Treatment you have met with known to your own People, the *Six Nations*, and all your Allies.---[Here the Governor gave the new Belt, so far as it was made, and all the *Wampum* prepared for it, desiring, if it was not enough to complete it, that they would add more.] Then taking up the two Belts, joined together, in his Hands, and addressing *Newcastle* and *Teedyuscung*, he declared them Agents for the Province, and gave them Authority to do the publick Business together. He recommended to them a mutual Confidence, Esteem and Intimacy, and wished them Success in their Negotiations.

To which they answered, That they would be mutual good Friends, and lay their Heads together, and do every Thing in their Power to promote the weighty Matters entrusted to them.

*Teedyuscung* added, If his Memory should not serve him in every Thing committed to his Charge, or Things should be crooked, he would return to us, and make them straight. What he says comes from his Heart, and not from his Lips; his Heart and ours should be one, and be true to one another; for if different Liquors are put in a Cask, and shaken, they will mix, and come out one.

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The Governor said, that he had written down what *Teedyuscung* said on the Belt delivered by him, and will keep it in his Heart. It is very agreeable to him and the People of *Pennsylvania*. He will lay up the Belt in the Council-chamber as a Mark of his Friendship. As he is appointed Agent for *Pennsylvania*, with Captain *Newcastle*, he puts into his Hands all the Belts and Wampum he has here, to be made use of by him in the Court of his Negotiations, as he may judge most proper, and most for the Interest of the People of this Province. 1756.

*Teedyuscung* answered, That he might meet with Difficulties in transacting the important Business committed to his Charge; but as he is now one of the Council of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, he assures his Brethren, that he will exert himself faithfully, and to the utmost of his Abilities, in the Service; and if he meets with crooked Paths, he will endeavour to make them straight.

The Governor thanked *Teedyuscung* and *Newcastle* for their undertaking to be Agents for *Pennsylvania* on this Occasion, desired that they might unite and co-operate one with another, and consult together on the proper Measures to be entered into by them, and delivered them two Belts tied together, as a Sign or Symbol of that Harmony and Unanimity that ought to subsist between them.

*Teedyuscung* said, That he was pleased with being joined with *Newcastle* in the publick Business; that he hoped Matters would be brought to a happy Issue; that he wished there might be a firm Friendship and lasting Union between the *Six Nations*, the other *Five Nations*, and the People of *Pennsylvania*, and that they might be as one Man. He further said, that he had a large Family, and having a great Way to go, he had no Means of carrying any more Provisions than would serve him on the Road; he therefore desired that he might be furnished with a Horse, that he might be enabled to carry Necessaries for his Family.—Whereupon the Governor promised to let him have a Horse, and he promised to return him again the next Time he came down.

The Governor then taking into his Hands all the Belts, Strings, and Bundles of new black Wampum, gave them to *Teedyuscung*, and desired he would use them to the best Advantage among the Nations he should apply to.

The private Presents were then given, and the Governor and Council took their Leave, the Council returning to *Philadelphia*, and the Governor going to *New-York*, on an Express received from General *Shirley*.

*A List of the Indians present at a TREATY held at Easton, on the 26th of July, 1756.*

Captain *Newcastle*, one of the Coun-  
sellors of the *Six Nations*,  
*Teedyuscung*, alias *Gideon*, King of  
the *Delawares*,  
*Tapascawen*, Counsellor,  
*Amos*,  
*Kesmitas*, } *Teedyuscung's* three Sons,  
*John Jacobs*, }  
*Matchmetawcbunk*, his Son-in-Law,  
*John Smalling*, his Grand-Son,  
*Christian*,  
*William*,  
*Josiah*,  
*Baronet Rewman*, an *Onondago Indian*,

*Weemochwee*,  
*Mongceß*,  
*Hackbaon*,  
*Ben*, that speaks *English*,  
*John Pumpshire*,  
*Joseph Michy*,  
*Thomas Storv*,  
*Joseph Peep*,  
*Nicodemus*,  
*Zacharias*,  
*Christian*,  
*Machawebelly*,  
And sundry Women and  
Children.

I have carefully perused the foregoing Minutes, and do find them to give a true Account of what passed between the Governor and the *Indians*, in my Presence, at *Easton*.

*Philadelphia*, Septem-  
ber 11, 1756.

CONRAD WEISER.

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, held at Easton, on Monday, the 8th of November, 1756.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.*

WILLIAM LOGAN, } Esquires.  
RICHARD PETERS, }

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, }  
JOSEPH FOX, } *Commissioners.*  
WILLIAM MASTERS, }  
JOHN HUGHES, }

TEEDYUSCUNG, *the Delaware King,*  
*Speaker of the Six Nations,*  
Delaware Indians,  
Shawanese,  
Mohiccons,  
PUMPSHIRE, *a Jersey Delaware Indian, Interpreter.*

Colonel WEISER,  
Major PARSONS,  
Capt. WEATHERHOLT, } *Officers of the Pro-*  
Capt. VAN ETTEN, } *vincial Forces.*  
Capt. REYNOLDS, }

*Lieutenant M'ALPIN, and Ensign JEFFRYS, Recruiting Officers, of the Royal Americans.*

*A Number of Gentlemen and Freeholders, from the several Counties, and from the City of Philadelphia.*

1756.  
Conference at  
Easton.

ON Saturday Morning the Governor, whilst at *Samuel Dean's*, received Intelligence from Mr. *Horsfield*, that a Party of *Indians*, who came with *Teedyuscung* from *Diabogo*, staid behind at a little Distance from *Fort Allen*, and had some bad Designs in doing so; whereupon the *Moravian* Brother who brought the Intelligence, was immediately dispatched to *Easton*, and the next Morning the Governor received a Letter from Colonel *Weiser*, informing him, that the Matter communicated to him by Mr. *Horsfield*, had been examined into along with *Teedyuscung*, and was without Foundation; on which the Governor proceeded on his Journey, and came to Town in the Afternoon; and as soon as he alighted, the *Delaware King*, and two of the *Six Nation Indians*, came to wait on him, by whom he was told, that Colonel *Weiser*, and two other of the *Six Nations*, were gone to meet him, but had taken a different Road.

Mr. *Weiser*, and the two *Indians* came afterwards, and expressed their Concern at missing the Governor.

This Morning the Governor sent Mr. *Weiser* with his Compliments to the *Indian* Chief, and desired to know whether he intended to speak first, and when; and the King saying it was his Duty to speak first, wished it might be this Forenoon; on which the Governor appointed Eleven a Clock; at which Time the Governor marched from his Lodging to the Place of Conference, guarded by a Party of the *Royal Americans* in the Front, and on the Flanks, and a Detachment of Colonel *Weiser's* Provincials, in Sub-divisions, in the Rear, with Colours flying, Drums beating, and Musick playing; which Order was always observed in going to the Place of Conference.

*Teedyuscung* opened the Conferences with the following Speech.

*Brother the Governor,*

May it please your Excellency to hear a few Words; I will put the Governor and Gentlemen in mind, that Conferences were held here in the Summer, and what passed there is well known.

I have taken all the Pains possible to execute what I then undertook, and have brought with me several of different Tribes, as well *Delawares* as *Six Nation Indians*.

I held



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I held up the Encouragements I received from the *English*, and spread them far and near to all the Tribes I promised to go to, as well among the *Delawares* as *Six Nations*; and I assure you, I have been true and faithful to my Promises, and used all the Diligence in my Power; in Testimony whereof I give these

1756.

*Four Strings.*

In Confirmation that I have faithfully published what was committed to my Care, several *Indians* of different Places, as well *Six Nation Indians* as *Delawares*, are come along with me, and being now present, will put their Hands and Seals to the Truth of what I say; they have acted upon what I delivered in Behalf of this Government, and their Minds are intent on the good Work that is going on; some of them were here before.

In Conformity to an antient and good Custom established among our Ancestors, I now proceed to open your Eyes and Ears, and remove all Obstructions out of your Throats, that nothing may impede the Attention necessary to be used in a Matter of such Importance as is now going on.

Some bad Reports have lately been spread, which deserve to be no more minded than the Whistling of Birds; these I would remove by this Belt, and take away all bad Impressions that may have been made by them.

*Gave a Belt of eight Rows.**Brother,*

I have done for the present, and another Time, if God spares Life, I will begin the main Matter I came to do.

*The Governor replied.**Brother,*

I return you Thanks for your kind Speech, and likewise for the Regard you shewed me in sending two of the *Six Nation Indians* along with Mr. *Weiser* to meet me. I unfortunately took a different Road, and so we missed of one another; but it gave me great Satisfaction to hear by Mr. *Weiser*, that he and those *Indians* were desirous to meet me, and conduct me to Town.

*Brother,*

Many idle Reports are spread by foolish and busy People; I agree with you, that on both Sides they ought to be no more regarded than the Chirping of Birds in the Woods.

*A String.**Brother,*

By this Belt I open your Eyes and Ears, and particularly the Passage from your Heart to your Mouth, that in what you have to say to this Government they may both concur, nor the Mouth utter any Thing but what is first conceived in the Heart: And I promise you Openness and Sincerity in every Thing I shall speak.

*A Belt.*

The Governor said, he would be ready to hear what *Teedyuscung* had further to say at Eleven o' Clock To-morrow Morning.

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, on Tuesday, the 9th Day of November, 1756.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

WILLIAM LOGAN, }  
 RICHARD PETERS, } Esquires.

The Commissioners,  
 Gentlemen,

Mr. WEISER,  
 Officers.

*Indians as before.*

*The Governor ordered the Interpreter to acquaint Teedyuscung that he was ready to hear him, and he delivered himself as follows.*

*Brother,*

THIS is to notify to you, that at the Treaty held here in the Summer, I promised to publish what was then delivered to me to all the Nations I could have any Influence on; and that I have performed all I promised, and done my Duty faithfully, with Respect to all these Nations.

E

1756. Nations, I can evidence by some of them who are come with me, and are now here, at your Pleasure, ready to hear what you have to say to us, and disposed to do every Thing in their Power, in Confirmation of what has been, or will be, transacted.

*A String.*

*Brethren;*

This Belt signifies that I took Notice of, and paid a due Regard to, every Thing sent by the Messengers you sent to me at *Diabogo*, whom I received kindly. You may in particular remember, that you took hold of my Hand, and thereupon I came to this Place, where the Council-Fire was appointed to be kindled: When I came here, I found every Thing said by your Messengers true; which, on my Return, I made known, as well as every Thing else that was then delivered to me, to ten different Nations, *Delawares* and *Six Nations*; and as many of them as I have prevailed upon to come with me, can evidence the Truth of this.

We are all put in mind of the ancient Leagues and Covenants made by our Fore-Fathers, and of the former Union and mutual kind Actions of our and their Ancestors; what was proposed here renewed the Remembrance of these former happy Times.

Though we are but Children in Comparison of them, and of little Ability, as you well know, yet we have picked up a few Chips, and will add them to the Fire, and hope it will grow a great Fire, and blaze high, and be seen by all the different *Indian Nations*, Spectators of what we are now doing.

*A Belt of ten Rows.*

*Brethren,*

I remember what has passed in Discourse and Conversation among our old antient People, especially about Governor *Penn*; what he said to the *Indians* is fresh in our Minds and Memory, and I believe it is in yours. The *Indians* and Governor *Penn* agreed well together; this we all remember, and it was not a small Matter that would then have separated us: And now, as you fill the same Station he did in this Province, it is in your Power to act the same Part.

I am now before you just what you see me; I represent myself only to be a Boy; I am really no more. Now as Misfortunes have happened by the bad Spirit, by our Enemy, and by some of our foolish young People, I declare unto you the Truth, that I have ever been sorry to see it thus, and, as far as I know myself, if it costs me my Life, I would make it otherwise.—As I have already proceeded a great Way, and prevailed on those who have stepped out of the Way, and on many of whom I had little or no Expectation, to enter into peaceable Measures, I now call upon you to use your Ability, which is much greater than ours, to assist this good Work, to encourage it, and to confirm it to good Advantage.

*A Belt of seven Rows.*

Taking the Belt up again, he added, What you have said I have truly imparted to all, and what you shall now say I shall likewise hold up; I shall not put it into my Bosom, but declare it, and distribute it to all, that it may have a good Effect.

*At a COUNCIL held at Easton, on Wednesday, the 10th Day of November, 1756*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *WILLIAM DENNY*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

*WILLIAM LOGAN,* } Esquires.  
*RICHARD PETERS,* }

*CONRAD WEISER*, from *Teedyuscung*, acquainted the Governor, That last Night an *Indian*, named *Zaccheus*, brought an Account from *Fort Allen*, that about Forty *Indian* Warriors were come to *Nishamekatchton*, a Creek about three Miles beyond that Fort, from *Diabogo*, where they were informed by some *Indians*, who first set out with *Teedyuscung* to accompany him to the Treaty at *Easton*, that he and all his Company were cut off, and they were come to revenge his Death, in case they should have found it true; but hearing *Teedyuscung* was safe, and kindly received by the *English*, they were glad, and would remain there. *Teedyuscung* being asked by Mr. *Weiser*, if it would not be proper to send an Invitation to them to come to the Treaty, he said it would, and desired the Governor might join

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join with him in it; which being approved by the Governor, *Moses Tattamy*, and Lieutenant *Heller*, were dispatched with the Message. 1756.

The Minutes of Yesterday's Conference were read, and the Answer considered and agreed to, but referred till the Return of the Messengers from the *Indians* beyond *Fort Allen*.

*Conrad Weiser* was ordered to inform the *Indians* by *Moses Tattamy*, that Parties of the Enemy *Indians* had lately committed Murders on the Borders of this County, even since *Tedyuscung's* coming amongst us, but were retreated, and that the Inhabitants were determined to pursue the Murderers, and to desire the *Indians* not to straggle, but keep together, lest they should be mistaken for Enemy *Indians*.

At a Meeting of the Governor and Commissioners, it was mentioned, that the *Indians* had furnished as if Injustice had been done them in Land Affairs, the Governor therefore added to his Answer a Paragraph, putting the Question in plain Terms.

*At a COUNCIL held at Easton, on Friday, the 12th of November, 1756.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *WILLIAM DENNY*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

*WILLIAM LOGAN*, } Esquires.  
*RICHARD PETERS*, }

THE Messenger, *Moses Tattamy*, returned this Morning from the *Indians*, and reported, That in his Journey, near *Hayes's*, about Half-way to *Fort-Allen*, he met two *Indians* and a Soldier coming down to see their Friends, and know what they were doing, and how received; but as he told the *Indians* he was going up with a Message from the Governor and *Tedyuscung*, they were satisfied, and returned to hear it: That he came to the *Indians* at Nine o' Clock Yesterday Forenoon, and delivered his Message; after which they were in Council till Three in the Afternoon, and then gave him an Answer to the following Effect.---“ That they thanked the Governor for the kind Notice he had taken of them, and for his Invitation to come to the Treaty, but as it was agreed between *Tedyuscung* and them that they should come no farther than the Place where they were, and that the Goods, in case of Success, were to be brought and divided at *Fort-Allen*, they intended to stay whilst the Treaty continued; they were glad to hear the *Indians* were treated as Friends, and that a Peace was likely to be made, and if it should be so, they should all heartily rejoice, and would agree to, and confirm, every Thing *Tedyuscung* should do.”---*Tattamy* told the Governor, that he had likewise informed them of the Murders lately committed, desiring them to be cautious of straggling, or going at a great Distance; for which Notice they were thankful, and promised to keep their *Indians* together; and if they saw any Tracts of *Indians* going towards this Province, to give immediate Notice of it to the Governor.

The Messenger being asked if those *Indians* had impowered *Tedyuscung* to transact Business for them at the Treaty, he answered, that they said, in express Terms, they had given him their Authority, and if any Good should be done (meaning if a firm Peace should be concluded) not only they, but all the *Indians* at *Diabogo*, and many more different Tribes, or Towns, would be exceedingly pleased with it, and would confirm it.

The Draught of the Governor's Answer to the *Indians* as settled at the last Council, was read, and some Alterations made; then the *Indians* had Notice that the Governor would speak to them this Afternoon.

*At*

1756. *At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, on Friday, the 12th of November, 1756, P. M.*

## P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *WILLIAM DENNY*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

*WILLIAM LOGAN,* } Esquires.  
*RICHARD PETERS,*

The same Commissioners,      Officers,  
Gentlemen,                      *Indians*, as before.

*The Governor spoke as follows.*

*Brother,*

I AM going to give you an Answer to what was said by you at our last Meeting, and would have done it sooner, if I had not expected to have seen more of our *Indian* Brethren here; I shall use the utmost Sincerity on my Part, and desire you will hearken attentively.

*A String.*

*Brother,*

I observe what you have said, in regard to your faithful Performance of all the Matters given you in Charge by this Government when you were last here, and do heartily thank you for the diligent Care you have taken to make known to all the *Indian* Nations our good Dispositions for Peace, and for inviting them to come to this Council-Fire, and for the further Assurances you make in Behalf of those present, and of many more who are absent, even some of whom you had little Expectations of, that all will be done in their and your Power to bring the same to a happy Issue.

*A Belt.*

*Brother,*

You have done well to consider the antient Leagues subsisting between you and this Government from its very first Beginning. I am pleased to hear you express yourself, so affectionately, in Favour of the first Proprietor; he very well deserves it, at the Hands of all the *Indians*; he was always just and kind to them, and he gave it in Charge to his Governors, and to his Children, the present Proprietaries, to treat them, as he did, with the utmost Affection, and to do them all Manner of good Offices, which has always been done by them, as far as is come to my Knowledge.

As to myself, after the present Proprietaries had appointed me to this Government, they recommended the Care of the *Indians* to me in a very particular Manner; and I assure you, I shall be ready, on all Occasions, to do the *Indians* every Service, in my Power, and most heartily assist, in bringing about a lasting and durable Peace.—I throw a large Log, into the Council-Fire, that it may blaze, up to the Heavens, and spread the Blessings of Peace, far and wide; this Belt confirms my Words.

*A Belt.*

*Brother Teedyuscung,*

What I am now going to say to you, should have been mentioned some Time ago: I now desire your strict Attention to it.

You was pleased to tell me, the other Day, that the League of Friendship, made by your Fore-fathers, was, as yet, fresh in your Memory; you said, that it was made so strong, that a small Thing would not easily break it. As we are now met together, at a Council-Fire, kindled by us both, and have promised, on both Sides, to be free and open, to one another, I must ask you, how that League of Friendship came to be broken? Have we, the Governor, or People of *Pennsylvania*, done you any Kind of Injury? If you think we have, you should be honest, and tell us your Hearts: You should have made Complaints before you struck us, for so it was agreed, in our antient League: However, now the great Spirit has, thus happily, brought us once more together, speak your Mind plainly, on this Head, and tell us, if you have any just Cause of Complaint, what it is; that I may obtain a full Answer to this Point, I give this Belt.

*A Belt.*

*Teedyuscung* thanked the Governor, and desired Time to consider till To-morrow, and he would give an Answer at such Time as the Governor would be pleased to appoint.

The

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The Governor desired he would take full Time to consider it, as it was a Matter of Con-  
sequence, and let him know when he was ready ; and desired at the same Time he would  
offer what he had further to say on any other Matter. 1756.

*At a CONFERENCE held on Saturday, November, 13, 1756.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.*

WILLIAM LOGAN, } Esquires.  
RICHARD PETERS, }

The same Commissioners,  
Officers,

Gentlemen,  
Indians, as before.

*Teedyuscung spoke as follows, laying before him the several Strings and Belts given him Yesterday by the Governor.*

*Brother,*

I REMEMBER Yesterday by these Strings that you would have had a Conference sooner, but now War and Distress; I am sorry for what has happened, and I now take and wipe the Tears from your Eyes, as there is great Reason for Mourning. This I not only do on my own Part, but on the Part of the *Six Nations*, who will put their Seal to it.—I take away the Blood from your Bodies, with which they are sprinkled: I clear the Ground, and the Leaves, that you may sit down with Quietness: I clear your Eyes, that when you see the Day-light you may enjoy it.—I declare this not only for the *Indians* I represent, but for the *Six Nations*, who, with them, make up Ten in all, which have with us put their Hands to these Words.

*Gave three Strings of black and white Wampum.*

*Brother,*

The Times are not now as they were in the Days of our Grandfathers; then it was Peace, but now War and Distress; I am sorry for what has happened, and I now take and wipe the Tears from your Eyes, as there is great Reason for Mourning. This I not only do on my own Part, but on the Part of the *Six Nations*, who will put their Seal to it.—I take away the Blood from your Bodies, with which they are sprinkled: I clear the Ground, and the Leaves, that you may sit down with Quietness: I clear your Eyes, that when you see the Day-light you may enjoy it.—I declare this not only for the *Indians* I represent, but for the *Six Nations*, who, with them, make up Ten in all, which have with us put their Hands to these Words.

*Gave a Belt of nine Rows.*

*Brother,*

Now I have done wiping your Eyes and Bodies, and cleaning the Ground where you sit; I will also heal your Wounds, not only at the Top, but at the Bottom; I will apply to them the good Plaster which the Great Creator has made for these Purposes. I say I will heal the Wound, so as it may never break out more, but be completely cured; in this the *Six Nations* also join with me.

*Gave a Belt of eight of Rows.*

*Brother,*

Now as I have healed the Wound, our Case is like that of two Brothers; when one has been sick, and has recovered his Health, it is usual for the other to be glad; just so it is with me now: Your Wound is cured;—I am glad to see you Face to Face, as it has pleased the good Spirit to bring us together. I also remember every thing you have said; and as to what I have said, or still have to say, the other Nations will confirm.

*Gave a Belt of eleven Rows.*

*Brother,*

I am now going to tell you something, in a few Words, in Answer to your Request last Night, that I should give you a true Account how I came to strike you.

In the Beginning of the Confusion and War, that happened, the Fall before this, I lived in the Middle of the Road, leading from the *Six Nations* to *Philadelphia*, where I was ordered by my Uncles, to sit down; and there I sat in profound Peace, under no Apprehension of Danger; and when I looked towards *Philadelphia*, I saw my Brother the Governor, and nothing but Peace and Friendship; and when I looked the other Way, towards my Uncles, the *Six Nations*, every thing was also Peace there; so it was with me, until, all at once a Man, whose Name is called *Charles Broadhead*, an Inhabitant of this Province, came to me, at *Wiching*, and told me, as if he had such a Message, from the Governor, that I had struck my Brethren the *English*, which I denied over and over; and, when I could not prevail with him



1756.

him to believe me, I took two Handfuls of Wampum, and desired him to go down with them to the Governor, and assure him that it was not I who struck the *English*. I also desired the Governor to let me know, what further Measures I should take, to satisfy him and my Brethren the *English*, of the Truth of this.---I also desired, by the same Messenger, that the Governor would take all the prudent Methods he could, to relate this to Colonel *Johnson*, and to my Uncles the *Six Nations*, as I was under a good deal of Concern, that this Charge was laid against me.---There were two Kings present, besides me, who joined with me in the Message; and I likewise desired the Governor to send me Word, what to do, for which I waited, till I was out of Patience; and obliged to flee, and leave my Inheritance, on that Account.

*Gave a String.*

*Brother,*

According to your other Question or Request last Night, to know of me, why I struck you, without first giving you a Reason for it; I will tell you the Truth, why I have unfortunately struck you. I say, Brother, I will tell you the very Truth, in Answer to your Question. I never knew any of our ancient Kings ever to have this in their Minds, I now tell you that it came from a great King, at least I think so: The King of *England*, and of *France*, have settled, or wrought, this Land, so as to coop us up, as if in a Pen. Our foolish and ignorant young Men, when they saw the Proceeding of this Enemy, and the Things that were told them, believed them, and were persuaded, by this false-hearted King, to strike our Brethren the *English*.---According to your Desire I will now tell you the Truth, with an honest Heart, as far as is in my Power: After this unfortunate Management once prevailed, it is easy for all you *English*, if you look into your Hearts, to find the Cause, why this Blow came harder upon you, than it would have otherwise done;---but this is not the principal Cause; some Things that have passed in former Times, both in this and other Governments, were not well pleasing to the *Indians*; indeed they thought them wrong; but as I said before, they were not the principal Cause. Being asked, in what other Governments, he answered, in the Province of *New-Jersey*. Now, Brother, I have told you the Truth, as you desired me, and also the Uneasiness of my Mind, because I verily believe it was our Duty, to go to the very Bottom, be it as bad as it will, and that it is necessary we should both open our whole Minds to one another, that we may agree, to heal the Wound.

*Gave a Belt of twelve Rows.*

*Brother,*

When I was here at the last Treaty, I did according to what I promised. I took the Belt I received from this Government, and held it up to all the Nations I undertook to go to, and I took them all by the Hand (meaning, I invited them all to come to the Council-Fire.) One of the *Delaware Nations*, meaning the *Minisink Indians*, now about *Fort Allen*, gave me this Belt, saying, he was glad to hear what I said, and laid hold of the same Hand, meaning, he accepted the Invitation; but said he would only go Part of the Way, no further than to a certain Place, and there he would stay, but that I might proceed, for he would agree to whatever I did, being led by the same Hand, and giving me Authority to act for him, at this Council.

*Then delivered the Belt, of ten Rows, given him by those Indians, who he said were Minisinks.*

*Brother,*

By this String I also let you know, that I would not have you think, I have finished every Thing, at this Meeting, though what I have now done, is of great Moment; if we are spared till another Day, that is, until next Spring, I will let you know something further, in another Meeting, for you must be sensible we cannot, at one Time, finish a Thing, of so great Moment. In the mean time, I will use my faithful Endeavours to accomplish every Thing for the Good of both of us.

*Gave a String.*

Then, pausing a while, he said he had forgot something, and taking up the String again, he proceeded.

I will let you know, fully and freely, my Mind, and what is my Determination to do.---When I return into my Country, I will look about me, I will see and hear for you.---If I hear of any Enemy, going towards you, I will send a suitable Messenger, to give you Notice, though it should be at Midnight. I will also take every prudent Measure, to prevent any Danger that may befall you; perhaps, if the Enemy be but few, I may not come to know of it, but if the Number be great, I shall be the likelier to know it: However, be they more or less, I will let you know it.

*Then laid down the String again.*

Then

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Then the Governor desired of *Teedyuscung*, as he had mentioned Grievances received by the *Indians* from this and other Governments, to let him know, what they were; and to speak his Mind freely and fully without any reserve; upon which *Teedyuscung* spoke as follows. 1756.

*Brother,*

You have not so much Knowledge of Things, done in this Country, as others, who have lived longer in it, being, but lately, come among us.---I have not far to go for an Instance: This very Ground, that is under me (striking it with his Foot) was my Land and Inheritance, and is taken from me, by Fraud; when I say, this Ground, I mean all the Land lying between Tobacco Creek and Wioning, on the River Sasquehannab. I have not only been served so, in this Government, but the same Thing has been done to me, as to several Tracts in New-Jersey, over the River. When I have sold Lands fairly, I look upon them to be really sold.---A Bargain is a Bargain.---Though I have sometimes, had nothing, for the Lands I have sold, but broken Pipes, or such Trifles, yet, when I have sold them, though for such Trifles, I look upon the Bargain to be good: Yet I think, I should not be ill used on this Account by those very People, who have had such an Advantage in their Purchases, nor be called a Fool for it. *Indians* are not such Fools, as to bear this, in their Minds.---The Proprietaries, who have purchased their Lands from us cheap, have sold them too dear, to poor People, and the *Indians* have suffered for it. It would have been more prudent in the Proprietaries, to have sold the Lands cheaper, and have given it in Charge, to those who bought from them, to use the *Indians* with Kindness on that Account.

Now, Brother, hear me; supposing you had a Pipe in your Mouth, smoking, of little Value; I come and take it from you; by and by, when you see me again, you remember it, and take a Revenge: I had forgot, and wonder at the Cause, and ask you, Brother, Why you have done so? This makes me remember the Injury I did you, and more careful for the future. Now, although you have purchased our Lands from our Fore-fathers on so reasonable Terms, yet, now at length, you will not allow us to cut a little Wood to make a Fire; nay, hinder us from Hunting, the only Means left us of getting our Livelihood.

Now, Brother, I am pleased you asked me this Question, having, thereby, given me an Opportunity of speaking my Mind freely, as to any Uneasiness I was under.---You are wise enough to see these Things, and to provide a Remedy for them

Then *Teedyuscung* produced a Receipt, from *William Parsons*, for a Bundle of Deer-skins, he had sent from *Fort Allen*, as a Present to Governor *Morris*, and desired Mr. *Peters* to let him know, if he had received them, for the Governor; which he said he had.

He then asked Mr. *Peters*, what was done with the Memorandum, he gave to Governor *Morris*, when he was in *Philadelphia* in April, 1755, containing a Claim to a small Pine Tract in *New-Jersey*; to which, Mr. *Peters* said, that Governor *Morris* had promised to enquire into the Matter, and the Memorandum would be returned to him, at any Time, with Governor *Morris*'s Report on it.

The Governor then asked him, what he meant, by Fraud; having said, his Lands were taken from him, by Fraud, what it meant?

To which *Teedyuscung* replied.---When one Man had formerly Liberty to purchase Lands, and he took the Deed from the *Indians*, for it, and then dies; after his Death, the Children forge a Deed, like the true One, with the same *Indian* Names to it, and thereby, take Lands from the *Indians*, which they never sold---this is Fraud. Also, when one King has Land, beyond the River, and another King has Land, on this Side, both bounded by Rivers, Mountains and Springs, which cannot be moved, and the Proprietaries, greedy to purchase Lands, buy of one King, what belongs to the other;---this, likewise, is Fraud.

The Governor then asked *Teedyuscung*, Whether he had ever been used, in that Manner?

He answered, Yes;---I have been served so, in this Province: All the Land, extending from Tobacco, over the Great-Mountain, to Wioning, has been taken from me, by Fraud; for, when I had agreed to sell the Land, to the old Proprietary, by the Court of the River, the young Proprietaries came, and got it run, by a straight Course, by the Conipaps, and by that Means, took in double the Quantity intended to be sold.

*Brother,*

As you have desired me to be very particular, I have told you the Truth, and have opened my Mind, fully. I did not intend to speak thus, but I have done it, at this Time, at your Request;



1756. quest; not that I desire you should now purchase these Lands, but that you should look into your own Hearts, and consider what is right, and that do.

The Governor thanked him, for the Freedom and Openness he had used with him, and told him, when he was ready to speak to him, he would let him know it.

*At a COUNCIL held at Easton, November 14, 1756.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *WILLIAM DENNY*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

*WILLIAM LOGAN,* } Esquires.  
*RICHARD PETERS,* }

**M**R. *WEISER*, by the Governor's Order, attended the Council. The Minutes of Yesterday's Conference were read over, and then each Paragraph by itself. Mr. *Weiser* said, he apprehended *Teedyuscung's* Relation, of what passed between him and *Charles Broadhead*, in a Light something different from what was set down in the Minutes, viz. That *Charles Broadhead* had, in the Name of the Governor, charged on *Teedyuscung* the Murders committed on the Inhabitants of this Province, and demanded Satisfaction for them; that the King denied the Charge, and sent a Message by him, with a Bundle of Wampum, to the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, to assure him of his not having committed Hostilities. And further, desired he might receive Orders from the Governor what to do, promising to execute them faithfully; and if it should be judged necessary, he would even go to Colonel *Johnson*, and the *Six Nation* Country, with any Message the Governor would please to send there by him, but desired it might be sent in a certain Number of Days, after which, if it did not come, he would take it for granted the Governor believed the Stories told of him.

The Governor enquired of Mr. *Weiser*, into the Foundation of the Complaint made by the *Indians*, as to the Frauds said to be committed in Purchases of Land made of them, by the Proprietaries; and he told the Governor, That few, or none, of the *Delawares* present, as he could recollect, originally owned any of these Lands, or any Land, in this Province; that, if any Injury was done, it was done to others, who were either dead or gone, some to the *Ohio*, and some to other Places.---That as to the Lands particularly instanced, by *Teedyuscung*, he heard that they were sold to, and the Consideration Money paid by, the first Proprietary, *William Penn*.---That when Mr. *John Penn* and Mr. *Thomas Penn* were here, a Meeting was then had, with the principal *Indians* living on these Lands, and the former Agreement renewed, and the Limits again settled, between the Proprietaries, and those Chiefs of the *Delawares*; and accordingly, a Line was soon after, run, by *Indians* and Surveyors. That the *Delawares* complaining afterwards, their Complaint was heard, in a great Council of the *Six Nations*, held at *Philadelphia*, in the Year 1743, in which, several Deeds, executed by the *Delawares* to the Proprietaries, were read, and interpreted, and the Signers Names and Marks examined; and, after a long Hearing, the *Six Nations* declared the Complaints of their Cousins, the *Delawares*, to be unreasonable, and were very angry with them for complaining without Cause.

Mr. *Peters*, being asked by the Governor, said, he had likewise heard Things, to the same Effect, and was present at the Council when the *Delawares* Complaints were heard and settled by the *Six Nations*; that it was a very large Council, consisting of the principal Chiefs of the *Delawares*.---And added, he believed, when the Matter should come to be well examined into, the Proprietaries would not be found to have done Injustice to the *Delawares*, or to hold any of their Lands, for which those *Indians* had not given Deeds, truly interpreted to them, and received a Consideration.

But as neither Mr. *Weiser*, nor he, was concerned in this Transaction, and the Papers to prove it were at *Philadelphia*, this Matter might, on the Governor's Return, be thoroughly enquired into, and if it should appear that Injustice had been done the *Delawares* in this, or any other of their Sales, they ought to receive Satisfaction.---After which, the Governor proposed to let the *Indians* know, that as to the particular Grievances, they had mentioned, they should be thoroughly examined into, well considered, and, if justly founded, amply redressed as quickly as the Nature of the Business would admit.

But

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But upon conferring with the Commissioners, he was told by them, that such Promises had been frequently made the *Indians*, by Governors of other Provinces, and not performed, and these People might consider them as now made, with a Design to evade giving them Redrefs. 1756.

The Commissioners said further, as more Goods were brought, than were proper at this Time, to be given to the small Number of *Indians* come down, it would be better, whether the Claim was just or unjust, to offer them immediate Satisfaction, which they, on the Part of the Publick, with the Governor's Approbation, were willing to do, judging this would effectually remove all their Uneasiness. The Governor concurring with them in Sentiments, an Answer to their Complaints was framed accordingly.

*At a CONFERENCE held on Monday, November 15, 1756.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *WILLIAM DENNY*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

*WILLIAM LOGAN,*  
*RICHARD PETERS,* } Esquires.

The Commissioners,  
Gentlemen,

Officers,  
*Indians*, as before.

*The Governor spoke as follows.*

*Brother,*

YOU expressed your Concern for what had happened, wiped the Tears from our Eyes, and the Blood from our Bodies, and having made clean the Council Seat, I heartily thank you for it. I do likewise wipe the Tears from your Eyes; I wash away the Blood from your Bodies, and from the Council Seat, that there may not remain the left Defilement,

*A Belt.*

*Brother,*

I make you my Acknowledgments for your having searched our Wounds to the Bottom, and the good Remedies you have applied for their Cure, and I pray the Great Creator may bless our mutual Endeavours, that they may be so effectually healed, as not to leave behind them the least Scar, or ever break out again, whilst the Rivers run, or the Sun and Moon give Light to the Earth.

*A Belt.*

*Brother,*

As to what you say, of the Message delivered to you at *Wioning*, by *Charles Broadbead*, the Governor did send him, and I could have wished you had sent some of your own People to me, on so weighty an Occasion; and for the future, I must caution you, not to hearken to any Messages, as from this Government, unless the Persons charged with them are known to be publick Officers, usually employed for such Purposes, and the Papers they produce are sealed with the Seal of the Government.

*A String.*

*Brother,*

I thank you for the Openness, with which you have expressed yourselves, as to the Causes why you struck us. The *French* practise every Artifice, they are Masters of, to deceive the *Indians*, and I am sorry your young Men should have been so foolish, as to have hearkened to them. I hope they have sufficiently seen their Errors, and will not, hereafter, suffer themselves to be so deluded by that deceitful People.

*A String.*

*The Governor taking the Belt given by the Minisink Indians, repeated what Teedyuscung said on it, and then answered it.*

*Brother,*

As I conceive this Belt to be your Authority, for acting at this Council-Fire, in Behalf of the *Minisink Indians*, who only came Part of the Way, I will keep it, and put it into the Council Bag, being glad to hear they have put their Hand to the Belt I sent, though I should have been better pleased to have seen them here.

G

*Brother,*

1756.

*Brother,*

You give me Hopes of another Visit. Assure yourself it will always give me Pleasure to receive you, and any other of our *Indian* Friends with you. Your kind Offer of giving me timely Notice of the Approach of an Enemy, is an incontestable Proof of the Warmth of your Heart for me; and as you have so freely offered it, I shall ever have an entire Dependence upon you; and whatever Persons are sent with Intelligence of this Sort, shall be handsomely rewarded. I expect and desire you will give the same Intelligence to any other Governor whose Country you apprehend to be in Danger, as all the *English* are of the same Flesh and Blood, and Subjects of the same King.

*Gave a large String.**Brother,*

I am very glad you have been as good as your Word in coming down to the Council-Fire, which was kindled on this particular Occasion. I believe you have used your best Endeavours, with great faithfulness, to effect every Thing you undertook. I heartily agree to the Peace, as you have proposed it, provided all the *English* Colonies be included in it. But we cannot agree to make Peace, for this Government alone, and leave you at Liberty to continue the War with our Brethren of the neighbouring Colonies; for we, the *English*, are all Subjects of one great King, and must, for the future, be all at Peace, or all at War, with other Nations at the same Time.

*A Belt.**Brother,*

You may remember it was stipulated, in the Conferences held last Summer, that all the Prisoners you had taken, should be brought to this Council-Fire, and there delivered up; and as you have only delivered up five Prisoners, and I am sure many more have been taken, I desire to know why they have not been brought; they are our own Flesh and Blood, and we cannot be easy, whilst they are kept in Captivity.

*A String.**Brother,*

You have opened your Heart, and shewn us the Reasons you thought you had for differing with us: You have done well, in speaking so plainly, on that Head; but you should have made your Complaint to us, before you lifted your Hand to strike, and that might have prevented the Mischief. When the Great Creator made Man, he gave him a Tongue to complain of Wrongs, two Ears to hear a Brother's Complaints, and two Hands, to do him Justice, by removing the Cause.---All these were made, before the Hatchet, and should be first used. Had the Man, in your Comparison, whose Pipe was taken from him, said, Brother, you took my Pipe from me, at such a Time, and I must have Satisfaction; his Brother might have answered, I did not think you valued a Pipe so much, do not let us differ about a small Matter, here, Brother, take two of mine. That this Method, agreeable to our antient Treaties, may be remembered, and Complaints always made by you, to us, or by us to you, in a publick Manner, and Justice demanded, before we strike, I give you this

*String.**Brother,*

I am but lately come among you; the Grievances you mention, are of old Date. If former *Indian* Kings have, as you say, sometimes sold more Land, than they had a Right to sell, in so doing they injured us, and we, as well as you, have Cause to complain of them.---But sometimes, though they sold no more than their own, they sold it fairly, and it was honestly paid for, by the *English*; yet when the *Indian* Children grow up, they may forget that their Fathers sold the Lands, and divided the Goods; and some evil Spirit, or bad Man, that loves to make Mischief, may tell them, the Land is still yours; your Fathers never sold it; the Writings are false. Moreover, many People, both *English* and *Indians*, concerned in the former Purchases of Lands, are now dead; and as you do not understand Writings and Records, it may be hard for me to satisfy you, of the Truth, though my Predecessors dealt ever so uprightly; therefore, to shew our sincere Desire to heal the present Differences, and live in eternal Peace, with you our Brethren, tell me, what will satisfy you, for the Injustice you suppose has been done you, in the Purchase of Lands in this Province; and if it be in my Power, you shall have immediate Satisfaction, whether it be justly due to you or not. The good People of this Province are ready, and willing, to open their Hands, and help me, by contributing freely, to this good Work.---Or if you are not impowered to receive such Satisfaction at this Time, or have not Convenience, to carry away the Goods that may be given you on that Account, then, I will lodge the Goods, in such Hands as you shall appoint, till you bring to our next Meeting, your old Men of the several Nations, who may have a Right to a Share in the Division of those Goods, where they shall be ready to be delivered to them and you. This may be done at a Council-Fire, to be rekindled at *Philadelphia* for you and us, or here, as you shall chuse, when we expect, and insist, that you bring down all the Captives that still remain in your Country.

And

And as you mention Grievances, from the Neighbouring Governments, I make no Doubt, but on proper Application, you will have the utmost Justice done you; and if I can be of any Service to you, in making the Application, it will give me great Pleasure; in Testimony whereof, I give you this

1756.

Belt.

Brother,

You told us last Summer, that formerly, there were many *Indian* Chiefs, who made Treaties, some in one Place, and some in another, from whence, Misunderstandings had often arose.---It was so formerly, with the *English* Governments, each made War or Peace, with the *Indians*, for itself: They were not united in these great Affairs, as Subjects of the same King ought to be, and so were much weaker.---Our wise King has now ordered Things better, and put all *Indian* Affairs under one general Direction.---I shall send a full Account of all that has passed, between this Government and the *Indians*, on this present Occasion, to Sir *William Johnson*, to whom His Majesty has been pleased to commit the general Management of *Indian* Affairs, for his Approbation and Ratification; and as this Gentleman, in Quality of being the King's general Agent in this Part of *America*, has, in Conjunction with your Uncles, the *Six Nations*, and all the Allies, kindled a general Council-Fire, at his House, on the *Mohocks River*, I must insist upon it, that *Teedyuscung*, and a Deputation of your Chief Men, shall go to this Council-Fire, and there communicate every Thing, to obtain Confirmation, and take Advice, as to your future Conduct, that there may be a perfect Union, both of Council and Measures, as well, on the Part of all the *Indians*, as others his Majesty's Subjects, without which, this great Work of Peace, will never be brought to its just Perfection.

A Belt.

Brother,

The good People of this Province, affected with the Distresses which their Brethren the *Indians* must needs suffer, in this severe Season, for want of Clothes and other Necessaries, have furnished me with a Quantity of Goods, to the Value of *Four Hundred Pounds*, to supply their Wants; a large Part of them is given, by the People called *Quakers*, who are the Descendants of those, who came over with *William Penn*, as a particular Testimony of their Regard and Affection for the *Indians*, and their earnest Desire to promote this good Work of Peace.

## G O O D S given at the Expence of the Province.

3 Pieces of Blankets,	100 Large Fish-books,
1 Piece of Matchcoat,	6 Dozen of Tobacco Tongs,
1 Piece of plain white Halfbicks,	6 Grofs of Morris Bells,
1 Piece of napt Ditto,	5 lb. of Vermillion,
1 Piece of purple Ditto,	18 Tin Kettles,
1 Piece of Stroud,	20 Shirts,
1 Piece of Calicoe,	6 Hats,
1 Grofs of Scarlet Garters,	6 Coats,
3 Pieces of Ribbons,	2 Grofs of Awl-blades,
3 Dozen of Taylors Shears,	100 lb. of Powder,
6 Dozen of Cuttce Knives,	200 lb. of Lead,
6 lb. of white and black Beads,	1 Piece of black Stroud,
1 Grofs of Womens Thimbles,	2 Pieces of Bandanoe Handkerchiefs.
1 Grofs of Mens Ditto,	1 Piece of blue Stroud, was also given
1000 Fish-books,	among the five Mohocks and two Shaw-
100 Large Ditto,	anese, and one Shirt to each.

## G O O D S given at the Expence of the People called Quakers.

2 Pieces of striped Blankets,	20 White Shirts,
5 Pieces of Matchcoat,	10 Green Frize Coats,
2 Pieces of Strouds,	10 Hats,
1 Piece of purple Halfbicks,	2 Grofs of Bed-lacing,
2 Pieces of printed Calicoe,	1 Grofs of Gartering,
1 Piece of striped Calimancoe,	200 lb. of Tobacco,
4 Pieces of flowered Silk Handkerchiefs,	3 Grofs of Pipes,
2 Dozen of Worsted Caps,	48 Weeding-hoes, for Indian-Corn,
40 Pairs of Yarn Mittens,	6 lb. of small Beads,
1 Grofs of Thimbles,	6 lb. of Barley-corn Ditto,
3000 Needles,	3 Dozen of small Looking-glasses,
2 Pieces of Ribbon,	12 Silver Medals of King GEORGE,
24 Small Brass Kettles,	6000 Black and White Wampum.
8 Tin Kettles,	A Horse, Bridle and Saddle.

At

1756.

*At a CONFERENCE held at Easton, November 16, 1756.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *WILLIAM DENNY*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

<i>WILLIAM LOGAN,</i>	} Esquires.
<i>RICHARD PETERS,</i>	

The same Commissioners, Gentlemen,	Officers, Indians as before.
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*The Governor acquainted Teedyuscung that he was ready to hear him.**Then Teedyuscung, taking a String of Wampum, spoke in these Words.**Brother,***I** DESIRE you will hear me a few a Words with Patience. You may remember I often desired you to endeavour to apprehend me aright, when I am speaking of Matters of Importance.*Brother,*

Hear me with Patience; I am going to use a Comparison, in order to represent to you the better what we ought to do.

When you chuse a Spot of Ground for Planting, you first prepare the Ground, then you put the Seed into the Earth; but if you don't take Pains afterwards, you will not obtain Fruit.---To Instance, in the *Indian Corn*, which is mine (meaning a native Plant of this Country) I, as is customary, put seven Grains in one Hill, yet, without further Care, it will come to nothing, tho' the Ground be good; tho' at the Beginning I take prudent Steps, yet if I neglect it afterwards, tho' it may grow up to Stalks and Leaves, and there may be the Appearance of Ears, there will only be Leaves and Cobs.---In like Manner, in the present Business, tho' we have begun well, yet if we hereafter use not prudent Means, we shall not have Success answerable to our Expectations.---God, that is above, hath furnished us both with Powers and Abilities.---As for my own Part, I must confess, to my Shame, I have not made such Improvements of the Power given me as I ought; but as I look on you to be more highly favoured from above than I am, I would desire you, that we would join our Endeavours to promote the good Work; and that the Cause of our Uneasiness, begun in the Times of our Forefathers, may be removed; and if you look into your Hearts, and act according to the Abilities given you, you will know the Grounds of our Uneasiness in some Measure from what I said before, in the Comparison of the Fire, that tho' I was but a Boy, yet I would according to my Abilities bring a few Chips; so with Regard to the Corn, I can do but little, you may a great deal; therefore let all of us, Men, Women and Children, assist in pulling up the Weeds, that nothing may hinder the Corn from growing to Perfection. When this is done, tho' we may not live to enjoy the Fruit ourselves, yet we should remember, our Children may live and enjoy the Blessings of this good Fruit, and it is our Duty to act for their Good.

*A String.**Brother,*

I desire you will attend to these few Words, and I will, with all Diligence, endeavour to tell you the Truth; the great Log you mentioned, when kindled, will make a great Flame, but it will not kindle of itself, nor continue flaming, unless there be Air and Leaves, as well as Coals to make it kindle. I desire we may use our utmost Endeavours to make it kindle, though what I have told you may relate to Matters disagreeable to you, yet if we exert ourselves, and act according to the Abilities given from above, the Event will be agreeable, and pleasing to ourselves, and of Service to our Children.

*Brother,*

Take Pains therefore, and though you are a Governor, do not put off these Things, from Time to Time, as our Forefathers did.

The Interpreter was desired to tell, in other Words, what was the Meaning of what was said in the two last Articles; and having requested Leave of *Teedyuscung*, he said, he alluded to the Beginning of the War; the Quarrels between the King of *France*, and the King of *England*, and their People, on both Sides, and that their young Men were deluded by the *French*; this was the first and principal Cause, tho' other Things helped, to make the Blow fall quicker and heavier.

*A String.**Brother,*



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Brother,

I will now, in a few Words, according to my Abilities, give you an Answer. You desired me to acquaint you what the Grounds of my Uneasiness were, and I complied, tho' it was not the main Thing which I came about. But when you put me in mind, I was pleased, for before, I thought it not proper to mention it in these difficult Times; it was not the Cause of the Stroke, tho' it was the Foundation of our Uneasiness. Now, Brother, in Answer to your Question, What will satisfy us? It is not usual, nor reasonable, nor can I tell you what the Damage is, and adjust, as in a Ballance, the true Value at that Time and these Times; formerly, it might be lighter, but being delayed, it is now the heavier; the Interest is to be added. Besides, there are many more, concerned in this Matter, not now present; and tho' many, who have suffered, are now in the Grave, yet their Descendants feel the Weight, and the more now for the Time they have waited.

1756.

Also, Brother, I require you would throw down the Fence, that confines some of my Brethren and Relations in the *Jerseys*, that they may, if they see Cause, come and see their Relations. I do not want to compel any of them to come, or to stay, against their Will. If they are inclined to stay and live among the *English*, I am quite willing they should come back again; but I want they should come and see me, that thereby I may convince their Relations, and the other Nations afar off, that I am now treating with, that they are not Servants, but a free People.

I do not request that all Men, Women and Children should come; but some, or as many as may be sufficient, to convince other Nations that they are not confined, but have Liberty, as well as we: In particular, one called *Philip*, he has a Wife, and Relations among us; to my Grief I heard he was carried to Goal, and there confined with some others, and put to Death; but I understand the Account of his Death was false. I desire he may have Liberty to come and see his Relations. I also request that you would apply to the Governor, on the other Side the River (*viz.* of the *Jerseys*) and to use your utmost Endeavours with him, that he would give them Leave to come, and that they may come under your Protection, be they more or less, in the great Road to us opened, by this Province.

But though you should not do this, yet I will use my utmost Endeavours to bring you down your Prisoners, there are only two in my Power. You may hear otherwise, but I declare I have no more than two in my Power: There are more in the Possession of others, and these, with your Assistance, I may be able to bring down; and I will endeavour to gather and scoop in as many as I can, but I shall want your Help to do it.

Brother,

I have to request you, that you would give Liberty, to all Persons and Friends to search into these Matters; as we are all Children of the Most High, we should endeavour to assist and make use of one another, and not only so, but from what I have heard, I believe there is a future State besides this Flesh; now I endeavour to act on both these Principles, and will, according to what I have promised, if the Great Spirit spare my Life, come next Spring, with as great a Force of *Indians* as I can get, to your Satisfaction.

A String.

Brother,

By this String now delivered, and lying before you, I assure you I have spoken on all Matters, the best I could, according to my mean Capacity and Abilities. I shall depend on my Interpreter, who I believe is an honest Man; but I think it prudent, in order to prevent Misunderstandings, that I should be furnished with a Copy of what is done, as well in the Conferences held here last Summer, as at this Time; for though I am not able to read, yet others may; it will be a great Satisfaction to have it in my Power to shew to others what has passed between this Government and me: What is committed to Writing, will not easily be lost, and will be of great Use to all, and better regarded; and I would have the Names and Seals of all that have been concerned in transacting this Business put to it: I do not desire a Copy now, but that it may be ready for me when I come again.---The Interpreter, *Pumpsbire*, informed the Governor, that what *Teedyuscung* was going to say was not material, or of much Importance, as it related to himself; adding, though he might be considered as a simple Man, yet throughout all this Affair, he had acted uprightly and honestly.

Brother,

I will speak in Favour of the Interpreter; he acted as such in Governor *Morris's* Time, as well as yours; and I am pleased with his Conduct, on both Occasions.---If we should have any further Business to transact, I desire he may be employed.---You know he lives in another Province, and is on that Account at some Expence; reward him well, for his Services; and do it well, for my Sake; but I shall leave it to you.

H

Brother,



1756.

Brother,

I have something, though of no great Consequence, yet to mention. I am in low Circumstances, and have not Things suitable; I wish I had---however, I have fifteen Deer Skins, which, as I see you love to have your Hands covered, I present you, to make Gloves of, or for any other Use you shall think proper. Eighty five large Ones were brought at first, but on our Journey from *Diabogo* to *Wioning*, some of the *Indians* with me, were so discouraged by Alarms, that they returned home, and took with them all but the Fifteen, which, I desire your Acceptance of.

The Governor returned him Thanks, and told him, he accepted of them as a Mark of his Affection, without regard to the Value of the Skins.---He then reminded *Teedyuscung*, that it was intended the Goods should have been delivered Yesterday, but as it grew late, and the Room in which they sat at Dinner, was so small, it was agreed they should be brought here, and delivered, which was done, the Lists read, and the *Indians* left to divide the Goods.

*At a COUNCIL held at Easton, November 17, 1756.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *WILLIAM DENNY*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

*WILLIAM LOGAN,* } Esquires.  
*RICHARD PETERS,* }

**T**HE Commissioners advising the Governor to fix at this Meeting, the Sum to be given in full Satisfaction of all Injuries done to the *Indians*, and to offer it to them now, Mr. *Weiser* was sent, to consult with *Teedyuscung*, if this would be agreeable; and Mr. *Weiser* having done so, reported, That the King declared against it, saying, he had no Power to take any Sum, tho' the Governor should offer him never so much, the People; to whom the Land belonged, being absent; but he would endeavour to bring as many of them down, as he could find, to the next Meeting, when it might be further considered.

Several Matters remaining to be mentioned to the *Indians*, the Governor sent for *Teedyuscung*, the four *Six Nation Indians*, the two *Shawanese*, and one or two *Delawares*, and in the Presence of the Commissioners, and some other Gentlemen, he spoke as follows.

Brother,

Only one Thing of what was said Yesterday requires an Answer, which I am now going to give you.

By this String, you desired me to make Application to the Governor of *Jersey*, that the Fence might be broke down, which confined the *Indians*, and that they, or some of them, might have Liberty to go into the *Indian Country*, and correspond with their Relations and Friends as formerly, and particularly to obtain this Liberty, for one *Philip*.

The Province of *Jersey*, you know, is a different Government from this; I will use my best Endeavours with the Governor, to grant your Request, but I apprehend I shall meet with this Difficulty, that as you have some of their People Prisoners with you, before they grant your Request, they will expect these shall be returned, which I think would be advisable for you to do; particularly, you have with you a Boy, whose Name is *Hunt*, taken near *Paulin's Kiln*, in that Province, whose Mother is now here, and requests he may be sent down among the first.

*A String.*

Brother,

I consider you as the Counsellor, and Agent of this Province, and as such, obliged to assist us all you can. By this String, I confirm your Appointment.

*A String.*

Brother,

As our Prisoners may suffer for Want of Clothes, and other Necessaries in this severe Season, we would wish to have them as soon possible, and to that End propose to send with you

two

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two Messengers, who may collect them together, and bring them down; and I desire you will give them your Assistance, which will be a further Proof of your Sincerity.

1756.

*A String.*

*N. B. Two of the Six Nation Indians were employed in this Service.*

*Brother,*

If any of our *Indians* shall incline to come into the Province, and live among their Brethren, the *English*, I do now assure you, that they shall be kindly received and supported, and live together in one Place, the most convenient that can be got for the Purpose.

Or as there is now a strong Fort at *Shamokin*, built at the Request of your Uncles, the *Six Nations*, for the Protection of the *Friendly Indians*, I propose to have a Store of Goods in it, the Direction and Management of which will be given to an honest Man, who shall not be suffered to impose upon the *Indians*; and I shall be glad all our *Friendly Indians*, who are scattered and distressed in these troublesome Times, will come and live near it; there they will be protected from the *French*; there they will have a large uninhabited Country to hunt in; and there they may be furnished with Clothes, and all other Necessaries of Life, at the easiest Rates.

*A String.*

*Brother,*

You know that at the last Treaty the Road was opened for us to go to each other; I now give you this Belt to preserve the Communication free and clear of all Obstructions, let there be nothing in it that can hurt the Feet, or wound the Body of either.

*A Belt.*

*Brother,*

Since I set out, I have heard of the Death of several of our *Indian* Friends, by the Small-pox at *Philadelphia*, and particularly Captain *Newcastle* is dead, who was very instrumental, and joined with you as Agent, in carrying on this good Work of Peace. I wipe away your Tears; I take the Grief from your Hearts; I cover the Graves; eternal Rest be with their Spirits.

*A String of Wampum, eleven black Strouds, with some Handkerchiefs.*

*Brother,*

Peace is now settled between us, by the Assistance of the Most High; but the *Indians* in the *French* Interest still commit Murders on our Frontiers, and our Soldiers are in Pursuit of them. I desire you will order your young Men not to straggle about, but keep in the straight Path to your Towns, so that they may not be mistaken by our Soldiers for *French Indians*.

*Teedyuscung* thanked the Governor for his kind Speeches, and said, he was very glad that the Governor had thought of sending two Messengers with him, for the Prisoners, and promised to assist them.

After the Condolance made on Captain *Newcastle's* Death, the King made an Address, as is usual to the other *Indians* on this mournful Occasion: They continued silent for some Time, and then, one of the oldest of them spoke an Exhortation, in the Nature of a Funeral Oration; after which, *Teedyuscung* expressed to the Governor, the great Satisfaction given to him at his condoling the Death of Captain *Newcastle*, who, he said, was a good Man, and had promoted the good Work of Peace, with great Care; his Death would put him in Mind of his Duty, as it should all of us.

He then spoke in a warm and pathetic Manner, in Favour of the Peace now settled, and implored the Assistance of the Most High, to bring it to Perfection.

The Governor understanding that several of the *Indians* inclined to stay, desired *Teedyuscung* to give him the Names of such as would live with their Brethren the *English*.---*Teedyuscung*, mistaking the Governor, as if he had said, they must stay, answered, smiling, he did not understand any *Indians* were to be forced to stay, but left to their Liberty. If the Governor wanted any to stay, and desired it, he would stay himself, and his Wife and Family with him. The Governor set the Matter Right, thanked him, and wished him well; took his Leave of him, saying, they had met and parted Friends, and he hoped they would meet again, as good Friends as now.

*Teedyuscung* shewed great Pleasure in his Countenance, and took a kind Leave of the Governor and all present.

*By his Honour's Command,*

RICHARD PETERS, Secretary.

EXTRACT

156. *EXTRACT from the Minutes of the House of REPRESENTATIVES of the Province of Pennsylvania, January 29, 1757.*

"The four Provincial Commissioners, Members of this House, who were appointed to attend the Governor at the late Conference with the *Indians at Easton*, presented a Paper to the House, which was read, and is as follows," viz.

WE the Committee appointed to attend the Governor at the Conferences with the *Indians at Easton*, in *November* last, have perused the Copy of those Conferences, drawn up and signed by the Secretary, and laid before the House;

And as we apprehend it of Importance to the Province, that the Complaints made by the *Indians*, whether justly founded or not, should be fully represented, and their Sense of them understood, we think it necessary to observe to the House, that we conceive the Warmth and Earnestness with which they insisted on the Wrongs that had been done them in the Purchases of Land, are much too faintly expressed in this Account of the Conference. That we were not present at the palliating Hearsay Accounts of the Walking Purchase, said to be given the Governor by Mr. *Weiser*, and Mr. *Peters*, on the Fourteenth of *November*; tho', by the concluding Paragraphs under that Date, it may seem as if we were: But we well remember, that the Transaction of that Walk was at *Easton* universally given up as unfair, and not to be defended, even from the Accounts of some of our own People who were present at the Walking; even the Secretary, tho' he did say, that he believed Satisfaction was afterwards made the *Indians*, and that this was the only Instance in which any Foundation of Complaint had ever been given them, yet this he allowed was (in his own Words) *unworthy of any Government*. We would farther observe, that when *Teedyuscung* claimed the Lands, even those on which the Conferences were held, no Objection was made, that neither he, nor any with him, had any Right to them; nor did we ever understand his Reason for not accepting Satisfaction to be as represented in the second Paragraph under *November 17*, for that "*the People to whom the Land belonged were absent*;"—but for that many of them were absent, and those who were absent had not impowered him to act for them in that Matter; but he would endeavour to bring them in the Spring.

The Offer of the Commissioners to furnish the Means of making the *Indians* immediate Satisfaction, not being fully related, we think it necessary to add, That the Reasons we gave the Governor for that Offer, were, 1. The Absence and great Distance of the Proprietaries, who being the sole Purchasers of Land from the *Indians* in this Province, ought, if the *Indians* were injured in such Purchases, alone to make the Satisfaction; but their Agents here had not the necessary Powers. 2. For that Promises [such being proposed] of enquiring into *Indian* Complaints, and doing them Right hereafter, had been so often made in other Governments, and so little observed, we imagined they could be of no Weight, and would rather be looked upon as a Denial of Justice; and therefore, we thought it better, as their Demands are seldom very high, to make them immediate Reparation for the Injuries they supposed they had received, and we would furnish the Goods, and risque the Proprietaries repaying their Value to the Province. The Secretary then told us, that he thought our Proposal very considerate and well-judged; that he was sure the Proprietaries would think themselves obliged to us, and repay the Money with Thanks: The Offer was accordingly made, but not accepted for the Reasons abovementioned. We then waited upon the Governor in a Body, and acquainted his Honour, That as we had made the Offer in Behalf of the Province, not from an Opinion that the Province ought to be at such Expence, but from the apparent immediate Necessity of the Thing, and on Account of the Proprietaries Absence as aforesaid; so now since the final Settlement of the *Indians* Claims was postponed to the Spring, and there would be sufficient Time to write to the Proprietaries and obtain their Orders to their Agents for the Payment of such Sums as should be found necessary, we looked on ourselves and the Province as totally disengaged from that Offer, and expected that the Proprietaries would be wrore to accordingly.

January 29, 1757.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,  
WILLIAM MASTERS,

JOSEPH FOX,  
JOHN HUGHES.

*A true Extract from the Minutes,  
WILLIAM FRANKLIN, Clerk of Assembly.*

M I N U T E S  
O F  
C O N F E R E N C E S,

H E L D W I T H T H E

I N D I A N S,

A t H A R R I S ' S F E R R Y , a n d a t L A N C A S T E R ,

*In March, April, and May, 1757.*



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P H I L A D E L P H I A :

Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN, and D. HALL, at the  
*New-Printing-Office*, near the Market. MDCCLVII.



[ 3 ]

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# M I N U T E S

## O F

# C O N F E R E N C E S, &c.

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*From GEORGE CROGHAN, Esq; to the Honourable Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON, Baronet, His MAJESTY'S sole Agent, and Superintendent of the Affairs of the Six Nations, their Allies and Dependents.*

*May it please your HONOUR,*

**I**N Pursuance of your Instructions, as soon as I was informed of the *Indians* being come to *John Harris's*, I set off from *Philadelphia* to meet them, and arrived at *John Harris's* the 29th of *March*, 1757, where I met about One Hundred and Sixty *Indians*, Men, Women and Children, Part of eight Tribes. 1757.

The Thirtieth, I examined *Joseph Peepcy*, and *Lewis Montour*, in regard to the Messages I had sent by them to the *Sasquebannab Indians*.

They informed me, that *Tedyuscung* was gone to the *Seneca* Country, to get a Number of the *Senecas* to come down with him; and they delivered me a Belt of Wampum sent me by *Tedyuscung*, in Return of mine sent him by them; by which Belt he informs me, that he will be down as soon as possible, with Two Hundred *Indians*, but could not tell, whether he would come in at *Easton* or at *John Harris's*.

The remaining Part of this Day I spent in getting what Intelligence I could of the Strength of the *French* on *Ohio*, and the Disposition of the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*; and by the best Accounts I can get, I find the *French* have not had above Three Hundred Men in Garrison at *Ohio* this Winter, and that the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* on *Ohio* were divided amongst themselves, one Half of each Tribe going down *Ohio* to where the Lower *Shawanese* are settled, and the other Half were determined to go off to the *Six Nations*.

I am informed, that all the *Sasquebanna Indians* are disposed for Peace, except the *Muncys*, or *Minisink Indians*; yet I understand that a Number of them will be down with *Tedyuscung*.

I am informed, by a *Six Nation Indian*, one of Reputation amongst them, that resided at *Diabego*, that as soon as *Joseph Peepcy* and *Lewis Montour* had delivered their Message there, the Council, that Night, dispatched two Men to the *Ohio*, to inform the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*, living there, of this Meeting, desiring some of them to come to it; but if none of them should chuse to come, these Messengers were then to insist that none of the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*, living on the *Ohio*, should come to War against the *English* till this Meeting was over, and they have Time, after returning Home, to let them know how it ended.

*At*



## [ 4 ]

*At a MEETING of the Six Nations and their Allies, and George Croghan, Esq; Deputy Agent to the Honourable Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON, Baronet, His Majesty's sole Agent and Superintendent of the Affairs of the Six Nations, their Allies and Dependents, and by his special Order, at John Harris's, the First Day of April, 1757.*

## P R E S E N T,

The Reverend Mr. *John Elder*,  
Captain *Thomas McKee*,  
Mr. *James Armstrong*,

Mr. *Hugh Crawford*,  
Mr. *John Harris*.

*William Prentup*, Interpreter.

Mohawks.  
*Tiakanforca*,  
*Emadugaugbia*,  
*Sageboanna*,  
*Peter*,  
With 31 others, Men,  
Women and Children.

Onondagoes.  
*Ossaratongua*, and his two  
Brothers, with Eight-  
teen others, Men, Wo-  
men and Children.

Nanticokes.  
*Robert White*,  
*Joshua*,  
With Eleven more, Men,  
Women and Chil-  
dren.

Oneidoes.  
*Thomas King*,  
*Scarroyady*,  
*Tawnaquanagis*,  
With Thirteen others,  
Men, Women and  
Children.

Cayugas.  
*Ogaratawrea*,  
*Orarroquare*,  
*Jenkajarone*,  
With 20 others, Men,  
Women and Children.

Delawares.  
*Samuel*,  
*Joseph Peepy*,  
*Thomas Evans*,  
*Jonathan*, with 20 more,  
Men, Women and  
Children.

Tuscaroras.  
*Rut King*,  
With Twenty-six others,  
Men, Women and  
Children.

Senecas.  
*George*,  
With Eight more, Men,  
Women and Chil-  
dren.

Connestogoes.  
*Sakeys*,  
Captain *John*,  
With Twenty-nine more,  
Men, Women and  
Children.

*Brethren*,

I AM sent here by the Honourable Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON, to represent him at this Meeting; and I desire you all to give Attention to what I am going to say to you in Behalf of your Brother *Onas* and the wise Men of this Government, who are truly sensible of your Afflictions, occasioned by the Death of many of your Counsellors and Warriors, since they had the Pleasure of seeing you in this Government; and as they have ever looked upon your Misfortunes as their own, they mix their Tears with yours, and have desired me to condole with you, agreeable to the antient Custom of our Forefathers.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brethren*,

With this Belt of Wampum I wipe the Blood off the Seats round your Council Fire, that your old Men at this critical Juncture, when convened in Council, may sit with Comfort, and direct their Warriors with Wisdom.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brethren*,

As I have wiped the Blood off the Seats round your Council Fire, I, with these Strouds, wrap up the Bodies of your deceased Friends, and bury them decently, covering their Graves with these Blankets and Halfthicks.

*Gave the Goods.*

*Brethren*,

As the Blood is wiped off the Seats of your Counsellors, the Dead decently buried, and their Graves covered, I, with this Belt of Wampum, wipe the Tears from your Eyes, and desire you may mourn no more.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brethren*,

As you are now out of Mourning, I with this Belt of Wampum disperse the dark Clouds which are gathered over your Heads, that you may see the Sun clear, and shake Hands with your Brethren when you meet in Council.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brethren*

## [ 5 ]

*Brethren,*

As we have now gone through the antient Customs used by our Forefathers upon their Meeting, I with this Belt of Wampum heal your Hearts, and free your Minds from Trouble, that we may meet each other in Council, and brighten the Chain of Friendship.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brethren,*

I now wipe the Sweat off your Bodies after your long Journey, and bid you a hearty Welcome to this Government in the Name of your Brother *Onas*.

*Gave a String.*

*Sacbems and Warriors of the Six United Nations, our Friends and Brethren,*

I embrace this Opportunity of acquainting you, that last Year your Brother *Onas* held two Conferences at *Easton* with your Nephews the *Delawares*, and your Brethren the *Shawanese*, that live on *Sasquehannab*, in order to settle the Differences subsisting between them and us; but as that good Work could not be accomplished at that Time, they agreed to have a Meeting this Spring to finally settle all Differences subsisting between them and us their Brethren: And that this Meeting might be the more general, I dispatched Messengers up *Sasquehannab*, and to *Ohio*, and I wrote to your Brother, Sir *William Johnson*, desiring him to request a Number of you our Brethren, the *Six United Nations*, to be present at this Meeting, who I am heartily glad to see here; and when your Nephews and Brothers arrive, I am in great Hopes, by your Assistance, to be able to accommodate Matters to the mutual Satisfaction of both them and us their Brethren the *English* in the several Governments.

And by this Belt of Wampum, I request you to make use of all your Interest with your Nephews the *Delawares*, and Brothers the *Shawanese*, to bring about an Accommodation between them and us, that the Sun may once more shine upon us in Peace, and that the Peace may last as long as the Sun, the Moon and the Stars give Light.

*Gave a Belt.*

*At a MEETING with the Indians, at John Harris's, April 2, 1757.*

P R E S E N T,

The Reverend Mr. *Elder*,  
Captain *Thomas McKee*,  
Mr. *James Armstrong*,  
Mr. *Hugh Crawford*,  
Mr. *John Harris*.

The Deputies of the  
*Six United Nations*,  
The *Delawares*, and  
*Nanticokes*.

*Scarroyady*, Speaker for the *Indians*.

*William Prentup*, Interpreter.

*Brother,*

YOU and our Brother *Onas* wisely considered the antient Custom of our Forefathers, in condoling with us, and mixing your Grief with ours: And as we make no Doubt but some of your wife Counsellors are dead since we were here, and many of our Brethren have been killed by the evil Spirit, we wipe the Blood off your Council Seats, and put them in Order with this Belt of Wampum.

*Gave a Belt,*

*Brother,*

After wiping the Blood off your Council-Seats, we, with these few Skins, wrap up the Bones of our Brethren that died or were killed by the evil Spirit, and cover their Graves.

*Gave a small Bundle of Skins.*

*Brother,*

We, by this Belt of Wampum, wipe the Tears from your Eyes, and desire you may mourn no more.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brother,*

We, with this Belt of Wampum, disperse the dark Clouds, that the Sun may always shine upon us in Friendship; we heal your Heart, and free your Mind from Trouble, that we may meet each other in Council, and brighten the Chain of Friendship made by our Forefathers; and that the Council Fire may burn clear, we throw a few Chips on it.

*Gave a Belt.*

## [ 6 ]

1757. This Evening I had a Meeting of the Sachems, and proposed the Going to *Philadelphia*, to hold the Treaty; but I could prevail on none of them, except the *Mohawks*, to go there; the rest were afraid of Sickness.

When I found they were not to be prevailed on to go there, I called a Council, and, with a Belt of Wampum, I removed the Council Fire to *Lancaster*; to which Place they all agreed to go, and wait the Arrival of *Teedyuscung*, with the *Senecas*, *Delawares*, and *Shawanese*.

*Gave a Belt, to remove the Council Fire to Lancaster.*

*April* the 7th, I arrived at *Lancaster* from *John Harris's*; from whence *Mr. Shippen*, *Mr. Thompson*, *Mr. Boude*, and *Captain Cane*, with a Number of other Gentlemen, Inhabitants of that Borough, went out with me to meet the *Indians* (who I had left a few Miles behind) to bid them welcome to *Lancaster*.

As soon as the *Indians* were settled at the Place taken for them by *James Wright*, Esq; I then kindled a small Fire for them to sit by till they should hear from their Brother *Onas* of the Arrival of *Teedyuscung*.

*April* the 10th, I received a Letter from his Honour the Governor, acquainting me of the Arrival of Fifty *Delawares* and *Shawanese* at *Fort-Allen*, and that they were ordered to wait there the Arrival of *Teedyuscung*, with the rest of the *Indians* who were coming with him.

I immediately ordered a Meeting of the *Indians*, and acquainted them with what the Governor had wrote me about the Arrival of the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* at *Fort-Allen*, which was very agreeable to them.

I then acquainted them, by a Belt of Wampum, that their Brother *Onas* had prepared a very convenient Place for them within a Mile of *Philadelphia*, and that he proposed to hold the Conference at *Philadelphia*, as *Teedyuscung* had, at the last Treaty at *Easton*, given his Honour the Governor a Promise to come to *Philadelphia* this Spring.

*The Indians, after considering what had been said to them, returned the following Answer.*

*Brother,*

We have considered what you said to us from our Brother *Onas*; when you proposed to us, at *John Harris's*, to go to *Philadelphia*, we refused for the Reasons we then gave you. By the Message you sent us by *Joseph Feep* and *Lewis Montour*, we understood that the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* were to fix the Place of Meeting where they thought proper.

*Brother,*

We tell you we will sit where we are till they arrive and fix the Place of Meeting with our Brother *Onas*.

*Returned the Belt of Wampum.*

*April* the 11th, I delivered the Goods purchased by *James Wright*, Esq; for the *Indians*, in the Presence of *Mr. James Webb*, which was well received by them.

After the Goods were divided, the Chiefs of the several Tribes came in a Body, and returned Thanks to the Government for the Cloathing they had received.

The 13th, the several Chiefs came to me, and told me, they observed that I gave no Cloathing to our Brothers the *Connestogoes*, and desired that I would give them some, else they should be obliged to give them Part of what had been given them.

*Gave a String.*

The 17th, I called a Meeting of all the *Indians*, and returned them Thanks for condoling with me at *John Harris's* for the Loss we their Brethren the *English* had sustained by Death and the evil Spirit.

*Brethren,*

I return you Thanks for mixing your Grief with ours, and wiping the Blood off our Council Seats.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brethren,*

I give you Thanks for wrapping up the Bones of our deceased Brothers, and covering the Graves, and wiping the Tears from our Eyes.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brethren,*

## [ 7 ]

*Brethren,*

I return you Thanks for disperſing the dark Clouds from over our Heads, for healing our Hearts, and freeing our Minds from Trouble, and for brightening the Chain of Friendſhip made by our Forefathers.

1757.

*Gave a Belt.*

*April* the 20th, I received a Letter from his Honour Governor *Denny*, incloſing two Meſſages from *Teedyuſcung* to the Governor, which were delivered to Major *Tarſons* in  *Eaſton*, and forwarded by him.

As ſoon as I received his Honour's Letter, I called a Meeting of the *Indians*, and repeated over to them the Meſſages, and let them know, that *Teedyuſcung's* being ſo long detained on the Way was the Scarcity of Proviſions; and then acquainted them, that his Honour the Governor had ordered a Supply to be ſent to meet them, for which the *Indians* returned his Honour the Governor their hearty Thanks, and ſaid, their Brother *Onas's* ſending Proviſions to meet their Couſins on the Road, was giving them the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of his Regard and Eſteem for them.

*Gave a String of Wampum.*

*April* the 23d, Six *Onondago* Warriors applied to me for Liberty to go to *Fort Cumberland*, to join the Southward *Indians*, who they underſtood were going to War againſt His Majesty's Enemies at *Ohio*; I granted their Requeſt, and fitted them out for their Journey.

*April* the 26th, *Scarroyady*, with a Party of *Mobawk* Warriors, came and told me that they were apprehenſive the *French* would make ſome Attempt againſt *Fort-Auguſta*, and deſired I would fit them out to go there; to which I agreed, giving them Orders to reconnoitre the adjacent Woods, for a few Days, then to proceed towards the *Ohio*, and to reconnoitre the Country well as they went, and if they diſcovered any Body of *French*, or Parties of *Indians*, coming towards *Fort-Auguſta*, or any Part of this or the neighbouring Governments, they were immediately to return and give Notice to the Commanding Officer at *Fort-Auguſta*, or to the Commanding Officer of the Fort neigheſt to that Part of the Country where they ſhould come into.

The 26th of *April*, P. M. the Chiefs of the ſeveral Tribes called a Meeting, and ſent for me, and deſired to know what Time they might expect their Brother *Onas* up, and their Nephews the *Delawares*, and Brothers the *Shawaneſe*, to hold the Conference.

To which I answered, I had not yet received any certain Account of the Arrival of the *Delawares* and *Shawaneſe*; and until the Governor had fixed the Place and Time of Meeting with *Teedyuſcung*, I could not give them a full Anſwer.

To which *Little Abraham*, a *Mobawk* Sachem, ſpoke as follows, in Behalf of the Whole.

*Brother,*

We have been here a great while, and the Spring is coming on faſt: It is Time for us to think of going Home to plant. We have heard what you have ſaid to us from our Brother *Onas*, both at *John Harris's* and here, that our Brother *Onas* propoſed to hold the Treaty at *Philadelphia*. Every Time you ſpoke to us upon that Head, we gave you our Objections againſt going ſo far down, which we expected would have been conſidered before now; but as our Brother *Onas* has not yet agreed to come here, we have determined in our own Minds to treat with our Brother *Onas* here, and go no further down the Country.

*Brother,*

We have appointed three Men to go to *Philadelphia* to ſpeak with our Brother *Onas*, and requeſt of him to come up, and we deſire you will find Horſes for them to ride down, and a Man to go with them to the Governor.

And we have appointed three more to go and meet our Nephews the *Delawares*, and Brothers the *Shawaneſe*, and bring them here, and we deſire you will find them Horſes, and a Man to go and take Care of them, and provide Neceſſaries for them on the Road.

*Gave a String.*

*May* the 5th, P. M. Captain *Trent* returned from *Bethlehem*, with the Deputies that went from here to meet the *Delawares* and *Shawaneſe*, and brought with them four *Delaware* Men, and one Woman,

About

1757.

About two Hours afterwards, Captain McKee returned from *Philadelphia*, with the Deputies who were sent down to the Governor to invite him here to hold the Conference.

May the 6th, I called a Meeting of the Chiefs of the several Tribes, when *William Logan*, Esq; a Member of his Honour the Governor's Council, returned the Governor's Answer to the Message sent him by *Thomas King*, and *Rut King*.

*Brethren, the Deputies of the Six United Nations, and your Cousins and Brethren the Delawares*, I am sent to you by your Brother *Onas*, from *Philadelphia*, as a Member of his Council, and your very good Friend, and I desire you will attend to what I am now going to say to you, and consider my Words as if they were spoken by *Onas* himself.

*Gave a String.*

*Brethren,*

A few Days since, *Thomas King*, and *Rut King*, accompanied by *Thomas McKee*, as their Guide, came to me in *Philadelphia*, and informed me, by this Belt of Wampum, that you held a Council Fire at *Lancaster*, and had sent for our Friend *George Croghan* to it, and had made a Speech to him; in which you acquainted him, that on his Invitation you came to *John Harris's*, understanding the Council Fire was to be kindled there; that after you had staid there some Time, you were desired to accompany him to *Lancaster*, and that I would meet you there; that therefore you had appointed these two *Indians* to wait on me, and to take me by the Hand, and invite me to your Council; that you had determined among yourselves to come no further, and would be glad to see me, and that my coming would rejoice your Hearts.

*Brethren,*

You must be very sensible, that in the transacting Publick Affairs, in these troublesome Times, many Difficulties and unforeseen Accidents happen which require my particular Attendance in *Philadelphia*; this is my present Case. And as *Teedyuscung*, the Chief of the *Delawares*, our Countryman, and your Cousin, with some other Chiefs and Head Men of that Nation, has sent me lately a Message, acquainting me, that he was on his Way, with a great Number of *Indians*, coming to meet me, in order to finish the Treaty of Peace begun last Year by our late Governor and myself with the said Chiefs, and desired me to be ready with my Counsellors to assist in finishing the said Treaty which was to happily begun, and that I would be so kind as to send for *Moses Tatamy*, and *John Fumfwoire* (two *Delaware Indian* Interpreters) from the  *Jerseys*, to be present; and that as there was so great a Number of *Indians* who were coming with him, they would want Provisions on their Way, and desired I would send some to *Wyoming* for them, which I immediately complied with. These, *Brethren*, have been the Reason for my delaying my Journey to meet you at *Lancaster*, and for my desiring *George Croghan* would endeavour to prevail on you our *Brethren* to come to the Council Fire at *Philadelphia*, where the old wise People, who are your hearty Friends, would have been exceeding glad to see you; and as I have heard nothing from *Teedyuscung* very lately, I am uneasy lest some Accident has happened to him. I thank you very kindly for your affectionate Invitation: I accept of it, and will, with great Pleasure, come and consult with you at your Council Fire at *Lancaster*.

*Gave a Belt of eight Rows.*

May the 9th, three of the Messengers I sent to the *Ohio* returned, and make the following Report.

That on their Arrival at *Venango* (an old *Indian* Town) on *Ohio*, they found several of the *Delawares* there, one, named *Castalago*, their Chief. They immediately called a Meeting, and delivered the Speeches sent by them, which were very well received by the *Delawares*; who told them, in Answer, That they would accept of the Invitation, and come down with them; but that they must first go and consult their Uncles the *Senecas*, who lived further up the River. The next Day they set off to a little Town further up the River *Ohio*, where they summoned a Number of the *Delawares* and *Senecas* together. After repeating the Messages over, one of the *Senecas*, named *Garistagee*, one of the Chiefs, said to the *Delawares*; Nephews, You must not accept of that Call, for the Belts which are sent you are not proper Belts on this Occasion. I know *George Croghan* very well, and would be very glad to see him; and if he will send a proper Belt, with Men wrought in it, for the several Tribes he wants to meet with (himself taking us by the Hand) made of old Council Wampum, which is the Custom of the *Six Nations* on these Occasions, I will go down with you and see him: To which the *Delawares* agreed, and then returned the Belts.

They say that one of the Messengers proceeded further, to where the *Delawares*, that lived formerly at *Kittanning*, were now settled, on *Beaver-Creek*, with a View of finding out the Dispositions



## [ 9 ]

positions of them, and they expect he will be soon down, if not killed. These Messengers say, that there were but fifteen *Frenchmen* at *Venango*, and that the Fort there is very weak; and that the *Indians* in them Parts are very much distressed for Provisions. 1757.

They say that the *Ohio Indians* are much afraid of the Southern *Indians*, having been struck three Times by them this Spring, twice near *Fort Du Rysne*, and once at the *Logstown*; and that the *Indians* are moving fast up the *Ohio* towards the *Senecas*.

They heard from the *Indians* there, that the *French* were defeated at *Fort William-Henry*, and that there was another Party defeated by Sir *William Johnson*, at the *German-Flats*; and the *French* were determined yet to make another Trial against the *English*, but that they could not tell where they intended to strike next.

They say the two Men killed at *Fort Augusta*, were killed by the *Delawares* and *French*, which was the only Party of *Delawares* or *Shawanese* that has come against us this Spring; that the other Parties that have been on the Frontiers of this and the neighbouring Provinces, were *Indians* from over the Lakes; that the *Delawares* made great Game of the Lake *Indians*, and told those Messengers, that one Party of them, who had been down, had, on their Return, killed and eat three of the *English* Prisoners, for want of Food; that there was an Account came there whilst they were at *Venango*, that the *French Conewagas* had differed with the *French*, because the *French* would not supply them with Provisions; the Difference rose so high at last, that they came to Blows; that Sixty of the *Conewagas* were killed, and a great Number of the *French*.

I quere the Truth of this News, as the *French* undoubtedly know their Interest too well to differ with the *Conewagas* at this Time.

These Messengers, on their Return, touched at *Diabogo*, where they met with *Teedyuscung*, who enquired of them what they had been doing at *Ohio*; they repeated over to him the Messages that had been sent by them from this Government, and the Answer they had received from the *Ohio Indians*; on which *Teedyuscung* sent the following Message by them to their Brother *Onas* and me.

Brothers,

YOU have been at a great deal of Trouble in sending Messages to us, your Brothers the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*; but the Persons you employed are young Warriors, and not Counsellors, therefore unfit for such Business; likewise the Belts you have sent, in Comparison, are no more than Strings; but if you will send to call us together, and send proper Belts, and wise Men to take us by the Hand, we will come down with them, and give you a Meeting. In which Meeting I hope we shall settle all Differences subsisting between us; and I assure you, by this Belt of Wampum, that our Minds are well disposed, and that our Hearts are warm and true towards you our Brothers the *English*; and we desire that you, as Messengers from our Brothers, may take this Belt to Capt. *Thomas McKee*, and let him deliver it in our Name to our Brother *Onas* and *George Croghan*.

Gave the Belt.

Brothers,

There is one Thing that gives us a great deal of Concern, which is, our Flesh and Blood that lives among you at *Bethlehem*, and in the *Jerseys*, being kept as if they were Prisoners. We formerly applied to the Minister at *Bethlehem*, to let our People come back at Times and hunt, which is the chief Industry we follow to maintain our Families; but that Minister has not listened to what we have said to him, and it is very hard that our People have not the Liberty of coming back to the Woods, where Game is plenty, and to see their Friends.

They have complained to us, that they cannot hunt where they are; and if they go into the Woods, and cut down a Tree, they are abused for it, notwithstanding that very Land we look upon to be our own; and we hope, Brothers, that you will consider this Matter, and let our People come into the Woods, and visit their Friends, and pass and repass, as Brothers ought to do.

Gave a String.

*Lancaster, Monday, May the 9th*, This Evening the Honourable *WILLIAM DENNY*, Esq; Governor of this Province, attended by a Number of his Council, a Number of the House of Representatives, the Commissioners for the Province, with a great Number of other Gentlemen, arrived here.



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May the 10th, The Sachems of the several Tribes, with a Number of their chief Warriors, waited on the Governor at Mr. *George Gibson's*, in *Lancaster*; when the Governor, with the Gentlemen that attended him, took them by the Hands, bid them welcome, and his Honour made them the following Speech.

Brethren,

I give you a very hearty Welcome, agreeable to my Message by Mr. *Logan*. I have waited all this Time at *Philadelphia*, expecting the Arrival of *Teedyuscung*, as the principal Business to be transacted at this Meeting is between this Government and your Cousins the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*; but receiving your kind Invitation, I have hastened here, and am glad to see you.

*At a MEETING in the Court-House, in the Town of Lancaster, on Thursday, the 12th of May, 1757, P. M.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *WILLIAM DENNY*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, and Counties of *New-Castle*, *Kent* and *Suffex*, on *Delaware*.

*James Hamilton,*  
*William Logan,*  
*Richard Peters,*  
*Lyn-Ford Lardner,*  
*John Mifflin,*  
*Benjamin Chew,*

Esquires, Members of the Governor's Council.

*Isaac Norris,*  
*William Masters,*  
*Joseph Galloway,*  
*John Baynton,*  
*George Ashbridge,*  
*William West,*

Esquires, the Speaker, and Committee of the House of Representatives.

The Magistrates of the Borough, with a great Number of other Gentlemen.

The Deputies of the *Mohawks*, *Oneidoes*, *Tuscaroras*, *Onondagoes*, *Cayugas*, with some *Senecas*, *Nanticokes*, and *Delawares*.

*William Prentup*, Interpreter for the Crown.

*Conrad Weiser*, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.

On opening the Meeting, his Honour the Governor asked me, as I represented the Honourable Sir *WILLIAM JOHNSON* at this Treaty, if I was provided with a Secretary: Upon answering I was provided with one, his Honour then gave Orders that no Person else should take any Notes.

*Then the Governor made the following Speech.*

Brethren of the United Nations,

YOU are sensible of the unhappy Differences that have subsisted for some Time past between us, the People of *Pennsylvania*, the *English* in the several Colonies, and our Brethren and Countrymen, the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*, your Nephews and Brothers.

By the Mediation of Sir *William Johnson*, His Majesty's sole Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern District of *America*, a Cessation of Arms was agreed upon, and they, at a Conference held in *Otsewingo*, promised to lay down their Hatchet; which Agreement they since ratified and confirmed in another Conference with that Gentleman in your Presence; at which Time Sir *William* desired to know what was the Cause of their committing Hostilities on their Brethren the *English*, which Question they did not then give a full Answer to. But at a subsequent Treaty with me at *Easton*, in *November* last, the same Question being put to *Teedyuscung*, he frankly acknowledged that their foolish young Men, being deluded by our Enemy, the false hearted *French* King, were persuaded to take up the Hatchet against us. This, he said, was the first and principal Cause; but that one Reason why the Blow fell the heavier on us was, that their Brother *Onas* had fraudulently possessed himself of some of their Lands, without having first purchased, or given any Consideration for them.

*Gave a Belt of nine Rows.*

Being very desirous that all Causes of Discontent should be removed, I proposed that the Matter should then be finally accommodated; but *Teedyuscung* declaring, that he was not sufficiently

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ciently impowered to finish that Business, declined it, and desired another Meeting this Spring, when he engaged to bring with him those *Indians* to whom the said Lands belonged, at which Time this Complaint might be fully heard, and amicably adjusted.

*Gave a Belt of nine Rows.*

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Having the greatest Confidence in the Friendship and Justice of our Brethren the *Six Nations*, I immediately acquainted Sir *William Johnson* with these Proceedings, and requested that he would be pleased to send some of the wise Men of those Nations to be present and assist at the proposed Meeting. I expected *Teedyuscung* would have been here before this Time, and am greatly concerned at his Stay.

It would afford me great Satisfaction, if it had suited your Conveniency to wait his Arrival; but as you have informed me your Business will not admit of being longer absent from your Country, if you can now think of any Measure that may be likely to promote the good Work in which we are engaged, and establish a firm and lasting Friendship between us and your Nephews, you shall find me sincerely disposed to join with you in doing every Thing in my Power conducive to so desirable an End. In Confirmation whereof, I give you this Belt of thirteen Rows.

*Gave the Belt.*

*At a MEETING in the Court-House, Friday, May 13, 1757, P. M.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *WILLIAM DENNY*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

The Council.

The Committee of the Assembly.

The Magistrates of the Borough, and a great Number of other Gentlemen.

The same *Indians*.

*Thomas King*, an *Oneido* Sachem, }  
*Little Abraham*, a *Mohawk* Sachem, } Speakers for the *Indians*.

*William Prentup*, Interpreter for the Crown.

*Conrad Weiser*, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.

*Little Abraham* opened the Meeting, addressing himself to the Governor as follows.

Brother,

AFTER you had done speaking to us Yesterday, you left the Appointing the Time for the next Meeting to us. We are now met in Council, and I desire you to listen to what we are going to say.

*Thomas King* then got up, and repeated over the two first Speeches made to them by the Governor Yesterday, and returned his Honour Thanks, for acquainting them with the particular Circumstances that happened during the Course of the Conference at *Easton* last Fall, between his Honour and the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*; and expressed the great Satisfaction it gave them to hear that their Brother *Onas* was so fortunate as to find out the true Causes from whence the Difference arose between their Brethren the *English*, and their Nephews the *Delawares*, and their Brothers the *Shawanese*, for that they had taken a great Deal of Pains to find it out without Success.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Thomas* then addressed himself to the Governor, and said, he hoped, that if they should make any Blunders, or have forgot any Part of the Speech, he would excuse them, as they could not write; therefore were obliged to keep every Thing in their Memory.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Little Abraham* then desired the Governor to give Attention, as they were going to return an Answer to his Honour's last Speech; and after he had repeated over the last Speech delivered them by the Governor Yesterday, he spoke as follows.

Brother,

You desired our Advice in Regard to the Differences that arose between you and our Nephews the *Delawares*, and Brothers the *Shawanese*; and you desired us to give you our Opinion

1757. nion which would be the best Method now to pursue to bring about an Accommodation: We have considered what you required of us. Brothers, We are disappointed, by the Heads of our Relations not coming to this Meeting; it was on their Account that we met our Brothers at this Time.---If they had come here at this Time, we should have sat still, and heard the Complaints on each Side, then we should have been the better able to judge who was in the Fault, and would have given our Opinion freely: However, as Things now stand, we must inform you, our Brothers, That in the Time of our Great-Grand-Fathers, and when the *Six Nations* first united, it was agreed that the *Seneca* Country should be the Door to the *Six Nations*, into which all Messengers should pass in Time of War, and there deliver their Messages, and the *Senecas*, our Brothers, were to forward the Messages to all the *United Nations*.

But in the Differences subsisting at present between you and our Nephews and Brothers, we have heard nothing from that Quarter, though we are sensible that Messengers arrived there upon this Affair. And as we, the *Mohawks*, are a Door to the Eastward of the *Six Nation* Country, established at the same time with that to the Westward, finding that they neglected their Offices, we took the Affair in Hand, and sent Messengers to *Ostjangingo*, and there a Council was held, and the Deputies we sent charged them to get sober, as we looked upon their Actions as the Actions of drunken Men: This was the Substance of the Speeches sent to them.---They returned for answer, That they looked upon themselves as Men, and would acknowledge no Superiority that any other Nation had over them.---We are Men, and are determined not to be ruled any longer by you as Women; and we are determined to cut off all the *English*, except those that may make their Escape from us in Ships; so say no more to us on that Head, lest we cut off your private Parts, and make Women of you, as you have done of us. In the mean time, though they did not any longer acknowledge the *Six Nations* as their Uncles, yet they would listen to what *Anugh Kary Tany Tionen Hokoroway* should say to them.---Him only they acknowledged for their Uncle.---Notwithstanding this rash Speech, they afterwards, at the Instance of Sir *William Johnson*, agreed to a Cessation of Arms, to come to an Interview with him and their Brother *Onas*.

Now, Brother, our Advice is to you, that you send proper Messengers immediately to the *Senecas*, to invite them, with our Nephews the *Delawares*, and Brothers the *Shawanese*, to a Meeting with you here; and when they come, be very careful in your Proceedings with them, and do not be rash, and it will be in your Power to settle all the Differences subsisting between you and them: And we assure you, Brethren, by this Belt of Wampum, that we will continue our good Offices till this Affair is brought to a happy Conclusion.

Gave a Belt, marked G. R.

At a MEETING at the Court-House, Monday, May 16, 1757, A. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *WILLIAM DENNY*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

The Honourable Colonel *JOHN STANWIX*.

The Council.

The Committee of Assembly.

The Magistrates of the Borough, with a great Number of other Gentlemen.

The same *Indians*.

*William Prentup*, Interpreter for the Crown.

*Conrad Weiser*, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.

*Little Abraham*, a *Mohawk* Sachem, } Speakers for the *Indians*.  
*Thomas King*, an *Oneida* Sachem, }

The Governor spoke as follows.

Brethren of the *United Nations*,

I HAVE duly considered what you were so kind to say to me the other Day, in Answer to my Speech to you; and I return you my hearty Thanks for your Information and Advice as to what you judge proper to be done for the Restoration of Peace between us, your Cousins the *Delawares*, and Brethren the *Shawanese*.

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We look upon your informing us of that close Connection, at present subsisting between your Cousins and the *Seneca* Nations, of which we were till now ignorant, as the greatest Mark of your Regard and Esteem for us.—Brothers, Your Advice is good and wholesome, and I shall, in Pursuance of it, send an Invitation to *Teedyuscung* to come down, and leave it entirely to his Choice to bring with him such and so many of his Uncles, and others his Friends, as he thinks proper, and will then cautiously and carefully pursue your Advice in treating with them. 1757.

In the mean time, if, on your Return, you should meet with *Teedyuscung*, I desire you will let him know what has been done between us at this Meeting, and advise him of the Continuance of the good Disposition of the People of this Province towards him and his People; and that we are ready to fulfil the Engagements we entered into with him at *Easton*, and shall be glad to see him and his Friends, as soon as they can conveniently come. Gave a Belt.

*Little Abraham* then stood up, with the Belt delivered them by the Governor in his Hand, and repeated over the Speech made them on it; then addressing himself to the Governor, he spoke as follows.

*Brother Onas,*

We return you Thanks for accepting of our Advice; and we make no Doubt, if you pursue the Measures we have recommended, but that your Endeavours will be crowned with Success.—We have come a great Journey, in order to see the Differences subsisting between you and our Cousins amicably settled, and could wish they had met here at this Time. On our Return, we assure you we will recommend it to our Nephews and Brothers, in the strongest Manner we can, to come down and meet you, in order to have all Differences subsisting between you settled in an amicable Manner.

*Gave a Belt.*

*At the Court-House in Lancaster, Tuesday, May 17, 1757.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *WILLIAM DENNY*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

The Honourable Colonel *JOHN STANWIX*.

The Council.

The Committee of the Assembly.

The Magistrates of the Borough, with a great Number of other Gentlemen.

The same *Indians*.

*William Prentiss*, Interpreter for the Crown.

*Conrad Weiser*, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.

*Little Abraham*, a *Mohawk* Sachem, } Speakers for the *Indians*.  
*Thomas King*, an *Oneida* Sachem, }

*After the Minutes of the Treaty were read, and the Indians acquainted by the Interpreter with what had been doing, the Governor spoke as follows.*

*Brethren of the Six United Nations,*

I DESIRE to be informed if you have any Complaints against this Province, with Regard to Purchases of Land, or for any other Cause whatsoever: In Expectation that you would freely open your Hearts to me on these Heads, I give you this Belt.

*Gave a Belt.*

I then acquainted the *Indians* by the Interpreter, that I was going to speak to them in Behalf of the Honourable Sir *William Johnson*, Baronet, His Majesty's sole Agent and Superintendent of the Affairs of the *Six Nations*, and their Allies and Dependents, and desired them to consider my Words as if spoken by himself.

*Sachems and Warriors of the Six United Nations, our Friends and Brethren,*

When *Teedyuscung*, at the Treaty held at *Easton*, complained that the *Indians* had been defrauded of some of their Lands, this Government agreed to meet him upon his own Appointment this Spring; to which Meeting you were invited, that you might see and hear every

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Thing to be then transacted with your Nephews the *Delawares*, and Brothers the *Shawanese*. You are now here on that Invitation, and are Witnesses how ready this Government is to redress any Injuries or Injustice done to the *Indians* whenever they can make that appear, and that they, your Brethren of *Pennsylvania*, are now attending for that Purpose, and you must be convinced, from their Conduct towards you, that they are not come empty handed.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brethren,*

His Majesty's Subjects that have settled this and the neighbouring Provinces by Law, are not allowed to buy any of your Lands, and accordingly they have never done it; and if those who only have a Right from the Crown to purchase your Lands have done you any Injustice, or injured the *Indians* on this Account, the Governor of this Province, with a Number of the chief Men of this Government, are here, and appear hearty and willing to make Satisfaction; but if they, or the People of these Provinces, should refuse doing you Justice, when you make it appear that you are injured, I will then carefully represent your Case to the King of *England*, my Master, and your Father, in order to procure you ample and immediate Satisfaction.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brethren,*

As Deputies from most of the Tribes of the *Six Nations* are now here, who may not be present when *Teedyuscung* comes down, and as I am ordered and required by the Honourable Sir *William Johnson*, Baronet, His Majesty's chief Agent and Superintendent of the Affairs of the *Six Nations*, their Allies and Dependents, to enquire into and hear the Complaints made by the *Indians*, and, if justly grounded, to use my utmost Endeavours to get them redressed, I do insist upon it, that you open your Hearts to me without Reserve, and inform me of every Thing you know concerning Frauds complained of by *Teedyuscung*, or any other Injuries or Injustice done to you, or any of the Tribes of the *Six Nations*, or other *Indians* in Alliance with His Majesty King *GEORGE*, in this or the neighbouring Colonies, that I may be thereby enabled to represent the true State of your Grievances to His Majesty.---Brethren, after this candid Conduct towards you, and my thus pressing you to open your Minds to me, I do expect that you will hide nothing from me, but speak from the Bottom of your Hearts: And I expect that you will recommend it to your Nephews the *Delawares*, and Brothers the *Shawanese*, to come down and give your Brother *Onas* a Meeting, to make their Complaints appear, and have them adjusted, else I shall take it for granted that they have no just Cause of Complaint: To enforce what I have said, I give you this Belt of Wampum.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brethren of the United Nations,*

You remember that your Nephews the *Delawares*, and Brothers the *Shawanese*, in a Council with you at *Otsaningo*, promised to lay down their Hatchet, and in a subsequent Meeting with Sir *William Johnson*, at his House, in *July* last, ratified and confirmed it in the most solemn Manner in your Presence; then promising to deliver up all the *English* Prisoners that were by any Means brought to their Country, or in their Possession; and I desire that on your Return to your Country, you will remind your Nephews and Brothers of their Promises to Sir *William Johnson*, and recommend it strongly to them to bring down what *English* Prisoners they have amongst them, and deliver them up, as that is the only Proof they can give us of their Sincerity and good Disposition towards us.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Sachems and Warriors of the United Nations,*

In that Meeting with your Brother *Warraigbeyagey*, your Nephews the *Delawares*, and Brothers the *Shawanese*, renewed and brightened the Chain of Friendship between them and us, and promised to fix their Eyes on you their Uncles, and regulate their Conduct by yours; and at the same time declared, in a publick Manner, by dancing, and singing the War Song, that they would turn the Edge of their Hatchet, in Conjunction with you their Uncles the *Six Nations*, against the *French*, the treacherous and faithless Invaders of the Property of Mankind. And I must now desire that you will insist upon their being ready, when called upon, to join His Majesty's Troops, in Conjunction with you our Friends and Allies, against our common Enemy.---That this Speech may have its full Force upon your Minds, I present you with this Belt of Wampum.

*Gave a War Belt.*

*Little Abraham then spoke as follows.*

*Brothers,*

The Speeches you have just made are of great Consequence both to you and us.-----We shall duly consider them, and, as soon as possibly we can, we will return you an Answer.

*May 18, 1757.* This Day four Persons that were killed on the Frontiers, in the Settlement of *Sweetara*, by the Enemy *Indians*, were brought to this Town.---In the Afternoon the chief *Sachems*, with a Number of their Warriors, called a Meeting in the *Indian* Camp, and spoke to us as follows.

*Brethren,*



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*Brethren,*

We have called this Meeting with Tears in our Eyes, on Account of seeing so many of our Brethren killed by the evil Spirit ; and we take this Opportunity, as we have a good deal of Business yet to do, to wipe the Tears from your Eyes, so that To-morrow, when we meet in Council, we may see each other with the same Good-will we have hitherto done.

*Gave a String.*

*Brethren,*

Now we have wiped the Tears from your Eyes, agreeable to the antient Custom of our Forefathers, we clean the Blood off your Council Seats, that you may sit with Comfort, and hear what we have to say to you. No Doubt but the *French King*, who takes delight in Mischief, has taken this Opportunity to send his Children down to commit these Murders, with Expectation of breeding a Difference between you our Brethren and us ; but we desire you will hold fast by the Chain of Friendship subsisting between us, and disappoint him in his Designs.

*Gave a Belt.*

*At a MEETING in the Court-House in Lancaster, Thursday, May 19,*  
1757, P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *WILLIAM DENNY*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

The Honourable Colonel *JOHN STANWIX*.

The Council.

The Committee of the Assembly.

The Magistrates of the Borough, with a great Number of other Gentlemen.

The same *Indians*:

*William Prentiss*, Interpreter for the Crown.

*Conrad Weiser*, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.

*Little Abraham*, a *Mohawk* Sachem, } Speakers for the *Indians*.  
*Thomas King*, an *Oneida* Sachem, }

After reading over the Condolance Speeches made Yesterday by the *Indians*, on Account of our People that were killed by the Enemy, *Little Abraham*, addressing himself to the Honourable Sir *William Johnson*, Baronet, and the Governor, spoke as follows.

*Brethren,*

**E**ACH of you made us a Speech Yesterday on the same Subject ; both which Speeches I now propose to answer at once, and then spoke as follows.

*Brothers,*

Some Years ago, in the *Jerseys*, one of the Head Men of the *Delawares* had been out a Hunting.---On his Return, he called to see a Gentleman, a great Friend of his, one of your People, who he found in his Field : When the Gentleman saw him he came to meet him. It was rainy Weather, and the *Delaware* Chief had his Gun under his Arm.---They met at a Fence, and as they reached out their Hands to each other, the *Delaware's* Gun went off by Accident, and shot him dead. He was very much grieved at the Accident, and went to the House, and told the Gentleman's Wife what had happened, and said he was willing to die, and did not choose to live after his Friend. She immediately sent for a Number of the Inhabitants.---When they were gathered, some said it was an Accident, and could not be helped ; but the greatest Number were for hanging him, and he was taken by the Sheriff, and carried to *Amboy*, where he was tried, and hanged.---There was another Misfortune that happened.---A Party of *Savannahs*, who were going to War against their Enemies, in their Way through *Carolina*, called at a House, not suspecting any Harm, as they were amongst their Friends, a Number of the Inhabitants rose and took them Prisoners, on Account of some Mischief that was done there about that Time, suspecting them to be the People that had done the Mischief, and carried them to *Charles-Town*, and put them in Prison, where the chief Man, called *The Pride*, died.---The Relations of these People were much exasperated against you our Brethren, the *English*, on Account of the ill Treatment you gave their Friends, and have been continually spurring up their Nations to take Revenge.---Brothers, you desired us to open our Hearts, and inform you of every Thing we knew that might give

Rise



1757.

Rise to the Quarrel between you and our Nephews and Brothers.---We must now inform you, that in former Times our Forefathers conquered the *Delawares*, and put Petticoats on them.---A long Time after that they lived among you our Brothers, but upon some Difference between you and them, we thought proper to remove them, giving them Lands to plant and hunt on at *Wyoming* and *Juniata*, on *Sasquehannab*.-----But you, covetous of Land, made Plantations there, and spoiled their hunting Grounds; they then complained to us, and we looked over those Lands, and found their Complaints to be true. At this Time they carried on a Correspondence with the *French*, by which Means the *French* became acquainted with all the Causes of Complaint they had against you; and as your People were daily encroaching their Settlements, by this Means you drove them back into the Arms of the *French*, and they took the Advantage of spiriting them up against you, by telling them; "Children, you see, and we have often told you, how the *English*, your Brethren, would serve you; they plant all the Country, and drive you back; so that in a little Time you will have no Land: It is not so with us; though we build Trading-Houses on your Land, we do not plant it; we have our Provisions from over the great Water."---We have opened our Hearts, and told you what Complaints we have heard that they had against you; and our Advice to you is, that you send for the *Senecas* and them; treat them kindly, and rather give them some Part of their Fields back again than differ with them.---It is in your Power to settle all the Differences with them if you please.

*Gave two Belts, one for Sir William Johnson, and one for the Governor.*

*Little Abraham spoke again as follows.*

*Brothers,*

As to what passed between you and *Teedyuscung* last Fall, respecting the Purchase of Lands, we know nothing of;---they are not here, and if we enquire, we can only hear what you say on that Head.---We should have been glad our Nephews the *Delawares*, and Brothers the *Shawanese*, had been here at this Time, that we might have heard the Complaints on both Sides; then we should have been able to judge who was in the Fault, and we are determined to see Justice done to the Party aggrieved.---As they are not here, we can say nothing about it; but you yourselves, between whom the Business was transacted, must be the best Judges.

*Gave a String.*

*Brothers,*

You acquaint us there are certain Persons empowered by the King to purchase Lands here from the *Indians*:---We are unacquainted with that; neither do we know how our Father, the King of *England*, has divided his Provinces.---You say, if you have done the *Indians* any Injustice, you are willing to make them Satisfaction. We are glad to hear it; and as you have Writings to refresh your Memories about every Transaction that has happened between you and our Nephews and Brothers, the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*, we recommend it heartily to you to do Justice.---We are much concerned to see how you are used by them and the *French*, every Day having your People killed, and you sitting with your Heads between your Legs, and receiving the Blow, without repenting it, as if you could not, or would not, fight to defend yourselves.

*Brother Onas,*

We desire that you may not think of great Expeditions far off.---Use your best Endeavours to defend your Frontiers, and protect the Lives of your People.---It is better for you to give up some Points to them, than to contend, provided they should be in the Wrong, and settle all Differences subsisting between you as soon as possible.

*Gave a Belt,*

He added, Brother *Onas*, take Pattern by Sir *William Johnson*; he always keeps large Parties patrolling across the Frontiers where he lives, and you do not hear of any Murders being committed there.---That is the Way to defend yourselves.---The Enemy is afraid to enter the Settlement there; and if you pursue the same Measures, they will be afraid to come into your Settlements.

*Thomas King then spoke as follows.*

*Brethren,*

We have considered what you said to us, about our requesting the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* to bring down and deliver up all the *English* Prisoners they have, agreeable to their Promises to Sir *William Johnson*.---We will do every Thing in our Power that may induce them to do it; but perhaps it will not be in our Power to prevail on them to give them up.---Once more we desire that you would send for the *Senecas* and them, and endeavour to settle all those Differences.---It is in your Power to do it. When it is done, you will certainly see some of your own Flesh and Blood again.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brethren,*

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*Brethren,*

It is true, we were present when the *Delawares* and *Shawaneſe* brightened the Chain of Friendship with Sir *William Johnson*, and promiſed to turn the Edge of their Hatchet againſt the *French*.—But you muſt know that laſt Fall, tho' they went out to War with us, they always turned back, and did not perform what they had promiſed; ſo that we cannot account for what they will do now.—But for our Parts, the *Six Nations*, we have been engaged in the War with you, and are always ready, when we ſee an *Engliſh* Flag, to join our Brothers, and to go with them, and ſhare the ſame Fate.

1757.

*Gave a Belt.*

At a MEETING in the Court-Houſe, at Lancaſter, Friday, May 20,  
1757, P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *WILLIAM DENNY*, Eſq; Lieutenant-Governor.The Honourable Colonel *JOHN STANWIX*.

The Council.

The Committee of the Aſſembly.

The Magiſtrates of the Borough, with a great Number of other Gentlemen.

The ſame *Indians*.*William Prentup*, Interpreter for the Crown.*Conrad Weiſer*, Eſq; Interpreter for the Province.

*Little Abraham*, a *Mohawk* Sachem, } Speakers for the *Indians*.  
*Thomas King*, an *Oneida* Sachem, }

After reading over the Speeches made the Day before, and the Interpreter acquainting the *Indians* with what had been doing, the Governor ſpoke as follows.

*Brethren of the Six United Nations,*

I RETURN you my hearty Thanks for the kind and open Manner in which you have informed us of the Cauſes from whence the Diſſatisfaction of our Brethren the *Delawares* and *Shawaneſe* firſt aroſe; but, as you have obſerved, they are not preſent, it muſt be deferred until we have the Pleaſure of ſeeing them.—I ſhall only aſſure you that I think your Advice good, and ſhall, with great Satisfaction, conform to it, by ſending for the People you have ſo earneſtly recommended to be ſent for.—I think with you, that our Frontiers ſhould be carefully and ſtrongly guarded; and it ſhall be my particular Care to endeavour to have this done, in which I ſhall take kind any Aſſiſtance you will give me.

*Gave a Belt.**Brethren,*

Soon after the preſent Troubles firſt broke out between us and the *French*, ſome of the *Six Nation Indians* requeſted of this Government to build a ſtrong Houſe at *Shamokin*, and a Store-houſe, with *Indian* Goods, and to give an Invitation to *Indians*, as well of the *United Nations* as *Delawares*, to come and live there; I muſt now inform you, that in Compliance with their Requeſt this Government has built a ſtrong Houſe, where Goods will ſoon be ſent, and ſold as cheap as any where on this Continent.—To this Place I have appointed Mr. *Thomas McKee* to conduct as many of you as ſhall chuſe to return that Way, and ſhall leave it to you to ſettle as many Families as ſhall incline to live there; promiſing you, that Care ſhall be taken by this Government, that as many as ſtay ſhall be furniſhed with ſuch Neceſſaries as they may want till they can ſupport themſelves.

*Gave a Belt.**Brethren,*

I ſhall immediately report the whole that has paſſed at theſe Conferences to Sir *William Johnson*, who is glad of all Occaſions to ſhew his Attachment to our Friends the *Indians*, and promote His Maſteſty's Service.—It is that Gentleman's peculiar Province to treat and finiſh all Treaties with the *Indians*.-----Let me add, my Brethren of the *United Nations*, that you ſhall find no Deceit in me, and I ſhall be happy if my Conduct deſerves your Eſteem and Approbation.

*Gave a Belt.*

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*Brethren.*

1757.

*Brethren,*

I have ordered the Presents provided by the good People of this Province to be carried to the *Indian* Camp early in the Morning; and inform you, that a Part of these Presents is given by those who are the Descendants of the Inhabitants that first came over to this Country with your old Friend *William Penn*, as a particular Testimony of their Regard and Affection for the *Indians*.

*I then spoke in Behalf of Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON.*

*Sachems and Warriors of the United Nations,*

You see how the *French*, the Enemies of Mankind, set on their Children to murder, in a barbarous Manner, your Brethren that are settled on the Frontiers of this and the neighbouring Provinces.—Brethren, I must now desire you, in the Name of the Great King of *England*, your Father, and my Master, that on your Return to your own Country, you will be active, and not suffer any of the *French*, or their Children, to pass over your Lands to murder your Brethren; and that you will let *Teedyuscung* and his People know, I expect he will do the same.—Tell them it is not, nor will not be, their Interest to carry on the War against their Brethren the *English*.—Their Father, the *French* King, makes Fools of them, and will, in the End, make Slaves of them: But you, Brethren, are convinced, that the *English* have always treated you as their Brethren, and I expect a due Regard and Performance to this Request on your Side.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Little Abraham made the following Answer to the Governor.*

*Brother Onas,*

We return you our hearty Thanks for accepting of our Advice in sending for the *Delawares*, *Shawanese* and *Senecas*, and we hope, when you meet them, you will be able to settle all Differences to your Satisfaction.

*Brother Onas,*

We likewise return you our hearty Thanks for your kind Invitation to us to settle at *Genesee*, and your Promise to supply those that will stay, or come and settle there, with Provisions and Goods.—We accept of the Invitation, and will take it into Consideration as we go Home, how many of us will stay there, or come back from our Towns to settle there; and we return you Thanks for appointing our Brother *Thomas M'Kee* to take Care of us, as he is a Person very agreeable to us.

*He spoke again as follows.*

*Brother Warraighiyagey,*

We have all given Attention to what you have said to us by *Anaquarunda*; and you may depend upon our being on the Active, and doing every Thing in our Power to prevent the *French* or their Children coming to murder our Brethren; and we will recommend it strongly to *Teedyuscung*, and his People, to do the same.—Brother, we must desire you will assist our Brother *Onas* in settling the Differences between him and our Nephews and Brothers, the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*, which will be the only Method to prevent these cruel Murders daily committed on our Brethren.

May the 21st. The Presents were delivered to the *Indians* in their own Camp; after which I condoled with them on account of some of their People who died of the Small-pox since they came here, and gave them a Piece of Stroud to cover the Graves of the Deceased, agreeable to the antient Custom of the *Six Nations*.

The several Chiefs returned their hearty Thanks for our condoling with them, and covering the Graves of their deceased Friends, agreeable to the antient Custom used by their Forefathers, and expressed great Satisfaction with the Treatment they met with in this Government, and returned Thanks for the Presents they had received.

May 22. I called a Meeting of the Chiefs of the several Tribes, and I repeated over to them the Messages going to be sent to *Teedyuscung* by this Government, agreeable to their Request; and at the same time I acquainted them, that there was a small Present provided by this Government for their Brethren the *Cherokees*, who had come into this Government, and was now waiting in Expectation of its being sent them, agreeable to their Request.—I then desired them to give their Opinion about the Message to be sent to *Teedyuscung*, and whether it was agreeable to them.

*To which they made me the following Answer.*

*Brother,*

We have considered every Part of your Message to *Teedyuscung*, and we approve much of it, and think it will be acceptable to our Nephews and Brothers; and we likewise approve of our

our Brother *Onas's* sending a Present to our Brethren the *Cherokees*.—You, our Brethren the *Engliſh*, took ſome Pains to bring about a Peace between them and us, and we embrace this Opportunity of brightening the Chain of Friendſhip between us in your Prefence.—We have appointed three Men to go with you to ſee them, and hope you will provide for them on the Road. 1757.

*Gave a String.*

*The Speech ſent by the Governor to Teedyuſcung.*

*Brother Teedyuſcung,*

**A**T the Treaty held at  *Eaſton* laſt Fall, you complained unto me that the *Indians* had been defrauded of their Lands.—This you told me was one of the Cauſes that had alienated the Minds of our Brethren, the *Delawares* and *Shawangſe*, from us your Brethren; upon which I told you, if you could make it appear that you had received any Injuſtice or Injuries from this Province, I was ready to hear it, and promiſed to make you Satisfaction.

*Brother,*

You then informed me, that the People who claimed thoſe Lands, as they did not expect that Affair would come under Conſideration at that Treaty, were not preſent, and had not impowered you to tranſact that Buſineſs for them, and therefore you could not finiſh it at that Time, but that you would come down again in the Spring, and would bring with you as many of thoſe *Indians* as could be got together, in order to a full Settlement of all Differences between us, that a firm and laſting Peace might be eſtabliſhed for ever.

*Brother,*

As you had thus promiſed to be down in the Spring, we were pleaſed to find a conſiderable Number of your Uncles, the *Six Nations*, were come amongſt us, to be preſent and hear all your Complaints.—They ſtaid a conſiderable Time for that Purpoſe, in Expectation of ſeeing you here; but as ſome Accident may have prevented your coming, your Uncles grew very uneaſy at being detained here ſo long, and deſired me to meet them at *Lancaſter*, whither I went, and opened my Heart to them, giving them a full Account of all that paſſed between us at *Eaſton*, promiſing your Uncles, that I would take Care to ſee you redreſſed, either on account of your Lands, or any other Injuries you may have received from your Brethren of this Province.

*Brother,*

Your Uncles, the *Six Nations*, at this Treaty, ſhewed a great deal of Kindneſs for you, and would have been extremely pleaſed to have ſeen you here, being reſolved to ſee Juſtice done to you; but as you were not come in, they adviſed us to treat you very tenderly, and to adviſe you to bring with you ſome of your Uncles, the *Senecas*, that we might open our Hearts to one another freely, by which Means all Cauſes of Jealouſies, or Miſunderſtandings between us, might be ſettled and taken away for ever, and that they would join their beſt Endeavours to bring about a firm and laſting Peace between you and your Brethren.

*Brother,*

I gave your Uncles my hearty Thanks for their good Advice; and told them, that as I highly approved it, as good and ſound Advice, I would act as they had ſo earneſtly deſired me to do, being ſincerely diſpoſed to hear all your Complaints, and to do you Juſtice, as I had formerly promiſed you at *Eaſton*.

*Brother,*

As I have now informed you of the earneſt Requeit of your Uncles, the *Six Nations*, and of my own Opinion, which is the ſame with theirs, I do by this Belt of Wampum invite you to come down as ſoon as it will ſuit your Convenience, and leave it to you to bring with you your Uncles, the *Senecas*, or ſuch of them as will be moſt agreeable to you, to open your Hearts to us your Brethren; and if it ſhall appear that you have been defrauded of your Lands, or received any other Injuries from this Province I do promiſe you ſhall receive Satisfaction.

*Brother,*

By ſome late Letters received from your Brother *Onas*, in *England*, in Anſwer to my Representation of the late Conferences, and your Complaints at *Eaſton*, he acquaints me he is willing to have the Injuries complained of fully heard and ſettled as ſoon as poſſible.—If you rather chuſe Sir *William Johnson* ſhould determine theſe unhappy Differences, I moſt warmly recommend it to you to apply to that Gentleman, as he has the Honour to be appointed ſole Agent and Superintendent of *Indian Affairs* in the Northern Diſtrict.

*Gave a Belt.*

After

1757. After this Speech was delivered to the Messengers, the Sachems of the several Tribes made the following Speech.

*Brother,*

As we have finished the Business for this Time, and we design to part To-morrow, you must be sensible that we have a long Journey, and a hilly Country to pass over, and several of our old Men very weak, we hope that you will not send us from your Frontiers without a Walking-stick\*.—In answer, I acquainted them, that the good People of this Province had provided some Cags for them on the Frontiers, which would be given them by the Persons employed to conduct them through the Settlements.

*A true Copy, taken by*

CHARLES MOORE, Clerk of Assembly.

\* Meaning a Cag of Run.

*The REPORT of CONRAD WEISER, the Indian Interpreter, of his Journey to Shamokin on the Affairs of Virginia and Maryland; his Mediation for accommodating the Differences between the Indians of the Six Nations and the said Provinces, delivered to the Governor in Council the 21st Day of April, 1743.*

THE Ninth of April, 1743, I arrived at *Shamokin*, by Order of the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, to acquaint the neighbouring *Indians*, and those on *Wyoming*, that the Governor of *Virginia* was well pleased with his Mediation, and was willing to come to an Agreement with the *Six Nations* about the Land his People were settled upon, if it was that they contended for, and to make up the Matter of the late unhappy Skirmish in an amicable Way. The same Day *Shickallemo*, his Son, and *Suchfedewa*, who were sent to the *Six Nations*, returned from *Onondago*; and the next Day they, in open Council, delivered the following Message, directing their Speech, in Behalf of the *Six Nations*, to the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, according to what was agreed upon by the Council of the said *Indians* in *Onondago*.

*Brother Onas,*

At this critical Time we received a kind Message from you, the Result of the good Friendship subsisting between you and us. For such Purposes a Road was cleared from our Country to yours, in which, at any Time, *Conrad Weiser* and *Shickallemo* may travel; we open our Doors with Cheerfulness to your Messengers, and are glad to hear from you.

*He laid down two Strings of Wampum.*

*Brother Onas,*

We thank you for the Concern you shew for the Misfortune that befel our Warriors in *Virginia*. We take it as a particular Mark of Friendship. We assure you, that notwithstanding the unjust Treatment our Warriors met with in *Virginia*, we did not allow our Heads to be giddy, nor to resent it as it deserved, which might have occasioned a Violation of Treaties, and the Destruction of many.

*He laid down four Strings of Wampum.*

*Brother Onas,*

We thank you very kindly for the early Steps you made in calling your old and wise Men together to consult with them. It was a very prudent and good Advice they gave you to become Mediator betwixt us your Brethren, and the *Virginians* your Neighbours. We thank them for such good Advice: And we assure you, we will accordingly come to an amicable Accommodation with the Governor of *Virginia*, if he will come to reasonable Terms. And if a War should break out betwixt us and him, you will be convinced of his being the Author of it: For when in former Times we received a deadly Blow, we never returned it, if it was ever so dangerous; we always judged it to be given by disorderly People, and we used always peaceable Means to make it up; but when we received the second Blow, we judged that War was intended against us, and then we rose and knocked down our Enemies with one Blow, and we are still able to do the same, but we leave now our Case to you. We have ordered our Warriors, with the strongest Words, to sit down, and not revenge themselves: Therefore, *Brother Onas*, go on with Courage in your Mediation; we assure you we will not violate or do any Thing contrary to your Mediation. We desire you, and the old and



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and wife Men of *Pennsylvania*, not to believe any Thing to the contrary, let it come from whom it will, till you receive Messages from us : We will do the same on our Side. In 1757 Confirmation of what we say, we lay down this Belt of Wampum before you.

*Then the Speech was directed to the Governor of Maryland.*

*Brother, the Governor of Maryland,*

You have invited us to come to your Town; and you offered to treat with us concerning the Messages we sent to you by our Brother the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, and to establish good Friendship with us: We are very glad you did so; and we thank you for your kind Invitation.

*Brother,*

We have a great deal of Business and Things of Moment under our Deliberation, and it will take us the best of the Day §, before we can finish them : We therefore desire you will set your Heart at Ease, and think on nothing but what is good. We will come and treat with you at *Canataquanny*, on *Sasquehannab*, To-morrow Morning†, since you live so near the Sea, and at such a great Distance from us. We accept kindly of your Invitation; our Brother, the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, recommended your Message to us, which he would not have done, if he had not been satisfied your Intention was good : We therefore promise you, by these Strings of Wampum, to come and treat with you at the afore said Place.

*The Speaker laid down four Strings of Wampum.*

*Then the Speaker directed his Speech to the Governor of Pennsylvania again, and said;*

*Brother Onas,*

The Dutchman on *Scoboonyady* (*Juniata*) claims a Right to the Land, merely because he gave a Little Victuals to our Warriors, who stand very often in Need of it. This String of Wampum serves (the Speaker then took two Strings of Wampum in his Hands) to take the Dutchman by the Arm, and throw him over the big Mountains within your Borders. WE HAVE GIVEN THE RIVER SCOBOONYADY (*JUNIATA*) FOR A HUNTING-PLACE TO OUR COUSINS THE DELAWARE INDIANS, AND OUR BRETHREN THE SHAWANESE; and we ourselves hunt there sometimes. We therefore desire you will immediately, by Force, remove all those that live on the said River of *Scoboonyady*.

*Here he laid down two Strings of Wampum.*

*Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania,*

I live upon this River of *Ohio* harmless like a little Child : I can do nothing; I am but weak; and I do not so much as intend Mischief. I have nothing to say, and do therefore send these Strings of Wampum to *Catchcawatsiky*, the Chief Man, again; he will answer your Message, as he is the older, and greater, Man.

*Then Sachfidora took up the four Strings of Wampum, and spoke in Behalf of Catchcawatsiky, as follows.*

*Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania,*

The Place where I live, and the neighbouring Country, has been overshadowed of late by a very dark Cloud. I looked with a pitiful Eye upon the poor Women and Children, and then looked upon the Ground all along for Sorrow, in a miserable Condition, because of the poor Women and Children. In all that dark Time, a Message from you found the Way to *Shamokin*; and when it was delivered to us, the dark Cloud was dispersed, and the Sun immediately began to shine; and I could see at a great Distance, and saw your Good-will and kind Love to the *Indians* and the white People : I thank you, therefore, Brother *Onas*, for your kind Message; I am now able to comfort the poor Women and Children.

*Here the Speaker laid down four Strings of Wampum.*

*Then the Speaker took up two Strings of Wampum, and directed his Discourse to the Delaware Indians, the Shawanese, and to Onas.*

*Cousins the Delawares,*

We are informed that you can talk a little *English*, by which you have heard many Things amongst the white People; and you frequently bring Lies amongst the *Indians*; and you have very little Knowledge and Regard for Treaties of Friendship; you give your Tongue too much Liberty. This String of Wampum serves to tie your Tongue, and to forewarn you from Lies.

*Brethren, the Shawanese;*

You believe too many Lies, and are too forward in Action. You shall not pretend to revenge our People that have been killed in *Virginia* : We are the Chief of all the *Indians*; let your



1757. your Ears and Eyes be open towards us ; and order your Warriors to stay at Home as we did ours.

Brother Onas,

Your Back Inhabitants are People given to Lies, and raising of false Stories ; stop up their Mouths ; you can do it with one Word ; let no false Stories be told ; it is dangerous to the Chain of Friendship.

*The Strings of Wampum were delivered to the Delawares.*

After the Speaker had finished, an handsome *Indian* Dinner was given to all that were present by *Shickallemo's* People.

After Dinner I delivered my Message to them, and presented the Company with two Rolls of Tobacco, about three Pound each Roll, to smoko whilst they were in Company together, to talk about the good News they had heard that Day, according to the Custom of the *Indians*.

*Shickallemo* told me, by Way of Discourse, that they (the Council of *Onondago*) had sent Strings of Wampum by him to all the *Indians* upon the River *Sasquehannah*, to tell them to use their Endeavours to stop all their Warriors, and not permit them to go to fight with the People of *Virginia* ; and to acquaint them of what was agreed upon in *Onondago*, which was accepted of in every Town.—I enquired what Business of Moment the *Six Nations* had under Deliberation that prevented their coming down to treat with the Governor of *Maryland*. *Shickallemo* asked whether I could not guess at it. I told him no. Then he said, How should they come down with a Hatchet struck in their Head? The Governor of *Virginia* must wash off the Blood first, and take the Hatchet out of their Head, and dress the Wound (according to Custom, he that struck first must do it) and the Council of the *Six Nations* will speak to him, and be reconciled to him, and bury that Affair in the Ground, that it never may be seen nor heard of any more so long as the World stands.—But if the *Virginians* would not come to do that, he (*Shickallemo*) believed there would be a War ; but I might assure the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, the Warriors would not come then within the inhabited Part of *Pennsylvania*, but direct their Course directly to *Virginia*, over the *Big Island*, in the North-West Branch of *Sasquehannah*.

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M I N U T E S  
 O F  
 C O N F E R E N C E S,  
 H E L D W I T H T H E  
 I N D I A N S,  
 A T  
 E A S T O N,

In the Months of *July*, and *August*, 1757.



P H I L A D E L P H I A :

Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN, and D. HALL, at the  
*New-Printing-Office*, near the Market. MDCCLVII.



# Minutes of Conferences, &c.

At a MEETING with TEEDYUSCUNG, King of the Delawares, living on Sasquehannah, who is impowered by the ten following Nations, viz. Lenopi, Wenamé, Munsey, Mawhickon, Tiawco, or Nanticokes, and the Senecas, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Oneidoes, and Mohawks, to settle all Differences subsisting between them and their Brethren the English; and GEORGE CROGHAN, Esq; Deputy Agent to the Honourable Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON, Baronet, His MAJESTY's sole Agent and Superintendent of the Affairs of the Six Nations, their Allies and Dependents, and Colonel of the same, at Easton, the Twenty-fifth Day of July, 1757.

## P R E S E N T,

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Lieutenant Governor, and Commander in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, and the Counties of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex, on Delaware.

JAMES HAMILTON,	LYN-FORD LARDNER,	} Esquires, Members of the Governor's Council.
WILLIAM LOGAN,	BENJAMIN CREW,	
RICHARD PETERS,	JOHN MIFFLIN,	

ISAAC NORRIS, Esq; Speaker of the House of Assembly.

DANIEL ROBERDEAU, Esq; Member of the Assembly.

WILLIAM MASTERS,	} Esquires, Provincial Commissioners.
JOHN HUGHES,	
JOSEPH FOX,	
JOSEPH GALLOWAY,	

A Number of Gentlemen of the City of Philadelphia, and others, Inhabitants of this Province.

Captain THOMAS M'KEE, Interpreter for the Crown.

CONRAD WEISER, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.

Mr. JOHN PUMPSHIRE, Interpreter for Teedyuscung.

TEEDYUSCUNG, King of the Delawares, attended by several Chiefs and Deputies of the Ten Nations he represents.

[The Number of the Indians here, at present, is about Three Hundred Men, Women and Children.]

Teedyuscung sent his Interpreter, to call Mr. Charles Thompson, to the Table, whom he had appointed his Clerk, to take down the Minutes of this Treaty.

The Governor opened the Conference, directing his Discourse to Teedyuscung, and spoke, as follows.

Brother,

I AM very glad to meet you, once more, with your People, and some of your Uncles the Six Nations, according to your Agreement with me, at this Place, in November last. The Number of Indians, you have brought down with you, on this Occasion, and the Pains you have taken, to carry the News of our good Dispositions for Peace, to so great a Distance, confirms the good Opinion we have always had of you, and shews the Sincerity of the Professions, you have made of your earnest Desire, to restore the Friendship and Brotherly

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therly Love, that always subsisted between us and the *Indians*, till your foolish young Men were seduced, by the evil Spirit, and turned against us.

*Brother Teedyuscung, and Brethren of the Ten-United-Nations,*

We are now met together, to finish, by the Assistance of the Almighty, the Great Work of Peace, and to make a new Chain of Friendship so bright, that it shall never rust, and so strong, that it shall never be in the Power of wicked Spirits to break it, that we may always hereafter be, as one Man, with but one Heart, and one Head. I invite you to join, heartily and sincerely, with me, herein, by this Belt.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brother,*

You may remember, that when we were here last Fall, I asked you, what was the Cause of the Breach between our Brethren, the *Delawares*, and us; whether we, the People of *Pennsylvania*, had done you any Injury; and desired you would open your Hearts, and tell me your Mind, freely. In answer to this, you told me, that your foolish and ignorant young Men, when they saw the Proceedings of our Enemy, the *French King*, and believed the Things that were told them, were persuaded, by this false hearted King, to strike your Brethren the *English*; and that the Cause, why the Blow came the harder on us, was, that the *Proprietaries* had defrauded you of some of your Land, and that you had been treated, in the same Manner, in the *Jerseys*; but that this was not the principal Cause of your striking us. I was willing to enquire into the Truth of this Charge, at that Time, but you declined it, because few of the *Indians*, then present, originally owned those Lands; but said, that you would endeavour to bring as many of them down, as you could find, to the next Meeting.

*Brother,*

According to the Promise I made you, at our last Treaty, I laid all our Proceedings, before Sir *William Johnson*, who, you have been often told, is appointed by our Great King his sole Agent for *Indian Affairs*, in this District, to take Care of them as a Father, that no one may wrong them. Sir *William Johnson* has since deputed your and our Friend, Mr. *George Croghan*, who is well acquainted with your Affairs and Language, to act in his Behalf, to attend this Treaty, and enquire into every Grievance you may have suffered, either from your Brethren of *Pennsylvania*, or the neighbouring Provinces.

*Gave a String.*

*Brother,*

I took Care, also, to send Copies of our several Treaties with you, to *England*, where they were laid, before the King's Ministers, who, being desirous that Justice should be done you, ordered that Sir *William Johnson* should enquire, into the Foundation of your Charge, against this Province, in order, that you may receive Satisfaction, in case any Injury has been done you.

*Brother,*

I have freely opened my Heart to you, and am ready, with Mr. *Croghan*, His Majesty's Deputy Agent, whenever you think proper, to hear any Thing, you may have to say, to us about the Grievances, you may think you labour under, from this Province.

*Gave a String.*

*When the Governor had ended his Speech, I spoke as follows.*

*Brother Teedyuscung, and you, my Brethren, the Sackems and Warriors of the Ten Nations you represent at this Meeting,*

You have been informed, by your Brother *Onas*, that the King of *Great-Britain*, your Father, has appointed Sir *William Johnson*, Baronet, to be His Majesty's chief Agent and Superintendent of the Affairs of the *Six Nations*, their Allies and Dependents in this District of *America*, and he has appointed me his Deputy, and ordered me to attend this Meeting, and hear any Complaints you have to make, against your Brother *Onas*, in respect to his defrauding you of the Lands, mentioned in the Conference, you held with this Government, last Fall, in this Town; or any other Injuries, you have received from any of His Majesty's Subjects, in this District. I am now ready to hear, what you have to say; and I assure you, in the Name of Sir *William Johnson*, I will do every Thing, in my Power, to have all Differences amicably adjusted, to your Satisfaction, agreeable to his Orders and Instructions to me.

*Gave a Belt.*

When I had delivered my Speech, the Governor told *Teedyuscung* that we had done for the present; and that whenever he was ready to give an Answer, we should be ready to hear him. Then *Teedyuscung* replied, That he had something to say now; and, addressing himself to the Governor and me, spoke as follows.

*Brothren,*

I will let you know, in a few Words, what my Desire is. I kindly receive your Words, this Day: They are true, and make my Heart glad. By this Belt (holding up a Belt) I let you know

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know I will speak To-morrow. I think it proper to speak my Mind, with Openness. I think it my Duty to remember the Conduct of my foolish young Men. I see a great deal of Mischief done. I will first begin, with cleaning up the Blood, that has been shed, and removing the dead Bodies out of the Way: After that, I will make known my Grievances. I remember what Sir William Johnson said to me, by the Messengers he sent to me: I sent back to him, by the same Messengers, and desired him, as he was a wiser Man than I, and of greater Abilities, that he would be strong, and lend his Assistance, to cure this Wound.

*Gave a Belt.*

When Teedyuscung had ended his Speech, he told the Governor he thought he should be ready to speak To-morrow Morning at Eight o' Clock;—and that Time was accordingly appointed for the next Meeting.

*At a MEETING in Easton, Tuesday, July 26, 1757, A. M.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Governor, &c.*

*The Council.*

*The same Members of Assembly.*

*The Provincial Commissioners.*

*A Number of Gentlemen from the City of Philadelphia, and others of the Inhabitants of the Province.*

*The same Indians.*

*Captain THOMAS M'KEE, Interpreter for the Crown.*

*CONRAD WEISER, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.*

*Mr. JOHN PUMPSHIRE, Interpreter for Teedyuscung.*

*I desired the Favour of Mr. Jacob Duché to assist Mr. Trent in taking down the Minutes.*

*Teedyuscung spoke to the Governor and myself, desiring us to give Attention; then, directing his Speech to the King of Great-Britain, and all His Subjects, spoke as follows.*

*Brother,*

YOU remember, that you sent to me, to come down to you, and invited me to bring down, with me as many of the *Ten Nations*, as I could, by Reason of the Difficulty of the Times. You then, said to me, Brother, you are weak, I am strong: If you come down, I will put away all the Difference and Uneasiness, that has happened, and will make a lasting Peace. Now, as I have brought some, from each of the *Ten Nations*, with me, I would have you remember your Promise, and exert your Power. Also, remember our Women and Children, that it may be well hereafter. Also, as you must remember the Blood, that has been shed, and the dead Bodies that lie scattered up and down, I would have you join with me, to remove these out of the Way, that we may see one another, Face to Face, and after this, we will proceed to other Business.

*Brother,*

As you are a great deal stronger than I, you must exert your Power. When Differences arise between two Brothers, when one comes and makes Proposals of Peace, if the other does not accept them, nothing can be done. Now, as much Blood is spilt, I desire you will join with me, to clear this away; and when that is done, we will proceed to other Business.

*Gave a Belt of eight Rows.*

*Brother,*

According to the Promise I made you, that I would invite as many of the *Ten Nations* as I could, I have now brought with me, as many as I could, who are here present, to witness what shall be transacted; but, in order to make a lasting and durable Peace, we must all exert our Abilities. When any Persons are engaged, to lift a great Weight out of the Way, if all do not exert their Strength, they cannot remove it; but if all join, they will easily remove it. We, on our Parts, gather up the Leaves, that have been sprinkled with Blood; we gather up the Blood, the Bodies and Bones; but, when we look round, we see no Place, where to put them; but when we look up, we see the Great Spirit above. It is our Duty, therefore, to join in Prayer, that he would hide these Things, that they may never be seen by

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1757. our Posterity, and that the Great Spirit would bless our Children, that they may, hereafter, live in Love together; that it may never be in the Power of the evil Spirit, or any evil minded Persons, to cause any Breach, between our Posterity.

*Gave a Belt of seventeen Rows.*

*Brother,*

As you remember, you invited me, to bring down some of the *Ten Nations*, so, now, some, from each of them, are here present, particularly, some from my Uncles the *Five Nations*. When we had endeavoured, as much as in our Power, to remove the dead Bodies, and the Mischief past, you also invited me to come, and take hold of your Hand. We, accordingly, now come, and take hold of one of your Hands, and the *Five Nations* also come, and take hold of the other Hand, that we may all stand together, as one Man, with one Heart. This, now, being done, when we look up, and see the clear Light, we shall enjoy it; we shall also enjoy, in Peace and Quietness, what the Land produces; and we shall enjoy the Comforts of the Day, and the Comforts of the Night; we shall lie down in Peace, and rise in Peace.

*Gave a Belt of twelve Rows, strung on Cords.*

*Brother,*

The Reason of this great Cloud of Mischief, that has been past, is, that our old Standers, or Forefathers, never took regular Methods, to have a lasting Peace: They never looked forward, for their Children: They only, had a View of this that decays, and what lies round about, upon the Earth. When they came into Council, they only talked about the Things, on the Earth, that are soon gone. They ought to have looked forward, and to have made such Agreements on both Sides, that their Children, after, might never disagree. And, as we see their Mismanagement, let us do better, that we, as long as we live, may be faithful, and that by this our Meeting together, our Children, hereafter, may enjoy a lasting Peace.

*Gave a Belt of eleven Rows.*

*Brother,*

You remember, according to your Orders, that Messengers have been sent, to carry your Messages, to distant Parts, among us, in order to promote this good, this important, Work of Peace, on which our Lives depend. One of these Messengers is, now, in a dangerous Condition, being shot by one of your young Men. Do not be too much grieved; but, as I desire to be used with Justice, according to your Laws, I insist, if this young Man die, that the Man, who shot him, may be tried by your Laws, and die also, in the Presence of some of our People, who may witness it to all the Nations, that their Brethren the *English*, have done them Justice. And, if any Thing, of the like Kind, should happen, on our Parts, we will do you the same Justice; that is, if any of our People shall murder any of yours, we will deliver up the Murderer, to be tried by your Laws. And, as the Relations of the young Man must be grieved, I desire, as you have it in your Power, that you would remove the Grief and Sorrow, from their Hearts.

*A String.*

The Governor, then acquainted *Teedyuscung*, that we would take into Consideration what he had now said; and when we were ready to give an Answer, we would let him know.

As we were rising the King, by his Interpreter, told me, that what he had now said was of great Importance; he desired therefore we would take Time, to consider it well; that he would wait with Patience till we were ready to give him an Answer.

*At a MEETING in Easton, Wednesday, July 27, 1757, A. M.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Governor, &c.*

*The Council.*

*The same Members of Assembly.*

*The Provincial Commissioners.*

*A Number of Gentlemen from the City of Philadelphia, and others of the Inhabitants of the Province.*

*The same Indians.*

*Captain THOMAS M'KEE, Interpreter for the Crown.*

*CONRAD WEISER, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.*

*Mr. JOHN PUMPSHIRE, Interpreter for Teedyuscung.*

*The Governor opened the Conference by asking Teedyuscung, if he was ready, and letting him know that Mr. Croghan, the King's Agent, joined him, in the Speeches he was going to make, and then spoke, as follows.*

*Brother,*

**Y**OUR Memory serves you faithfully, with Respect to what was promised, by each of us, in the last Conferences.

Our warmest Acknowledgments are due, to you, for your just Performance of your Engagements. You have made known our good Dispositions, far and wide. You have brought down

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down your Uncles, and some of each of the other Nations, with whom you are joined. We are pleased to observe, they have hearkened to you, and are come, so well disposed to conclude and establish a firm and durable Peace. We return you very hearty Thanks in Behalf of His Majesty King *GEORGE*, the People of this Province, and all His other Subjects.

*Gave a Belt.*

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*Brother,*

We are sensible with you, that, unless we both exert the utmost of our Strength, we shall not be able to accomplish the great Work, we are mutually engaged in.

Whilst we see the dead Bodies of our People, lying uncovered, and exposed to ravenous Birds, it is against Nature, and all the Principles of Religion and Humanity, to proceed, to the Confirmation of Peace.

We therefore, in Conjunction with you, diligently search for, and collect together, not only their dead Bodies and scattered Bones, but the very Leaves, Grass, and every Thing else, that their Blood has touched; and join with you, in looking up to Heaven, from whence the God of Peace beholds with Delight our Advances to Reconciliation, Concord and Unity. We pray he may cast a Veil, over all that has happened, in these unhappy Times, that it may be no longer remembered. We supplicate his Almighty Goodness, to pardon all that is past: We pray him to dispose all the People of this, and the succeeding Generations, to the latest Posterity, to live in Love together. We entreat he will never permit the evil Spirit to enter, so far into our Hearts, or evil minded Men, so far into our Councils, as to interrupt the Course of Friendship, or blast the smallest Leaf, in the Tree of Peace.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brother,*

Having now collected the dead Bodies, we agree with you to stand together, *English* and *Indians*, as one Man, with one Heart; we lay hold with you, your Uncles, and the *Ten Nations*, of the Belt of Friendship; we hold it fast with all our Strength. We bring with us all the Sincerity and Warmth of honest and upright Hearts. We rejoice to behold, again, the Light of the Sun shining in a clear Sky. We promise ourselves that, with the Blessing of the good Spirit, your Endeavours, united with ours, will be able to secure to us, and to our Children, and Childrens Children, durable Peace and Happiness, so that we may, quietly, enjoy the various Comforts of Life, with which, this fruitful Country abounds, and may sleep, in Peace.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brother,*

Though our Forefathers, and yours, might make some Mistakes, and might not see far enough into the Consequences of some of their Measures, yet, in general, we can truly say, they were ever kindly disposed to one another; they were open and upright, in their Intentions; they lived together, in perfect Peace, and the mutual Exchange of good Offices.

It is very commendable in you, to remind us, that they have not been altogether regular, but confined their Views to the then present Times, and to the Interest of their own Generation, not so much consulting, as they should have done, the Good of future Generations. We shall be glad to join with you, in promoting one general Interest, that may extend, to the latest Posterity. We will lay aside, all narrow partial Regards, and put Matters on a lasting Foundation, and endeavour to exceed our Ancestors, not only in the Goodness of our Measures, but in a more careful and exact Manner of doing Business.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brother,*

We have observed, what you say, with respect to one of your Messengers. The Accident grieves us. In such Times, *Indians* should not go single, or into inhabited Parts, without proper Passports and Escorts.—We have careles and unthinking Men amongst us; we have bad Men too, who have mischievous Hearts. The Man who is supposed to have committed this Act is in Goal, and (in case the Messenger dies) shall be tried by our Laws, which require Blood for Blood, in the Presence of such *Indians* as you shall appoint to attend the Trial, of which, you shall have due Notice. It is a Matter, firmly settled, by repeated Treaties, between us and the *Indians*, that, whenever an *Englishman* kills an *Indian*, or an *Indian* kills an *Englishman*, the Murderer, or Person offending, shall be tried, by our Laws, in the Presence of both Nations.

*Gave a String.*

*Brother Moses Tetamy,*

You are the Father of the young Man who has been unfortunately wounded. It gives us great Concern that any Thing of this Kind, should happen. We have employed the most skilful Doctor, we have amongst us, to take Care of him, and we pray, that the Almighty would bless the Medicines that are administered for his Cure. We, by this String of Wam-  
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pum remove the Grief, from your Heart, and desire no Uneasiness may remain, there. We have assured our Brother *Teedyuscung*, that strict Justice shall be done, on the Trial, and we choose that you yourself, should be a Witness of it.

*Gave a String.*

*At a MEETING in Easton, Thursday, July 28, 1757, P. M.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Governor, &c.*

*The Council. The same Members of Assembly.*

*The Provincial Commissioners.*

*A Number of Gentlemen from the City of Philadelphia, and others of the Inhabitants of the Province.*

*Captain THOMAS M'KEE, Interpreter for the Crown.*

*CONRAD WEISER, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.*

*Mr. JOHN PUMPSHIRE, Interpreter for Teedyuscung.*

*TEEDYUSCUNG, King of the Delawares, attended by several Chiefs and Deputies of the Ten Nations he represents.*

*Teedyuscung addressing himself to the Governor, spoke as follows.*

*Brother,*

I DESIRE, in a few Words, to recollect what you told me the other Day, that the Great King, beyond the Water, had appointed a Man to oversee the Affairs of the *Indians*, viz. Sir *William Johnson*, who has nominated Mr. *Croghan*, his Deputy. I am glad to hear this News, and to see the Man, that is appointed. I hope, Brother, that it will be well accepted, by both of us. It is our Duty, to respect the Person, that the King has appointed, and with Sincerity of Heart, to join together, that as the present Business is well begun, it may end so. I hope he will execute his Commission with Justice. According to your Desire, what you mentioned in the last Treaty, and what you have said now, I will answer in a few Words; and we hope Mr. *Croghan* will be faithful, to see Justice done, on both Sides, in the Name of the King.

*Gave a String.*

*Brother,*

After I have opened the Passage from your Heart and Mind, that you may see and understand, by this Belt, I desire you may fully understand, what I now say. It is plain the Proceedings of our Ancestors were shorter, than they ought to have been, in Respect and Behalf of their Children; and also their own everlasting Peace, in the World to come. You may easily see the Reason, of the gloomy and dark Days; they have proceeded from the Earth. Our Misunderstanding or Mismanagement has proceeded from the Earth, as well, as our Differences and Grievances, that have passed and repassed. Though it was not the principal Cause, that made us strike our Brethren, the *English*, yet it has caused the Stroke to come harder, than it otherwise would have come. Now it lies much, in your Power, to look strictly into your Hearts, as we always prefer and acknowledge you above us in Abilities, Strength and Knowledge. And as it lies a great deal in your Power, to know, whether what I have said, be true or not, it depends much on you, Brother, that it may be openly and publicly declared, and published, to the Province or Provinces, under the Government of the Great King, both to his Satisfaction, and to the Satisfaction of those appointed to manage this Affair.—Brother, now, as we have met together Face to Face, to speak with great Sincerity, I will endeavour to lay every Thing plain before you, not to cover one Part, but to lay every Thing before you, that you may see plainly, in order that we may have true Satisfaction from one another, and that what may be proved, to be our Right and Due, may be established for ever, in a durable and lasting Peace.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brother,*

I would desire also that you would look with all Diligence, and see from whence our Differences have sprung. You may easily see they have sprung from the Land or Earth, which was mentioned before, though it was not the principal Thing. If regular Methods had been formerly taken, for an Habitation or Residence, for the poor *Indians*, in this Land, this would not have come to pass. Now, as it lies much in your Power, to search, particularly, into what was mentioned before, with respect to the Land, which was the Cause of our Differences,

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if I now can prevail with you, as I hope I shall, honestly to do, what may be consistent with Justice, then, I will, with a loud Voice, speak, and the Nations shall hear me. Then, it depends on you, Brother, as I shall speak with a loud Voice, and as you are of greater Abilities than I, to assist me, that what I speak to the Nations may be true, and that when I have made Proclamation, with a loud Voice, by your Assistance, the Nations may hear and receive it with great Joy.

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*Gave a Belt.*

Mr. *John Pumpshire*, being asked to explain what was meant by the first Part of this Speech, he said, the Meaning was this: The Land is the Cause of our Differences; that is, our being unhappily turned out of the Land, is the Cause: And, though the first Settlers might purchase the Land fairly, yet they did not act well, nor do the Indians Justice; for they ought to have reserved some Place for the Indians. Had that been done, these Differences would not have happened.

*Brother,*

I have, now, in a few Words, to let you know what my Inclination and Desire is, agreeable to what I have said. I now put it into your Power to make a lasting Peace, and that I may have my reasonable Enjoyment from this Land; as we are sensible, that this Land, was made, by that Almighty Power that has made all Things, and has given this Land to us. I was the first, to whom he gave it; and as it pleased him to convey you to us, and unite us in Friendship, in the Manner already mentioned, which was well known, by our Ancestors, it is, now, in your Power, and depends entirely, on your Care and faithful Diligence, that it may not be broken, as it has been; and if it be broken, it will be owing to you. I think it is my Duty to mention to you, in publick, that I will comply, with all Submission. This I ask, that I may have some Place for a Settlement, and for other good Purposes, in which we may both agree; but as I am a free Agent, as well as you, I must not be bound up, but have Liberty to settle, where I please.

*Gave a Belt of nine Rows.*

*Teedyuscung* informed the Governor, that he had done, for this Time, and left it to the Governor's Pleasure, to appoint a Time to answer him.

As the Governor had, by Letter, informed me, that *Teedyuscung's* Speech, appeared to him, dark and confused, and desired me to call a Meeting, in private, with the Indians, and know what they meant; I accordingly, on the 30th of July, at Five a Clock in the Morning, sent for the King, and some of his Counsellors, and desired them to call a Council, and consider well, the Speeches the King had made, and afterwards, to explain them to me. At Half after Nine o' Clock, King *Teedyuscung*, with *Jepiscaubunb*, *Epoweyowallund*, *Penawagb-wottind*, *Lepaghetund*, *Kubtanamaku*, *Jangepapawey*, *Weneyualika*, his Counsellors, and *John Pumpshire*, Interpreter, met at my House, and explained his Speeches, as follows.

The Complaints I made, last Fall, I yet continue. I think, some Lands have been bought by the Proprietary, or his Agents, from Indians who had not a Right to sell, and to whom the Lands did not belong. I think also, when some Lands have been sold, to the Proprietary, by Indians, who had a Right to sell, to a certain Place, whether that Purchase was to be measured by Miles or Hours Walk, that the Proprietaries have, contrary to Agreement or Bargain, taken in more Lands, than they ought to have done, and Lands that belonged to others. I therefore now desire that you will produce the Writings and Deeds, by which you hold the Land, and let them be read, in publick, and examined, that it may be fully known, from what Indians, you have bought the Lands you hold, and how far, your Purchases extend, that Copies, of the Whole, may be laid before King *GEORGE*, and published, to all the Provinces under his Government. What is fairly bought and paid for, I make no further Demands about: But if any Lands have been bought, of Indians, to whom, these Lands did not belong, and who had no Right to sell them, I expect a Satisfaction, for these Lands. And, if the Proprietaries have taken in more Lands, than they bought of true Owners, I expect, likewise, to be paid for that. But, as the Persons, to whom the Proprietaries may have sold these Lands, which of Right belonged to me, have made some Settlements, I do not want to disturb them, or to force them to leave them, but I expect a full Satisfaction shall be made, to the true Owners for these Lands, though the Proprietaries, as I said before, might have bought them, from Persons, that had no Right to sell them.

With respect, to our Settlement, we intend to settle at Wyoming, and we want to have certain Boundaries fixed, between you and us; and a certain Tract of Land fixed, which, it shall not be lawful, for us or our Children, ever to sell, nor for you, or any of your Children, ever to buy. We would have the Boundaries fixed, all round, agreeable to the Draught we



1757. give you, that we may not be pressed, on any Side, but have a certain Country, fixed for our own Use, and the Use of our Children, for ever.

And, as we intend to make a Settlement at *Wyoming*, and to build different Houses, from what we have done heretofore, such as may last not only for a little Time, but for our Children after us; we desire you will assist us in making our Settlements, and send us Persons to instruct us, in building Houses, and in making such Necessaries, as shall be needful; and that Persons be sent to instruct us in the Christian Religion, which may be for our future Welfare, and to instruct our Children in Reading and Writing; and that a fair Trade be established, between us, and such Persons appointed to conduct and manage these Affairs, as shall be agreeable to us.

I, then, asked him, as Fort *Augusta* was within the Lands he desired to be assigned to them, whether he would acknowledge that Fortrefs to belong to the King of *Great-Britain*, for the Use of His Subjects in *Pennsylvania*, and all His other Subjects; and whether he would not be willing, it should continue as a Trading-House, not only for the Good of us the *English*, and the Nations he represents, but of all the Nations, that now are, or may be hereafter, in Alliance with us; and whether he will not engage, in Conjunction with the *English*, to defend it against any of His Majesty's Enemies, that may come against it?

To which, the King, in Behalf of the Nations he represents, replied, That he agrees, that that Fort shall belong to the *English*; that it shall continue, as a Trading-House; and he, and his People, in Conjunction with their Brethren, the *English*, engage to defend it, against any of His *Britannick* Majesty's Enemies, that shall come to attack it.

At a MEETING in Easton, Sunday, July 31, 1757, P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Governor, &c.

The Council.

The same Members of Assembly.

The Provincial Commissioners.

A Number of Gentlemen from the City of Philadelphia, and others, the Inhabitants of the Province.

Captain THOMAS M'KEE, Interpreter for the Crown.

CONRAD WEISER, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.

Mr. JOHN PUMPHIRE, Interpreter for Teedyuscung.

TEEDYUSCUNG, King of the Delawares, attended by several Chiefs and Deputies of the Ten Nations he represents, and a great Number of others.

King Teedyuscung desired that (before the Governor spoke) what passed between him and me, in a private Conference, Yesterday, should be read, in publick, which was accordingly done, and interpreted to the Six Nations.

Then, the Governor made the following Speech.

Brother Teedyuscung, and Brethren, Sachems and Warriors, of the Ten Nations,  
**I**T gives me Pleasure to hear you declare your Satisfaction, at the Appointment our Great King has been pleased to make of Sir William Johnson, to be the Superintendent of the Affairs of the Indians, and that Sir William had appointed Mr. Croghan to be his Deputy; and further, to hear you so fully and openly acknowledge it to be the Duty of both of us to respect the Person, whom the King has thought fit to entrust with so important a Commission. I thank you for these dutiful Expressions, and do not, in the least doubt, but they come from the Bottom of your Hearts.---I assure you, Brethren, I shall heartily join my Endeavours to yours, that the good Work of Peace, so well begun, may be happily finished, to our mutual Satisfaction.

Gave a String.

Brother,

You say, that the Proceedings of our Ancestors were shorter than they ought to have been, in Respect and Behalf of their Children; and also, of their own everlasting Peace. Brother, our Ancestors of this Province have been, always, esteemed a good, honest and wise People, and have, always, been distinguished, for their brotherly Love and kind Treatment of the Indians,

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*Indians*, and their upright Dealing with them in their Publick Transactions. You say that the Cause of our Differences proceeded from the Land, and advise us to look strictly into our Hearts for the Truth of this. Brother, we have, according to your Desire, looked into our Hearts, and are not sensible that any of our Transactions with the *Indians*, either with Respect to Land, or otherwise, could have given Reason for the unhappy Breach between us. You have been so honest as to declare on all Occasions, that the Land was not the principal Cause why you struck us, but was only a Reason why the Stroke came the harder on us. As, then, it was not the Cause of our first Differences, it ought not to be any Obstacle to an immediate Conclusion of the Peace, which we are now met together with such good Intentions to establish. However we may differ in Opinion about Matters of Property, these are trifling Considerations, compared to the important Affair of uniting together in the firm Bands of Friendship. Let us therefore for the present suspend them, and all Matters of less Moment, and apply ourselves in the first Place heartily to the Great Work of Peace, so much wished for by both of us, and put Things on such a Footing, that the Great King over the Waters, and His Subjects, and all the *Indians*, shall be pleased with it.

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Gave a Belt.

Brother,

You say, that if you can prevail with us to do you Justice in your Complaint about Land, you will then with a loud Voice speak, and the Nations shall hear you. Brother, I must now inform you, that immediately after our last Treaty, I sent to the Proprietaries a Copy of the Complaints you then made of their defrauding you of your Lands, and received their Answer to it some Days before I set out to meet you here, wherein they express the greatest Concern that you, who they conceive have been so well treated both by their Father, *William Penn*, and themselves, should charge them with Crimes of so heinous a Nature as Fraud and Forgery, by which their Reputation (which to them and every honest Man is dearer than Life itself) is so deeply wounded. Your Complaint has likewise been laid before the King's Ministers, who, looking upon it as a Matter of great Importance, determined that it should be carefully enquired into, and examined, before some Person no ways concerned in Interest, on whose Honesty and Judgment they could depend; and therefore appointed Sir *William Johnson* to hear the Particulars of your Charge, and the Proprietary's Defence, and lay the whole Matter before His Majesty for his Royal Determination, in order that he may do you Justice himself, if you are injured. Our great King looks on you as His Children; and therefore His Ministers have directed the same Method to be taken in hearing the Merits of your Complaint, as is used among His own Subjects, with this Difference only, that their Disputes are finally settled by Judges appointed for that Purpose; whereas, in your Case, His Majesty will determine it himself.

Before I received the Orders of His Majesty's Ministers, that your Complaints should be heard before Sir *William Johnson*, I fully intended, at this Meeting, to call on the Proprietaries Agents to answer the Charge you made against them, and to have the Matter strictly enquired into; but as I am the King's Servant, and bound by Duty as well as Inclination to obey His Orders, and His Majesty's Deputy Agent, Mr. *Croghan*, who is now present, informs me he has no Power to suffer any Altercations on this Complaint, and that he does not think it would be for the Good of His Majesty's Service, I must refer you on this Occasion to Sir *William Johnson*, to whom I shall send proper Persons to represent the Proprietaries, with Records, Deeds and Evidences, to shew the Justice of their Title at any Time he shall appoint, of which he will give Notice to you, and all Persons concerned. As that Gentleman is known to be a good Friend to the *Indians*, and a Man of Honour and Integrity, it gives me great Pleasure to find he is well approved of by you, and I do not doubt but you will most cheerfully agree to leave the Examination of your Claims to him, and concur in the Method His Majesty has directed for settling our Differences, in which you will be certain of having strict Justice done you.

Gave a Belt.

Brother,

I could give you many Instances of the great Affection and Regard the Proprietaries have for you, and all the *Indians*; and that they set a far greater Value on your Friendship, than on any private Interest or Advantage to themselves; they have lately given to you and the World a most convincing Proof of this. You no Doubt have heard, that the Proprietaries, about three Years ago, at a general Meeting of the *Six Nations*, held at *Albany*, fairly and openly purchased of them a great Country, lying on the West Side of the River *Sasquehanna*; but upon its being represented, that some of the *Indian* Tribes were dissatisfied with the Extent of that Grant beyond the *Allegheny* Hills, the Proprietaries cheerfully agreed to surrender, and give up again to the *Indians*, the Lands Westward of those Hills, and have given their Agents Orders to release it to them at the proposed Meeting before Sir *William Johnson*, and to settle Boundaries with them.

Gave a Belt.

Brother,



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*Brother,*

I have considered what you said about a Settlement for yourselves and your Posterity, and am informed by Mr. *Croghan*, that *Wyoming* is the Place, you would chuse to settle at.

*Brother,*

The Proprietaries have never granted away any Lands, though within the Limits of this Province, without first purchasing them of the *Indians*; and having never bought of them the Lands between *Sbamokin* and *Wyoming*, they have, therefore, never laid Claim to them, under any *Indian* Purchase, and expressly desire this may be told to the *Indians*, lest evil-disposed Persons should have suggested any Thing to the contrary; and, in the Name of the Proprietaries, I now disclaim all such Right, of which I would have you take Notice. I am pleased you have made Choice of that Place; it is perfectly agreeable to me, and I assure you I will heartily concur with you, in using all the Means in my Power, to have these Lands settled upon you and your Posterity, agreeable to your Request. As to the other Purposes, for which you desire this Settlement of Lands, they are so reasonable, that I make no Doubt but, on my Recommendation of them to the Assembly, they will, cheerfully, enable me to comply with them.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brother,*

I have now answered the Speeches you made me, the other Day, and, I hope, to your Satisfaction, as I agree with you, to submit the Differences about Lands, to the Great King, which is your own Desire. I now assure you that I am heartily disposed and ready, with the King's Deputy Agent, to confirm the Peace, which you and I have been, for some Time, taking Pains to establish.

*At a MEETING with the Indians in Easton, on Monday, August 1, 1757, P. M.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Governor, &c.*

*The Council. The same Members of Assembly.*

*The Provincial Commissioners.*

*A Number of Gentlemen from the City of Philadelphia, and others, the Inhabitants of the Province.*

*Captain THOMAS M'KEE, Interpreter for the Crown.*

*CONRAD WEISER, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.*

*Mr. JOHN PUMPSHIRE, Interpreter for Teedyuscung.*

*TEEDYUSCUNG, King of the Delawares, attended by several Chiefs and Deputies of the Ten Nations he represents, and a great Number of others.*

*Teedyuscung addressing himself to the Governor, spoke as follows.*

*Brother, the Governor;*

BY this Belt (holding up a Belt) I remember what you said Yesterday, in the Evening. All was well accepted, and very good, only one Word, or one material Thing. When the several different Nations of us, that call ourselves the *Ten Nations*, that are present, (I mean, the Counsellors) had considered what you said, we approved all, except one Thing. Also, this Morning early, when we came to sit down, by ourselves, and our Secretary with us, when we had done, and had fully understood one another, and agreed on every Word, we then ordered our Secretary to write it down.---[*John Pumphshire* said, I will just mention this in Addition; we ordered him to read it over, three or four Times, and approved it.]---Having done that, we have the Words, already written down, and if it please the Governor to hear it read; this that is written down, is what was concluded on.

The Governor, in Answer, told him, Brother, you know, that this is quite a new Method, and was never practised before.

Brother, it is true, replied *Teedyuscung*, you are right; this was not, formerly, practised; it never used to be so. Don't you see that I aim, by having a Clerk of my own, to exceed my Ancestors, by having every Thing for the best. I endeavour, according to my Ideas, to look to those that have the Authority; as for Instance, if they take up a Handful of Corn or Pebbles,

Pebbles, if they drop any, even one Grain, I will take Notice, and will speak of it, that they may take it up.

1757.

The Governor, then applied to Mr. *Croghan*, to know, whether this had ever been practised, in any Treaty; Mr. *Croghan* said it never was, and turning to the King, said, Brother, this is quite a new Method, and what was never before practised. I well know the *Indians* have good Memories, and can remember, what was transacted, twenty Years ago, as if Yesterday, I should, therefore, be glad, the King would repeat, himself, what he has to say, as we are only treating, with him. Then, *Teedyuscung* replied, Well, Brother, the Governor, what we have consulted and concluded on, this Morning is this; I remember, you told me last Night, that what was transacted last Fall, was laid before the King's Ministers; and we took particular Notice, that you told us, that some Time before you came from *Philadelphia*, you fully intended to make all Satisfaction to me, at this Treaty, about Lands and Deeds; but that you received a Letter, or Letters, from the King, or Proprietaries, I am not certain which, you know best; in Consequence of which, you told us, that you could not act, in this Affair, but that Sir *William Johnson* was appointed, to transact *Indian* Affairs, and Mr. *George Croghan* was appointed to act, in his Name. We remember very well, when we had a private Conference with you, at your Dwelling, that you and Mr. *Croghan* rose up, shook Hands with me, and you told us, this was the very Man, that was appointed to act, between the *English* and *Indians*. Now, in Consideration of these Things, why should we be obliged to go to Sir *William Johnson*, to have the Proof of Lands and Deeds examined by him, when there is nothing in the Way, the Land Affair not being to be compared, with the great Work of Peace, and should not be any Hindrance to our making a League of Friendship.

Now, I will give you my Reasons, for not going.

In the first Place, I do not know Sir *William Johnson*; he may be an honest and sincere Man. We do understand he treats his *Indians* very well; but we are sensible that some of the Nations are there that have been instrumental to this Misunderstanding, in selling Lands in this Province, having, in former Years, usurped that Authority, and called us Women, and threatened to take us, by the Foretop, and throw us aside as Women. But, after a long Space, I believe, it is evident, nay, there are Witnesses present, who can prove that it is otherwise. Also, when I have considered these several Particulars, as you told us there was nothing in the Way, to hinder us from confirming a durable and lasting Peace, I, at present desire nothing at all of my Brethren the *English*, for my Lands, I only want, for the Satisfaction of the *Indians* of the *Ten Nations* present, and also of all other *Indians*, that the Deeds may be produced, and well looked into; and as you have told me, that Mr. *George Croghan* was the Man that would settle Affairs, for our Peace, here he is; I want nothing, but to see the Deeds fairly looked into, and true Copies of them taken, and put with these Minutes, now taken. And, after they have been fairly taken down, if you agree to this, then I shall, by two Belts tied together, take you by the Hand, and, with my Uncles, confirm a lasting Peace, with you; and if it please the Governor, and Mr. *Croghan*, let the Copy of the Deeds be sent to Sir *William Johnson*, and to the King, and let him judge. I want nothing of the Land, till the King hath sent Letters back; then if any of the Lands be found to belong to me, I expect to be paid for it, and not before. Brother, another Reason for not going is, if we cannot agree to settle this Affair here, I am afraid, the Nations that are watching and looking into what is done here, will have Reason to think, we have not acted an honest Part, as they expect a real, true and lasting Peace, will be settled, here. I am also concerned on Account of our Women and Children, back, and of our Brethren the *English*, on the Frontiers. For these, now present, who it was expected would go Home, with great Joy, will go Home with their Finger in their Mouth, as every Body expected this would be the Time of confirming a real and lasting Peace. I told you I would proclaim, with a loud Voice, and those present are Witnesses to what I said, and will not be easy, if this is not done. I think nothing hinders us, at all.

As you told us, you had Letters from the King, or Proprietaries, I desire they may be produced and read, and put down, with the Minutes. Now, this is the Conclusion, and in Confirmation of what I have said, I give you this Belt.

Gave a Belt.

The King further said, I desire also that a Copy, of what passed, in private, between you and me, may be given to be entered, with these Minutes; and that it may be read, in publick, at our next Meeting.

As soon as the Meeting was over, I told the Governor, the Good of His Majesty's Service required, that *Teedyuscung's* Request, of having the Deeds and private Conferences read, and Copies of them, given him, with a Copy of so much of the Proprietaries Letters, as relates to having the Enquiry made, by Sir *William Johnson*, should be granted.

D

Easton,

*Easton, August 2, 1757.*

TEEDYUSCUNG, with three Nanticokes, who arrived Yesterday, and three of his Council, came to me at my Lodgings, and desired I would bear what those Nanticokes had to say. Upon which the Nanticoke Chief made the following Speeches.

*Brother,*

1757. THE chief Man of the Nanticokes has sent me here, to see the Governor and you; and desired me in his Name to wipe the Tears from your Eyes, which those troublesome Times may have occasioned; and I do it with this String of Wampum.

*A String.*

*Brothers,*

You may have swallowed, since these Troubles arose, something bitter, which has given your Heart some Uneasiness: I, with this String of Wampum, remove all Grief from your Hearts, that your Minds may be as easy as they were in Times of Peace.

*A String.*

*Brothers,*

I see a great deal of Blood spilt; I, with this String, clean the Blood from off your Beds, that you may sleep easy, and from off your Council Seats, that you may sit with Pleasure in Council with your Brethren; and with this Feather I open your Ears, which the great high Winds may have stopped, that you may hear what your Brothers may say to you.

*Brothers,*

We must consider, and think it was not the good Spirit that has occasioned this Disturbance; no, it was the evil Spirit that surely occasioned all this Mischief, and I hope God will direct us to do every Thing in our Power, to assist in the Good Work of Peace, that we may be once more united together, and live in Friendship, as the good Spirit has ordered us.

*Brothers,*

I am come here to this Council Fire with our Cousins the *Delawares* and you, to give all the Assistance I can to the good Work of Peace, and to join my Cousin *Teedyuscung*, and the *Six Nations*, to gather up the dead Bodies and scattered Bones together, and will join in Prayer to the good Spirit to hide them; and when the Peace is confirmed, I will put both my Hands into the Chain of Friendship with you, and our Cousins the *Delawares*, and the *Six Nations*; to confirm my Words, I give this String of Wampum.

*Gave a String.*

*At a MEETING with the Indians in Easton, on Wednesday, August 3, 1757, A. M.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Governor, &c.*

*The Council.*

*The same Members of Assembly.*

*The Provincial Commissioners.*

*A Number of Gentlemen from the City of Philadelphia, and others, the Inhabitants of the Province.*

*Captain THOMAS M'KEE, Interpreter for the Crown.*

*CONRAD WEISER, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.*

*Mr. JOHN PUMPSHIRE, Interpreter for Teedyuscung.*

TEEDYUSCUNG, King of the *Delawares*, attended by several Chiefs and Deputies of the Ten Nations he represents, and a great Number of others.

*The Governor told Teedyuscung, that Five o' Clock Yesterday was appointed for the Time of Meeting; but understanding that the King was then particularly engaged with some Friends lately come in, he had deferred meeting them till this Morning.*

*The Governor spoke as follows.*

*Brother,*

I HAVE well weighed and considered, what you said to me at our last Meeting, and am sorry you do not incline to go to Sir *William Johnson* to have your Complaints strictly enquired into, and examined by him. It is true Sir *William* has, for some Time past, had a general

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general Commission from the King to superintend *Indian Affairs*, and that he has given Mr. *Croghan* a Power to Act as his Deputy, under which he might have been justified in going into an Examination as well of your Complaints as the Proprietaries Defence, had not the King's Ministers lately been pleased to direct the Hearing to be, before Sir *William Johnson* himself. Though you may think yourselves at Liberty, and may refuse to comply with these Directions, yet, as I told you before, I am the King's Servant, and obliged to obey, and cannot take upon me to go into a Defence of the Proprietaries Title, at this Time. But as you so earnestly desire to see the Deeds for the Lands mentioned in your last Treaty, that you may be satisfied whether they are genuine, or whether the *Indians* who signed them had a Right to sell those Lands, I have brought them with me, and am willing to shew them to you now, or at any other Time you will appoint, and give you Copies of them, agreeable to your Request.

1757

*Here the Deeds were laid down on the Table.*

And now let all further Debates and Altercations concerning Lands rest here, till they shall be fully examined and looked into by Sir *William Johnson*, in order to be transmitted to the King for His Royal Determination.

*Brother,*

After having now gratified you, in every reasonable Request, and being sincerely desirous to re-establish that Friendship and brotherly Love, which so happily subsisted between your Ancestors and ours, I am ready, with the King's Deputy Agent, to take hold of the two Belts you mentioned with both my Hands, and confirm a lasting Peace, and exchange them with one prepared for that Purpose, in the Name of the King of *England*, and all His Subjects, as soon as we can agree upon the Terms.

*Brother,*

The Orders of His Majesty's Ministers, on this Occasion, have been signified to me, by the Proprietaries; which is the proper Channel through which they should come. That you may the better understand this, it will be necessary to inform you, that the Proprietaries are Governors in Chief over this Province, and I am appointed their Deputy, with the Approbation of the Crown. When, therefore, the last Treaty was laid, before the King's Ministers, they gave the Proprietaries Notice of their Resolution, that the Matter should be heard before Sir *William Johnson* only, to whom they would send special Directions for that Purpose. The Proprietaries, for whom I act in this Case, have made me acquainted with the Ministers Orders, and desired me to regulate my Conduct by them. It would have been irregular and improper to have sent the Order itself to me, but I do not doubt the King's Ministers have transmitted it to Sir *William Johnson*, as an Authority for him to hear and examine our Differences, and that he has received it before this Time. As I could not suspect that you would have required a Copy of such of the Proprietaries Letters as relate to this Matter, I did not bring them with me here; wherefore, it is not in my Power to comply with your Request, to furnish you with Copies of them; and, to confirm the Truth of this, I give you this Belt of Wampum.

When the Governor had ended his Speech, he asked the King, whether he would have the Deeds read now, and Copies taken? Before the King returned an Answer, he took up the Belt, which the Governor had just delivered, and rising up, spoke, first, to the *Delawares*, and then, to the *Five Nations*; then, turning to the Governor, said,

*Brother,*

I understand the Words, you have said here; but they are not agreeable to your Knowledge, nor a full Answer, to what I said. There are two Things, not agreeable.

The Governor said, Will the King please to tell, what these two Things are. No, replied the King, let the Governor find them out. The Governor said, he did not know what the King meant; he wished he knew what Answer to make.

*Teedyuscung* then said, If it please the Governor, in a few Words, what has been spoken, on that Belt, is as a Rumbling over the Earth, or Confusion about Lands. I did not want you to make Mention of them; when I expected an Answer in a loving Manner, I wanted you should come, to the main Point, without having so many Words with it.

As the *Indians* seemed very much at a Loss about the Governor's Speech, I spoke, to the King, and told him, that the first Part of the Governor's Speech, was only to inform the King, that the Deeds are now produced, and Copies will be given to him, agreeable to his own Request, that they may be sent to Sir *William Johnson*, to be, by him, transmitted to the King,



1757- for His Determination. This done, we, in the next Place, now, offer to take hold of the two Belts, you mentioned at the last Meeting: That what was said about agreeing upon Terms, only referred to the Exchange of Prisoners, and other Things, usual on making Peace; which, *Teedyuscung* said, he would do after the Peace was confirmed: That, in the Conclusion of his Speech, the Governor only told the King, that the Proprietaries Letters, for a Copy of which the King asked, were at *Philadelphia*, for which Reason, the Governor could not comply with what the King requested, but that an Extract, of as much of them, as referred to this Affair, will be delivered to me, some Time hence: In Confirmation of which, the Governor gave the Belt.

As soon as the King heard this, he rose up; and taking up the two Belts, tied together, he spoke as follows.

I desire you would, with Attention, hear me. By these two Belts, I will let you know, what was the ancient regular Method of confirming a lasting Peace. This, you ought to have considered, and to have done; but I will put you in Mind. You may remember, when you took hold of my Hand, and led me down, and invited my Uncles, several of whom are present, with some from each of the *Ten Nations*, when we had agreed, we came down to take hold of one of your Hands, and my Uncles came to take hold of the other Hand. Now, as this Day and this Time, is appointed, to meet, and confirm a lasting Peace, we, that is, I and my Uncles, as we stand, and you, as you stand, in the Name of the Great King, three of us standing, we will all look up, and by continuing to observe the Agreements, by which we shall oblige ourselves one to another, we shall see the clear Light, and Friendship shall last to us, and our Posterity, after us, for ever. Now, as I have two Belts, and Witnesses are present, who will speak the same, by these Belts, Brothers, in the Presence of the *Ten Nations*, who are Witnesses, I lay hold of your Hand (taking the Governor, by the Hand) and brighten the Chain of Friendship, that shall be lasting; and whatever Conditions shall be proper for us to agree to, may be mentioned, afterwards: This is the Time, to declare our mutual Friendship. Now, Brother the Governor, to confirm what I have said, I have given you my Hand, which you were pleased to rise and take hold of; I leave it, with you. When you please, I am ready. Brother, if you have any Thing to say, as a Token of confirming the Peace, I shall be ready to hear; and as you arose, I will rise up, and lay hold of your Hand. To confirm what I have said, I give you these Belts. *Gave two Belts tied together.*

The Governor said, that he, and I would be ready to give an Answer presently.

Then the King, taking out another Belt, said, If the Governor please, I have a Word or two more, to say to you. In remembering the old ancient Rules of making Friendship, I remember I was, formerly, represented as a Woman, by my Uncles, the *Six or Five Nations*; but they gave me a Pipe, and good Tobacco; those present know it to be true; and what I say is, in Behalf of all those present, and those afar off. That Pipe and good Tobacco, of Friendship, I now deliver to you. Brother, when you shall smoke that good Tobacco, it will give you such a Relish, that you shall feel it as long as the Sun shines. That very good Tobacco and Pipe, that I shall deliver into your Hand, represents, among us, a perpetual Friendship. Now I deliver you an equal Part of it, and I desire it may be a lasting Comfort in this World, and the World to come. *Gave a Belt.*

After *Teedyuscung* had confirmed the Peace, in Behalf of the *Ten Nations* he represents, his Honour, the Governor, and myself, confirmed it in Behalf of the King, and all His Subjects, and exchanged the Belts in the following Manner.

*Brother Teedyuscung, and all our Brethren of the Ten Nations,*

We, your Brethren, all His Majesty's Subjects, now present, have heard, with Satisfaction, what you have said, and with great Pleasure receive the two Belts, you have given us, which will confirm a lasting Peace, to us and our Posterity, and we embrace this Meeting to exchange, with you, a Belt of Friendship, and take hold of you, with one Hand, and of the *Five Nations*, with the other, and confirm, in the Name of the King of *Great-Britain*, and all His Subjects, a lasting Peace, that may continue, as long as the Sun and Moon give Light; and we hope this Day may be always held in Remembrance by our Posterity; and we will be ready to consult with you, at any Time about settling other Matters, as you yourself have said. We now rise, and take you into our Arms, and embrace you, with the greatest Pleasure as our Friends and Brethren, and heartily desire we may ever, hereafter, look on one another as Brethren, and Children of the same Parents: As a Confirmation of this we give you this Belt.

*Gave a very large white Belt, with the Figures of three Men in it, representing His Majesty King GEORGE, taking hold of the Five Nation King, with one Hand, and Teedyuscung, the Delaware King, with the other, and marked with the following Letters and Figure, G. R. 5 N. D. K. for King GEORGE, Five Nations, Delaware King.*

This

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This done, the King again, asked the Governor, for a Copy of the Conferences, that had been held, in private, that they might be read, in Publick, and entered with the Minutes. The Governor said it was ready, and should be delivered immediately, and one was sent for it. The Governor then asked the King, when it would be agreeable to him, to have the Deeds read. The King said, To-morrow Morning, between Seven and Eight a Clock; which Time was, accordingly, agreed on; and the Reading of the Private Conferences was deferred, till that Time.

1797.

I think it necessary to insert here, the following Speech of *Laboughpeton*, a *Delaware* Chief, made to *Teedyuscung*, at the Time he seemed at a Loss, about the Governor's Speech to him, which is as follows.

“What, has not our Brother desired you to bring us down, by the Hand, to make Peace? why don't you do it? We have been here, these twenty Days, and have heard nothing, but scolding and disputing about Lands: Settle the Peace, and let all these Disputes stand, till after.”

As soon as the Meeting was over, I let the Governor know, I could not help taking Notice, that there was one Deed, relative to those Lands, wanting, which is mentioned in a Treaty, held, by this Government, with the *Indians*, in 1728, said there to be dated in 1718, and that I expected to see that Deed, and have a Copy of it; and likewise, Extracts, of so much of the Proprietaries Letter to him, as relates to the Desire of His Majesty's Ministers, signifying to them, that they ordered the Differences subsisting between them and the *Indians*, to be examined by Sir *William Johnson*. And that, as *Teedyuscung*, in Answer to a Message, his Honour had sent, by Mr. *Weiser*, to him Yesterday Morning (which will appear as follows) said, that he would be contented, so he see all the Deeds, relative to these Back Lands, now in Dispute, and have Copies of them, and of the Proprietaries Letter; and further said, as soon as that was done, he would not say one Word more, about the Disputes, about Lands; I then let his Honour know, as *Teedyuscung* had now confirmed the Peace, I expected his Honour would now furnish me with a Copy of that Deed, and the Proprietaries Letter, to him.

*Easton, August 2, 1757.*

THIS Morning, *Teedyuscung* sent *Samuel Evans*, for me to come to him, at Colonel *Weiser's* Lodging: I went there, and found him with five of his Counsellors, and Mr. *Weiser*. Upon my coming in, Mr. *Weiser* told *Teedyuscung*, that he wanted to have some Conversation with him. *Teedyuscung* asked him, if it was, by Order of the Governor. Mr. *Weiser* replied, it was by Consent of the Governor and Council.

Mr. *Weiser* then asked *Teedyuscung*, whether he wanted to see all the Deeds of the Province, from the first Purchases, or only, those relating to the Back Lands where we are? Mr. *Weiser* said, the Reason for his asking was, that he believed the whole of the Deeds, were not brought up, but such only, as were thought necessary, and relating to his Complaint, and the late Purchases.

*Teedyuscung* answered, I should be well pleased to have seen all the Deeds, as the Country, to the Sea Shore, was first ours; but, if there be the Deeds, for these Back Lands, which is the main Point, I will be contented, so that I see them, and have Copies of them, and of the Letters, from the King's Ministers or Proprietaries; as soon, as that is done, I will not say one Word more, about the Differences or Lands, but confirm the Peace, as soon as that is done.

This Evening, the Governor wrote me, that his Letter, from the Proprietaries, was in *Philadelphia*, Extracts of which he would give me as soon as I went to Town. And he assured me, that he would give me a Copy of the Deed, mentioned in the Treaty of 1728.



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*At a MEETING with the Indians in Easton, Thursday, August 4, 1757.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Governor, &c.*

*The Council.*

*The same Members of Assembly.*

*The Provincial Commissioners.*

*A Number of Gentlemen from the City of Philadelphia, and others, the Inhabitants of the Province.*

*Captain THOMAS M'KEE, Interpreter for the Crown.*

*CONRAD WEISER, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.*

*Mr. JOHN PUMPSHIRE, Interpreter for Teedyuscung.*

*TEEDYUSCUNG, King of the Delawares, attended by several Chiefs and Deputies of the Ten Nations be represents, and a great Number of others.*

1757.

THE Conferences held in Council, between the Governor and King Teedyuscung, were produced, and read; and to them was added, by Order of the King, and approved by the Governor, a Paragraph, relating to the King's insisting, a second Time, on having a Secretary, and the Governor's Answer.

The Deeds, shewn Yesterday were again produced, and Teedyuscung was told, that Mr. Charles Thompson, his Secretary, had got Copies of them, and compared them, with the Originals; and was asked, if he chose to see the Originals. The King said, I am satisfied, as my Secretary has seen the Copies compared. If he is satisfied that they are true Copies, I am satisfied that they should be sent to the King, for His Determination; then asked Mr. Thompson, if he had seen them compared? Mr. Thompson said, he had seen, and compared, all the Deeds, that were delivered Yesterday. The King, then desired an Account of what Deeds were produced, which was accordingly taken, and is as follows. 1. A Paper Copy of the last Indian Purchase, 28th of Sixth Month, 1686. 2. A Release, from the Delaware Indians, August 25, 1737. 3. A Release of the Indians of the Five Nations, of the Lands on Sasquehannab River, October 11, 1736. 4. A Release, from the Six Nations of Lands Eastward to Delaware River, dated October 25, 1736, with another, indorsed on it, dated the 9th of July, 1754. 5. A Deed of Release, for Indian Purchase, dated the 22d of August, 1749.

*Note, The above Deeds were shewn, in open Council, and Copies of them delivered to Teedyuscung, which his Secretary acknowledged, he had compared, with the Originals, and that they were true Copies.*

When this was done, the Governor spoke to Teedyuscung as follows.

*Brother Teedyuscung, and all our Brethren of the Ten Nations,*

As you, and all His Majesty's Subjects, are now united again in the firm Bands of Peace, it is our Duty to do every Thing in our Power, to make each other happy; and it was stipulated at the Conferences, held at this Place last Summer, that all Prisoners you had taken, should be delivered up.

The Relations of those, who yet remain Prisoners amongst you, have their Eyes fixed, on me, expecting, at my Return, to see their Friends restored to them; but as few of them are brought down, and this will be a Bar to our Happiness, it is necessary for you, to do every Thing in your Power, to restore to us, as soon as possible, all our People, that remain Prisoners amongst any of your Nations; and to procure those, who are among any other Tribes in Amity with you, to be sent to us.

*Brother,*

It is a Rule among Nations, upon confirming a Peace, to deliver up all Prisoners, on both Sides. It is the only Method we can take, to convince each other, of our Sincerity; and we do insist on this being done. You will be so good, immediately on your Return, to convey them down, by some of your young Men, who shall be well rewarded, for their Trouble.

*Gave a Belt.*

When the Governor had delivered his Speech, and gave the Belt, Teedyuscung said, I will take no other Belt, but the very same I have. Why have you done this, now? Why did you  
not

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not do, it before ? After we had finished, why do you make any Words, about such Things ? This was your Duty ; you ought to have done it, before. If you really believed I would be faithful and honest, you might be sure I would do it, without your delivering a Belt. Now, as you have mentioned these Things, I also will mention, that you must deliver me, my just Due, about Lands. As you mention that your People look to you, expecting to see their Relations sent back at this Treaty, so the Nations that lay Claim to these Lands look to me for them.

*Returned the Belt.*

The Governor told *Teedyuscung*, that he did not do this, as if he had distrusted his Honour, the King having already, given a full Proof of that, by delivering up some Prisoners, for which he thanked him ; that he only meant to put the King in Mind, of his Promise.

I then told *Teedyuscung*, that before the Peace was concluded, when I was explaining to him the Governor's Speech, that Part of it where the Governor says, " as soon as we can " agree upon the Terms," related intirely to the Exchange of Prisoners, and *Teedyuscung* said, that should be settled afterwards.

*Teedyuscung*, then, applied to his Secretary, to know, if any such Thing had been mentioned ; and being informed, by his Secretary, that it was entered in the Minutes, he (*Teedyuscung*) then rose up, and, having first consulted with his own People, and the *Five Nations*, spoke as follows.

*Brother, the Governor,*

Please to hear me in few Words. What you told me, I have told, to my Uncles the *Six Nations* present, and also to all the *Ten Nations*. We have consulted, on these Words, that you have now spoken : We now think, they were very proper, and are very agreeable : We look on it as our Duty : Why should we keep your Flesh and Blood, or any of your People, when we have agreed as one, and look on one another as one, and treat one another as Brethren ? After we have all considered, and all present have heard, we beg your Pardon, that we forgot to give you an Answer, immediately. As it was written down, by our Clerk, in the Minutes, Yesterday, it must be so ; and as we are, now, sensible this Matter was mentioned Yesterday, we accept your Words, and look on it as our Duty, to answer you, and to perform ; whatever shall be in our Power, we shall endeavour to do. In Confirmation of which I give you my Hand.

*Gave the Governor his Hand.*

After this Speech, the Governor, again, delivered back, the Belt, to the King, who readily accepted it.

The Governor, then, told the *Indians*, that a Present was prepared, and would be delivered to them, To-morrow, as a Token of Friendship.

I told *Teedyuscung*, that, as the Business was now nearly finished with *Onas*, I had something to say to him, in the Name of the King of *Great-Britain*, and that I would let him know, when I was to speak to him.

After the Council broke up, the Governor sent for *Teedyuscung*, and some of his Counsellors, to his Lodgings, from whence, we went to Mr. *Vernon's*, where an handsome Entertainment was provided, at which were present, the Governor, his Council, the Speaker, and Members of Assembly, the Commissioners and Gentlemen in Town ; the *Delaware* King, his Counsellors, Warriors, and all the *Indians*, Men, Women and Children, in Number about Three Hundred. After Dinner, Peace was proclaimed, in Form, and the Proclamation interpreted, to the *Delawares* and *Six Nations* ; at the Close of which, the Governor, by his Secretary, expressed his Satisfaction, at being one of the happy Instruments of bringing about this Peace. His Honour recommended it, to all Ranks and Professions of Men, to cultivate, to the utmost of their Power, a good Understanding, with the *Indians*, and to treat them, kindly, that they may daily see the Advantage of preserving our Friendship.

Having given this in Charge, to the Freeholders, present, he desired *Teedyuscung* to do the same, to his People, that we might, on both Sides forget what was past, and live affectionately, together for the Time to come. A Detachment of the *Pennsylvania* Troops was drawn up, in the Front of the Company, and fired three Volleys.

The Governor, afterwards, continued his Entertainment, at which there was a great Cheerfulness. At Night was a large Bonfire, and a Variety of *Indian* Dances.

*At*

*At a MEETING with the Indians in Easton, Friday, August 5, 1757.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Governor, &c.*

*The Council.*

*DANIEL ROBERDEAU, Esq; Member of the Assembly.*

*The Provincial Commissioners.*

*A Number of Gentlemen from the City of Philadelphia, and others, the Inhabitants of the Province.*

*Captain THOMAS M'KEE, Interpreter for the Crown.*

*CONRAD WEISER, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.*

*Mr. JOHN PUMPSHIRE, Interpreter for Teedyuscung.*

*TEEDYUSCUNG, King of the Delawares, and the same Indians as before.*

1757.

**T**HIS Morning, another Sheet of Council Conferences was produced, which, the Governor said, was omitted to be delivered, Yesterday; for which Reason, they were delivered, and publicly read To-day, and ordered to be annexed to the Conferences in Council, delivered and read, Yesterday.

After this was read, *Teedyuscung* arose and said, Brother, I am obliged to you; I hope, as it lies in your Power, you will act for our mutual Good. I take you as a Brother. When any Thing is omitted, I hope you will mention it to me; and I likewise will mention any Thing, that I find you may have forgotten. I hope we both speak, with an honest Heart. I trust much to my Interpreter. I thank you for making that Addition, and, in Token of Friendship, I give you my Hand.

*The Governor then addressed the Indians as follows.*

*Brethren,*

The Peace, so happily concluded, gives an universal Joy. I shall proclaim it, far and wide, that all may hear and know it. The People of this Province are disposed to observe it, faithfully, and will do the *Indians* every good Office, in their Power.

Altho' we have now, so solemnly, entered into this Peace, with each other, yet you are sensible there are still many *Enemy Indians*, who are daily doing Mischief, on our Frontiers. Yesterday, I received an Account of one Woman's being killed, and four Persons taken Prisoners, between *Tolbao* and *Monaidy*. As it will, therefore, be very difficult to distinguish between our Friends and our Enemies, I should be glad you would favour me, with your Advice, how to act, in such a Manner, as not to hurt our Friends, or suffer our Enemies to escape.

*Gave a String.*

*Brethren,*

The Governor, and People of this Province, observe, with a brotherly Compassion, the many Difficulties to which the *Indians* are exposed, in these troublesome Times, and have therefore provided a Quantity of Goods, to supply them, in their Distress. You will, on your Return Home, proclaim the Peace, Union and Friendship, which is now established between us, and let every one know, as you have Opportunity, how well disposed you have found us. Accept these Presents, as a Testimony of the sincere Affection of us, your Brethren, towards you.

*To this Teedyuscung replied,*

*Brother,*

I am obliged to you, for putting me in Remembrance of these Things. I will take them into Consideration, and To-morrow, when I am ready to give you an Answer, I will let you know. He further added,

*Brother,*

There is something, which we intended to say before, but forgot, as we have not the Use of Writing. But better late than never; we will, therefore, mention it now. The Copy of the Deeds, and the Transactions of this Treaty, we entrust to our Clerk. We believe him to be an honest Man. Every Thing is done, to Perfection. We hope you will not be against his making out a Copy, and giving it to *Mr. Isaac Norris*, whom we also appoint for us, to transmit to the King, a Copy of the Deeds and Minutes of the Treaty, that, if one should miscarry, the other may go safe.

On which, I acquainted *Teedyuscung*, that the Governor and myself, had no Objection, to Mr. *Norris's* having true Copies of the Minutes of these Conferences, and Deeds, to send to the King, as he requested.

Then,

## [ 21 ]

Then, by Order of the Governor, Proclamation was made, that no One should cheat, defraud or purchase, any of the Goods, now ready to be given to the *Indians*, upon the Pain and Penalties that may fall thereon. 1757.

Then *Teedyuscung* said, he had yet one Thing more, to mention.

Brother,

I have some Complaints to make, about Lands in the *Jerseys*, in Behalf of myself, *John Pumpshire*, *Moses Tetamy*, and others; which Complaints are contained in these two Papers: And as you represent Sir *William Johnson*, the King's Agent here, I desire you may take them under your Consideration, and see that Justice is done us, on that Account, as it is the King's Orders to you, to see Justice done, to all the *Indians* in these Parts.

*Teedyuscung* then ordered Mr. *Thompson* to read the Papers, and give me true Copies of them, which he did immediately, in publick Council.

The Papers delivered me are, a Copy of an old *Indian* Deed, and a Letter of Complaint, about Lands in the *Jerseys*, signed by *John Pumpshire*; I then acquainted him, that I would take the Papers, under my Consideration, and give him an Answer.

*Easton, August 6, 1757.*

THIS Morning I expected to have had a Meeting with the *Indians*, but as the friendly Association of *Quakers* had called the *Indians* together, to deliver them a Present, the *Indians* thought proper to put off the Meeting for this Time.

After this, the three *Nanticoke* Messengers came to me, and congratulated the Governor and myself, on the Conclusion of the Peace, and said, they had put both their Hands into the Chain of Friendship, as they were ordered by their Chief, before they left Home, and, by a String of Wampum, desired that the Governor might send some Person, with them, to *Lancaster*, to take Care of them, and supply them with Necessaries, on the Road, as they were come to take the Bones of their Friends, which died at *Lancaster*, to their own Town, to be buried, with their Relations. Gave a String.

This Afternoon *Packsinosa*, the *Shawanese* Chief, with *Abraham*, a *Mohickon* Chief, and about Fifty or Sixty of their People, came to Town. Soon after, Mr. *Peters*, and *Conrad Weiser*, went to them, and, with a String of Wampum, bid them Welcome, agreeable to the ancient Custom of our Forefathers. *Teedyuscung*, and the *Six Nation* Chief, did the same.

*At a MEETING with the Indians in Easton, on Sunday, August 7, 1757,  
at Seven o' Clock in the Morning.*

P R E S E N T,

JOSEPH GALLOWAY,	} Esquires, Provincial Commissioners.
WILLIAM MASTERS,	
JOSEPH FOX,	
JOHN HUGHES,	

*Some Gentlemen from the City of Philadelphia, and others, the Inhabitants of the Province.*

*Captain THOMAS M'KEE, Interpreter for the Crown.*

*CONRAD WEISER, Esq; Interpreter for the Province.*

*Mr. JOHN PUMPSHIRE, Interpreter for Teedyuscung.*

*TEEDYUSCUNG, King of the Delawares, and his Chiefs.*

*PACKSINOSA, Chief of the Shawanese.*

*The Nanticoke Messengers.*

*ABRAHAM, Chief of the Mohicons.*

*ANAAQUATEEKA, Chief of the Six Nations.*

*Teedyuscung, taking out the Peace Belt, that had been delivered to him by the Governor and myself, repeated over, what had been said on it, informing Packsinosa and Abraham, of the Peace, concluded by him, between the English and the Ten several Nations he represents, repeating over the Names of the Ten Nations.*

*After which, I spoke to them, in the Name of Sir William Johnson, as follows.*

*Brother Teedyuscung, and all the Chiefs and Warriors of the Ten Nations, our Friends and Brethren,*

AS we are now become one People, we must look on the Enemies of the one, as the Enemies of the other.

F

And

1757.

And I now, in the Name of the King of *Great-Britain*, your Father, and my Master, desire you will turn the Edge of your Hatchet, against your, and our, common Enemies, in Conjunction with your Uncles, the *Six Nations*, and us; and that you will not suffer any of His Majesty's Enemies to pass, through your Country, to war, against any of His Subjects, in this or the neighbouring Colonies: And if a Body of the Enemy, so large, that you are not able to repel, should attempt to pass, across your Country, I expect, you will give the earliest Notice you can, of it, to your Brethren, the *English*, either by Way of *Fort Augusta*, or any other Way, you shall judge most convenient.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brother,*

You said, as soon as the Peace should be confirmed, that you would speak, with a loud Voice, and the Nations around should hear you. As that good Work is now happily accomplished, I desire you may proclaim it aloud, that all the Nations may hear it.

*Brother,*

You must be sensible, that your Brethren, the *English*, are the most wealthy and powerful People, on this Continent, and not only so, but the best inclined, to help and assist their Brethren, the *Indians*, with the Necessaries of Life; all this, you should let the Nations know, that you speak to; and I assure you, in the Name of the King of *Great-Britain*, and of Sir *William Johnson*, His Majesty's sole Agent, and Superintendent of the Affairs of the *Six Nations*, their Allies and Dependents, in the Northern District, that they are ready to receive, with open Arms, all the Nations you shall speak to, that desire to take hold of the Chain of Friendship, and be united with the *Six Nations*, you, and us, your Brethren, the *English*.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brother,*

The Papers you delivered me Yesterday, containing your, *John Pumpshire, Tundy*, alias (*Moses*) *Tetamy*, and others, Complaints of Lands, you say, you have been defrauded of in the *Jerseys*; I assure you I will do every Thing in my Power, to have a strict Enquiry, made about them, and when I can get the fair State of the Case, I will lay it before Sir *William Johnson*, for him to send to the King, for His Royal Determination, unless the Difference can be settled here, to your Satisfaction.

*Gave a String.*

*To this, Teedyuscung answered,*

*Brother,*

I will, in Answer to what you tell me, let you know, what I intend to do. I shall, Brother, as I promised to speak with a loud Voice, to the Nations, perform my Promise, and speak to the different Nations. I will, faithfully, let them know, what you have promised, and, as we are Witnesses that you are wealthy and powerful, and well disposed, to assist such as shall come in as Brothers, I will let them know it. And also, as I think it is very proper that I should do so, and as I think it my Duty, whatever Nation I see coming against the *English*, whenever I see them, I will make ready, and do every Thing in my Power, to vindicate the Cause of myself, and of my Brethren. If I am able, I will let them go no farther, than where I tell them to stop. If they will not, by reasonable Terms, turn about, and join with me, I will then either make an End of them, or they of me. And if there is a great Number, so that I may not be able to withstand them, I will take all prudent Steps to let my Brethren the *English* know. And also, if I perceive that there is so great a Number, that it is not safe for my Women and Children, I will acquaint my Brethren the *English*, that they may assist me, in defending my Women and Children, and I will leave my Country, and bring them down, to you.

Now, you may remember I was stiled, by my Uncles, the *Six Nations*, a *Woman*, in former Years, and had no Hatchet, in my Hand, but a Pestle, or Hominy Pounder; but now, Brethren, here are some of my Uncles, who are present, to witness the Truth of this; as I had no Tomahawk, and my Uncles were always stiled Men, and had Tomahawks in their Hands, they gave me a Tomahawk. And as my Uncles have given me the Tomahawk, and appointed and authorized me to make Peace, with a Tomahawk in my Hand, I take that Tomahawk, and turn the Edge of it, against your Enemies, the *French*. In Confirmation of what I now say, I give you this String.

*Gave a String.*

*Brother,*

I have just a Word or two more. I remember what you have spoken, in order that we may prevent any Mischief, by having a Signal: I should be glad that the *French* may not deceive us, that not one, but several, Signs and Methods may be fixed on, by you. And whatever you shall think proper, I will agree to.

*Gave a Belt.*

I then returned *Teedyuscung* Thanks for his kind Speech, and let him know that I would consult with the Governor about settling the Signals, and would give him an Answer.

*Teedyuscung*



## [ 23 ]

*Teedyuscung* then taking up four Belts, and a String, spoke to his Uncles, the *Six Nations*, telling them, that as they had empowered him, he had, in the Presence of these Witnesses they had sent, made a firm Peace, with their Brethren, the *English*; he, therefore, by these Belts desired, that they would perform their Part; and, as they said they would take hold of the *English*, by one Hand, and he, by the other, he had now done it. And as the Chain of Friendship was now brightened, he desired they would be strong, and if they see any Enemies coming against us, they would look on it, that whoever strikes any one of us strikes all. These Belts he gave to *Anaquateeka*, and desired he would carry them, to the *Six Nations*.

*Teedyuscung* then acquainted me, that he had done; whereupon *Packfinsola* spoke to me, as follows.

*Brother,*

I heartily thank you for being so kind, as to wipe the Sweat from our Faces, picking out the Briars, and taking away all bad Thoughts, from our Minds, and cleaning the Passage, from the Heart to the Throat, that we may see our Brethren, and be well, from all our Wounds. By these Strings we return you Thanks.

*Gave a String.*

The same he said, by another String, to the *Six Nations* and *Delawares*.

Then the young Warrior, *Anaquateeka*, arose, and, directing his Speech to the *English*, and his Cousins, said,

*Brethren,*

My Cousins have entrusted me, with all that was here transacted, respecting the great Work of Peace, here confirmed, to lay it before the *Six Nations*. I assure you I will execute the Trust reposed in me, with Faithfulness, and lay it before the *Six Nations*, particularly, before the *Senecas*, to whom I belong. I do not pretend to be a Counsellor: I am a young Warrior; yet, the Affairs of War and Peace belong to us, Warriors: And as I am entrusted, I assure you I will take Care, that all the *Six Nations* may know what is here done.

Then, his Honour the Governor, Mr. *Logan*, and Mr. *Peters*, came into Council. I acquainted the Governor, that I thought it was proper, what had been transacted, this Morning should be read, and it was accordingly done; after which the Governor addressed *Packfinsola* as follows.

*Brother Packfinsola,*

You have been frequently invited, by this Government to come and give us the Pleasure of a Visit. I am glad to see you, I take you by the Hand, and bid you heartily welcome, and thank you for bringing along with you *Abraham*, the *Mohiccon* Chief; he is likewise extremely welcome.

*Gave a String.*

*Brother,*

We have often enquired after you, and always heard you continued to be our hearty Friend, and a Lover of Peace. Sir *William Johnson* was kind enough to send me an Account of the Conferences, he lately held with you, at *Fort Johnson*, and they gave me great Satisfaction.

*Brother,*

With Pleasure, I acquaint you, that Peace is now concluded, and it will add much to the Joy, all feel, on this successful Issue of our Conferences; and I am glad to see you and *Abraham* here to take hold of the Peace Belt.

*Gave a Belt.*

*Brother,*

We were in Hopes to have seen you with *Teedyuscung* when he came here. We heard you was not come, but would follow: I have staid some Time, in Expectation of your Arrival. I should have been glad to have spent more Time, with you, but the Business of the Government obliges me to return to *Philadelphia*, this Afternoon, so that you will please to use Dispatch in letting me know any Thing you may have to say to us.

Having finished this Speech, the Governor told *Packfinsola*, that some Presents were reserved, for him and his Friends, which should be delivered presently.

*Teedyuscung*, then, addressing himself to the Governor, spoke as follows.

*Brother,*

I have a Word or two more to say. You know, when you employ your Soldiers, they are paid, for their Services. As I am joined with you, you being rich, and I poor, as I am going against your Enemies, and carrying my Flesh against them, I think it would be proper, for the Encouragement of my young Men, to appoint some Reward for Scalps, and Prisoners, and that some Place may be fixed, where the Scalps and Prisoners may be brought in, and the Reward received, that my Men may return quickly from thence.

Then



1757.

Then the Governor said, he would take into Consideration what he, *Teedyuscung*, had said, and in Half an Hour would return an Answer.

*Teedyuscung* further added; You may remember, when I mentioned *Iaac Norris*, the Speaker, I mentioned him alone; but I did not intend to mention him alone, but that he, with the Assembly, should look into it, and send Copies Home.---I then told *Teedyuscung*, that I had no Objection to Mr. *Norris*, with the Assembly, sending authentick Copies of the Minutes of this Treaty, and Deeds, Home.

Sunday, August 7, 1757.

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable the GOVERNOR.*

WILLIAM LOGAN, } *Esquires, Members of the Council.*  
RICHARD PETERS, }

CONRAD WEISER, *Esq;* Mr. JOHN PUMPSHIRE, *Interpreter.*

TEEDYUSCUNG.

*Seneca Chief.*

*Packfinsfa, Shawanese Chief.*

*Daniel.*

*Abraham, Mobickon Chief.*

*A Nanticocke, and 4 other Delaware Indians.*

*Teedyuscung addressed the Governor as follows.*

*Brother,*

WE have now finished. The Treaty is over. Peace is confirmed. I told you I thought of going to *Philadelpha*, but upon considering the Matter with more Attention, I think it will be more for the publick Service if I proceed immediately to *Diabogo*: Many Nations will be uneasy to know what has been done at this Council-Fire, and will take their Measures accordingly; I shall therefore make the best of my Way to *Diabogo*, and proclaim there, and to Nations still more distant, the Confirmation of the Peace with our Brethren the *English*. This will take up three or four Months; after which I may perhaps come and see you at *Philadelpha*. I wish the Governor a good Journey, and that we may both live to enjoy the Fruits of this happy Peace, which gives my People great Joy.

*To which the Governor returned the following Answer.*

*Brother Teedyuscung,*

It gives me great Pleasure that we have brought the important Business we met about to so happy an Issue. You have very agreeably prevented my mentioning to you the Necessity of your returning Home, in order to publish to the *Indians* what has been transacted here. I thank you for the Change of your Purpose: It is a further Sign of your Zeal for Peace, and I make no Doubt but you will use your utmost Dispatch.

In Answer to what you requested this Morning, I assure you that your Warriors will always find this Government ready to reward them for any Services they shall do against the Enemy. I cannot at present give you a more particular Answer, but shall lay your Proposals before the Assembly, who meet To-morrow, and consult with them thereupon.

*Teedyuscung replied.*

*Brother, the Governor,*

You have not so much as given us a rusty Iron to defend ourselves. If we meet an Enemy on the Road, what are we to do? We cannot defend ourselves against him. We have nothing to do it with. Our young Warriors think as much of themselves, and their Lives are as dear to them as white People's. But you have not given them any Encouragement to go against the Enemy. Can this be right? You know you have not. Consider this well Brother.

Further, Brother, I think it proper to tell you, if *English* and *Indians* shall go to War together, my young Men will not be subject to an *English* Captain; and if any of your People will go to War with me, I expect they will be subject to my Directions: We understand our own Way of Fighting better than you.

The Governor then said he had given Directions to Colonel *Weiser* to agree with him on proper Signals for the *Indians*, when they were coming towards the inhabited Parts of this Province, as this was a Matter that ought not to be spoke of in Publick.

They then took a kind Leave of each other, and the Governor set out for *Philadelpha*.

*Compared with the Original, by*

JACOB DUCHE, *Assistant Clerk to Mr. CROGHAN.*

M I N U T E S  
O F  
C O N F E R E N C E S,

H E L D A T

E A S T O N,

In O C T O B E R, 1758,

With the Chief SACHEMS and WARRIORS of the *Mohawks*,  
*Oneidoes*, *Onondagoes*, *Cayugas*, *Senecas*, *Tuscaroras*, *Tuteloës*, *Skaniada-*  
*radigronos*, consisting of the *Nanticokes* and *Conoys*, who now make one  
Nation; *Chugnuts*, *Delawares*, *Unamies*, *Mabickanders*, or *Mobickons*;  
*Minisinks*, and *Wapingers*, or *Pumptions*.



P H I L A D E L P H I A :

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# Minutes of Conferences, &c.

*At a MEETING held at Easton, on the Seventh of October, 1758.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania,*

LAWRENCE GROWDON,  
RICHARD PETERS,  
LYN-FORD LARDNER,

BENJAMIN CHEW,  
JOHN MIFFLIN. } *Esquires.*

**T**HE Governor and Council coming to Town this Afternoon, *Teedyuscung*, accompanied with *Moses Tittamy, Daniel, Teedyuscung, and Isaac Stille*, waited on his Honour, and made the usual Salutations. 1758.

*Brother,*

I am very glad to see you here again; you may remember that we have already made Peace, and you desired me to halloo loud, and give Notice of it to all the *Indians* round about.

I have spoke loud, and raised my Voice, and all the *Indians* have heard me as far as the *Twightwees*, and have regarded it, and are now come to this Place.

I bid you welcome, and join with me in casting up our Eyes to Heaven, and praying the Blessing of the Supream Being on our Endeavours.

According to our usual Custom, I, with this String, wipe the Dust and Sweat off your Face, and clear your Eyes, and pick the Briars out of your Legs, and desire you will pull the Briars out of the Legs of the *Indians* that are come here, and anoint one of them with your healing Oil, and I will anoint the other.

*A String.*

The Governor returned him Thanks for the Visit and his good Advice, which he promised to comply with, and appointed a Meeting in the Morning for that Purpose.

*At a CONFERENCE held in the Town of Easton, on the 8th of October, 1758.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor,*

LAWRENCE GROWDON,  
WILLIAM LOGAN,  
RICHARD PETERS,

LYN-FORD LARDNER,  
BENJAMIN CHEW,  
JOHN MIFFLIN, } *Esquires, Members of the Governor's Council.*

ISAAC NORRIS,  
JOSEPH FOX,  
JOSEPH GALLOWAY,

JOHN HUGHES,  
DANIEL ROBERDEAU,  
AMOS STRICKLAND. } *Esquires, Committee of the House of Representatives.*

CHARLES READ, } *Esquires, Commissioners for Indian Affairs in the Province of*  
JACOB SPICER, } *New-Jersey.*

*A Num-*

## [ 4 ]

*A Number of Magistrates and Freeholders, of this and the neighbouring Province, and of the Citizens of the City of Philadelphia, chiefly of the People called Quakers.*

GEORGE CROGHAN, Esq; Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs, under Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON.

## INDIANS of several Nations, viz.

MOHAWKS.	Nichas, or Karaghtadie, with one Woman and two Boys,	-	-	4
ONEIDGES.	Thomas King, Anagaraghry, Assanyquou, with 3 Warrior Captains,	-	-	
	6 Warriors, and 33 Women and Children,	-	-	45
ONONDAGOES.	Affaradonguas, with 9 Men, and 9 Women and Children,	-	-	19
CAYUGAS.	Tokaaiou, with 8 Men, and 11 Women and Children,	-	-	20
SENECAS.	Takeaghfado, Tagashata, or Segachfado, chief Man, with 7 other Chiefs,	-	-	
	37 other Men, 28 Women, and several Children, in all,	-	-	83
TUSCARORAS.	Unata, alias Jonathan, with 5 Men, 12 Women, and 2 Children,	-	-	20
NANTICOKEs and CONOYS,	now one Nation. Robert White, alias Wolahocumy, Pa-	-	-	
	shaamokas, alias Charles, with 16 Men, 20 Women, and 18 Children,	-	-	56
	Kandt, alias Last Night, with 9 Men, 10 Women, and 1 Child,	-	-	21
TUTELOES.	Cakanonekoanos, alias Big Arm, Asswagarat, with 6 Men, and 3 Women,	-	-	11
CHUGNUTS.	10 Men, and 20 Women and Children,	-	-	30
CHEHOHOCKES, alias DELAWARES and UNAMIES.	Teedyuscung, with sundry Men,	-	-	
	Women and Children,	-	-	60
MUNSIES, or MINISINKS.	Egohohowen, with sundry Men, Women and Children,	-	-	35
MOHICKONS.	Abraham, or Mummatuckan, with several Men, Women and Children,	-	-	56
WAPINGS, or PUMPTONS.	Nimham, Aquaywochtu, with sundry Men, Women and	-	-	
	Children, in all,	-	-	47
				In all, 507

CONRAD WEISER, Esq; Provincial Interpreter.

Captain HENRY MONTOUR, Interpreter in the Six Nation and Delaware Languages.

STEPHEN CALVIN,  
ISAAC STILLE,  
MOSES TITTAMY, } Delaware Indians, Interpreters in the Delaware Language.

*The Governor opened the Conferences with the following Ceremonies, addressing himself to all the Indians present, of every Nation.*

Brethren,

1758. IT gives me great Pleasure to see so many of you, and of so many different Nations, at this Council Fire. I bid you heartily Welcome.

Brethren,

With this String I wipe the Sweat and Dust out of your Eyes, that you may see your Brethrens Faces, and look cheerful. With this String I take all Bitterness out of your Breast, as well as every Thing disagreeable that may have gathered there, in order that you may speak perfectly free and open to us. With this String I gather the Blood, and take it away from the Council Seats, that your Clothes may not be stained, nor your Minds any Ways disturbed.

*Three Strings.*

Mr. Weiser interpreted the Substance of this Speech, and saying his Memory did not serve him to remember the several Ceremonies in Use on this Occasion, he desired Nichas, a Mohawk Chief, to do it for him, which he did, and it was afterwards interpreted by Captain Henry Montour, in the Delaware Language, to Teedyuscung, and the Delawares.

After a short Pause, Tagashata, the Seneca Chief, rose up, and repeating, as usual, each Paragraph distinctly as spoke by the Governor, he returned Thanks, and went through the same Ceremonies to the Governor, Council, and People of the Province, adding on the last String, that their Great Grandfathers had told them, that they had made a Road for them to travel to their Brethren the English, and that whenever it should be stopped, they would become a poor People. They were very glad to find the Road open to their Brethren, and should take Care to preserve it so on their Side.

*Three Strings.*

After Mr. Weiser had delivered this in English, and it was interpreted in the Delaware Language by Moses Tittamy, Takeaghfado, or Tagashata, proceeded;

*Brother*

## [ 5 ]

*Brother Onas,*

By this Belt you sent an Invitation to us to come to *Pennsylvania*, which reached our Towns about the Time that the Leaves put out last Spring, but we were then so much alarmed by the *French*, who were near us, that we could not then leave our Country. Some little Time ago we received another Belt from Sir *William Johnson*, which he informed us was sent to him by you, to be forwarded to us, to enquire into the Reasons why we did not come to you, according to your first Invitation, and Sir *William Johnson* desired us to come here to meet you in Council; upon which we immediately arose, and came as soon as we could to your Council Fire, and now we are here, as you see. 1758.

*Two Belts.*

*Brother,*

Here is another Belt, by which we were invited lately to come to a Council Fire, that was kindled in an Island near the Sea: This surprized us, as we never heard of a Council Fire in an Island.\* We know of no Council Fires, but the old Council Fire at *Philadelphia*, and the great Council Fire in *Albany*.

*Here be laid the Belt on the Table.*

Then taking four other Strings of Wampum, he said, These were sent to us by *Nichas*, the *Mohawk* Chief, with a Message, that he was arrived in this Province, and desired we would comply with the Invitation, and come down.

*Here be laid the four Strings on the Table.*

*Nichas* having acknowledged the Message, and taken up the Strings, *Tagashata* concluded, saying, These are your Belts, by which we were invited to this Council Fire; and as we are now come, we return them, and desire to see the Belts that were sent by us, particularly one, on which were several Images of Men holding each other by the Hand.

The Governor replied, that he would enquire for the Belts sent by them, and they should be returned:

The Substance of these last Speeches of *Tagashata* was interpreted to *Teedyuscung*, and the *Delawares*.

\* Meaning *Burlington*.

*October 9, 1758.*

THIS Morning his Excellency Governor *Bernard* arrived at *Easton*, and desired a Meeting of the *Indians*, in order to make them the usual Compliments; but was acquainted by Mr. *Weiser*, that they were then in Council, deliberating on Matters necessary to be adjusted before the Meeting.

*October 10, 1758.*

THE *Indian* Chiefs continued in Council the greatest Part of this Day, and desired the Governors would not be impatient.

*October 11, 1758.*

THIS Morning the *Indian* Chiefs communicated to the Governors, by Mr. *Weiser*, the Business they had been consulting upon, and said they had concluded to speak to us this Forenoon. The Governors waited till One o'Clock, expecting the *Indians* to meet them, being told that they were gathering together for that Purpose; but they not coming, after several Messages sent to hasten them, it was agreed to meet punctually at Four o'Clock.

At a CONFERENCE held at *Easton* with the *Indians*, October 11, 1758. P. M.

P R E S E N T,

Governor D E N N Y, with his Council, and the several *Pennsylvania* Gentlemen, as before.

Governor B E R N A R D.

ANDREW JOHNSON,  
CHARLES READ,  
JOHN STEVENS,

JACOB SPICER,  
WILLIAM FOSTER, } Esquires, Indian Com-  
missioners for Jersey.

TAGASHATA, the *Seneca* Chief, intending to speak first, on Behalf of the *Indians*, had laid some Belts and Strings in Order on the Table.

As soon as the Company sat down, *Teedyuscung*, holding out a String, said he had something to deliver, and desired he might be heard first of all. Mr. *Croghan* requested

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to know, if what he was going to say was the Result of the *Delaware* Council, and if it was their Desire it should be spoke first; but no Answer was given him as to this.

Governor *Bernard* signifying his Desire to bid the *Indians* welcome, and just mention to them the Business he came upon, it was agreed he should speak first, which he did as follows.

*Brethren,*

I am glad to see so many of you met together, to cultivate Peace with your Brethren and old Friends the *English*. I heartily bid you welcome; and wish that the good Work for which you are now assembled, may prosper in your Hands, and have that Success, which your wise Men, and all that wish you well, must desire, as a Thing much to your Advantage.

The Situation of the Province over which I preside, and the Disposition of its People, have hitherto afforded very little Occasion for Treaties with the neighbouring *Indians*; but having, some Months ago, sent a Message to the *Minisinks*, I received a Message from our Brethren the *Senecas*, and *Cayugas*, wherein they take upon them to answer my Message to the *Minisinks*, and desire that I would meet them at the Council Fire burning at this Place.

It is not usual for the King's Governors to go out of their Provinces to attend Treaties; but I am glad to have an Opportunity of shewing my good Disposition to establish Peace and Friendship with my Neighbours; and therefore I have waved all Forms, and am come here, according to the Invitation I received at *Burlington*.

To you therefore, our Brethren the *Senecas* and *Cayugas*, and your Nephews the *Minisinks*, I now speak, and desire that you would take into your most serious Consideration, my Message to the *Minisinks*, your Message to me, and my Answer thereto, and let me know what we are to expect from you.

What is past, we are willing to forget; but I must remind you, that if you are disposed to be our Friends for the future, you should give us that Proof of your Sincerity which I have desired in my Answer to your Message, and return us the Captives that have been taken out of our Province, and are now within your Power; this should be one of the first Steps, and will be the best that can be taken, towards restoring and confirming that Brotherly Love and Friendship between us, which I am convinced will be for the mutual Benefit of all Parties.

This was interpreted in the *Six Nation* Language by Mr. *Weiser*, and in the *Delaware* by Mr. *Stephen Calvin*, the *Indian* Schoolmaster in *West-Jersey*.

*Then Teedyuscung spoke.*

*Brethren,*

I desire all of you who are present, will give Ear to me. As you, my Brethren, desired me to call all the Nations who live back, I have done so; I have given the Halloo, and such as have heard me are present. Now, if you have any Thing to say to them, or they to you, you must sit and talk together.

*Brethren,*

I sit by, only to hear and see what you say to one another; for I have said what I have to say to the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, who sits here; he knows what has passed between us. I have made known to him the Reason why I struck him. Now I and the Governor have made up these Differences between him and me, and I think we have done it, as far as we can, for our future Peace.

*A String.*

The above Speech was interpreted in the *Six Nation* Language.

*Tagashata then rose up and spoke.*

*Brethren the Governors, and your Councils,*

It has pleased the most High that we meet together here with cheerful Countenances, and a good deal of Satisfaction; and as publick Business requires great Consideration, and the Day is almost spent, I chuse to speak early To-morrow Morning.

The Governors answered, that they should be glad to give all the Dispatch possible to this good Work they were engaged in; and desired the Chiefs would fix the Time of Meeting; but they declined it, saying, they were unacquainted with Hours, but would give Notice when they were ready.

## [ 7 ]

*At a CONFERENCE held at Easton, on the 12th of October, 1758.*

P R E S E N T,  
The G O V E R N O R S,

*The Gentlemen of their Councils,*

*And others, as before.*

**T**AGASHATA, the *Seneca* Chief, taking the Strings and Belt of Wampum which Governor *Bernard* gave Yesterday, repeated, according to the *Indian* Custom, the Particulars of his Speech, and then added, 1758.

*Brethren,*

We approve of every Article mentioned to us Yesterday by the Governor of *Jersey*, all that he said is very good; we look upon his Message to us as a Commission and Request from him, that we should bring Matters to a good Conclusion with our Cousins the *Minisinks*. They themselves sent for us to do the same Thing, on their Behalf, and, at their Request, we came here, have taken it in Hand, and will use our utmost Endeavours to bring about the good Work which Governor *Bernard* desires, and do not doubt but it will be done to his entire Satisfaction.

*Brethren,*

I now speak at the Request of *Teedyuscung*, and our Nephews the *Delawares*, living at *Wyomink*, and on the Waters of the River *Sasquehanna*.

*Brethren,*

We now remove the Hatchet out of your Heads that was struck into them by our Cousins the *Delawares*; it was a *French* Hatchet that they unfortunately made use of, by the Instigation of the *French*; we take it out of your Heads, and bury it under Ground, where it shall always rest, and never be taken up again. Our Cousins the *Delawares* have assured us they will never think of War against their Brethren, the *English*, any more, but employ their Thoughts about Peace, and cultivating Friendship with them, and never suffer Enmity against them to enter into their Minds again.

The *Delawares* desired us to say this for them by this Belt.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

Our Nephews, the *Minisink* Indians, and three other different Tribes of that Nation, have, at last, listened to us, and taken our Advice, and laid down the Hatchet they had taken up against their Brethren the *English*. They told us they had received it from the *French*, but had already laid it down, and would return it to them again.

They assured us, they would never use it any more against you, but would follow our Advice, and entreated us to use our utmost Endeavours to reconcile them to you their Brethren, declaring they were sorry for what they had done, and desired it might be forgotten, and they would for ever cultivate a good Friendship with you. These Declarations were made by the principal Warriors of Four Tribes of the *Minisink* Indians at giving us this Belt.

*A Belt.*

Then, taking eight Strings of Black Wampum, he proceeded.

*Brethren,*

We let you know that we have not only brought about this Union with our Nephews on the Waters of the River *Sasquehanna*, but also have sent Messages to our Nephews the *Delawares* and *Minisinks*, and to those likewise of our own Nations, who are on the *Ohio*, under the Influence of the *French*. We have told all these that they must lay down the *French* Hatchet, and be reconciled to their Brethren the *English*, and never more employ it against them, and we hope they will take our Advice. We the *Mohawks*, *Senecas*, and *Onondagas*, deliver this String of Wampum to remove the Hatchet out of your Heads, that has been struck into them by the *Ohio* Indians, in order to lay a Foundation for Peace.

*Eight Strings of Black Wampum.*

*Tagashata* sat down, and then the *Cayuga* Chief, *Tokaio*, arose and said,

*Brethren,*

I speak in Behalf of the younger Nations, Part of, and confederated with, the *Six Nations*, viz. The *Cayugas*, *Oneidoes*, *Tuscaroras*, *Tuteloës*, *Nanticokes*, and *Conoys*.

*A Road*

## [ 8 ]

1758. A Road has been made from our Country to this Council Fire, that we might treat about Friendship; and as we came down the Road, we saw that (by some Misfortune or other) Blood has lately been spilt on it. By these Strings we make the Road wider and clearer;— we take the Blood away out of it, and likewise out of the Council Chamber, which may have been stained; we wash it all away, and desire it may not be seen any more, and we take the Hatchet out of your Heads.

*Gave three Strings.*

*Brethren, the Governors, and all the English,*  
I now confine myself to the *Cayugas*, my own Nation.

I will hide nothing from you, because we have promised to speak to each other from the Bottom of our Hearts.

The *French*, like a Thief in the Night, have stolen away some of our young Men, and misled them, and they have been concerned in doing Mischief against our Brethren the *English*.

We did not know it when it happened, but we discovered it since. The Chiefs of our Nation held their young Men fast, and would not suffer them to go out of their Sight, but the *French* came and stole them away from us, and corrupted them to do Mischief. We are sorry for it; we ask Pardon for them, and hope you will forgive them; we promise they shall do so no more, and now, by this Belt, we take out of your Heads the Hatchet with which they struck you.

*A Belt of ten Rows.*

He added, he had found out that some of their young People had been concerned in striking us four Times.

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, held at Easton, October 13, 1758.*

P R E S E N T,

Governor DENNY,

Governor BERNARD,

*The same Gentlemen, Indians, Interpreters. &c. as before.*

AS soon as the *Indians* had taken their Seats, Governor Denny made the following Speech.

*Brethren, Chiefs and Warriors of the United Nations, and others your Brethren and Nephews, now met here,*

Agreeable to your Request, at our first Meeting, I now return you the Belt, which the young *Seneca Indian* brought me, with your Answer to the Invitation I gave you to come down to this Council Fire.

*Here his Honour returned the Belt.*

*Brethren,*

I invited you to come down to the Council Fire kindled at this Place by me and your Nephew *Teedyuscung*, with a Design to lay before you Matters of the greatest Consequence to you and us; I am now about to communicate them to you, and to answer all that has been said by you to me, since our meeting together; I therefore, by this String, open your Ears, that you may hear clearly, and carefully attend to what I shall say to you.

*A String.*

*Brethren,*

I must first put you in Mind, that perfect Peace and Friendship subsisted between you and your Brethren, the *English*, in this Province, from our first Settlement among you, and that whatever little Disputes happened between your People and ours, they were amicably settled and adjusted by our wise Men at our Council Fires, according to an Agreement made by our first Proprietary WILLIAM PENN, and your Fathers. Had this wise Agreement been carefully observed, as it always ought to have been, our late unhappy Differences had never arose. But what is passed cannot be recalled, and shall be forgotten. Let us both resolve never to be guilty of the like Error for the future.

*A String.*

*Brethren,*

You gave us Yesterday these two Belts, in Behalf of your Nephews the *Delawares* and *Miminks*, and joined with them in taking out of our Heads the Hatchets with which we had been struck, acquainting us, “ that these Hatchets were given to your Nephews by the  
“ *French*.

## [ 9 ]

“ *French*, and that they would not use them any more against us; but were heartily disposed to cultivate a firm Friendship with us for the future.” 1758.

*Brethren,*

We accept your Belts; we thank you for the Pains you have taken in enquiring of your Nephews into the true Cause why they struck us.

Now that the Hatchets are taken out of our Heads, and we are reconciled, we desire that your Nephews the *Delawares* and *Minisinks* will conceal nothing from you and us, that ever did, or now does, lie heavy on their Minds, that the End of this Meeting may be answered, which was, with your Assistance, to put Matters that have at any Time disturbed their Minds on such a just and reasonable Footing, that the Peace between us may never be interrupted, but continue firm to the remotest Ages.

*Two Belts.*

*Brethren,*

By these eight Strings of black Wampum, you the *Mohawks*, *Senecas*, and *Onondagoes*, told us, that you had not only brought about an Union with the *Delawares* and *Minisinks*, on the Waters of the River *Sagquebannah*, but had also sent Messages to the *Indians* now on the *Ohio*, as well those of these two Nations, as those of the *Six Nations*, under the *French* Influence, desiring them to lay down the Hatchet, and enter again into Friendship with their Brethren the *English*; and, on their Behalf, you have taken the Hatchets out of our Heads, so far as to lay a Foundation for a future Peace.

*Brethren, the Mohawks, Senecas, and Onondagoes,*

This was a very friendly Part, and we flatter ourselves they will hearken to you, as there are now Deputies here from those *Indians* on the *Ohio*, with Messages to us, which will be delivered in Publick.

We accept your Strings, and approve your taking the Hatchet, on the Behalf of the *Ohio Indians*, out of our Heads, so far as to make it the Foundation of a future Peace.

*Nine Strings*

*Brethren, the Cayugas, Oneidoes, Tuscaroras, Tuteloes, Nanticokes, or Conoys, the younger Nations, who are Parts of, and united with, the Six Nations,*

By these Strings you say, “That, as you came down the Road which has been opened from your Country to this Council Fire, you saw Blood lately spilt upon it, and have washed it away, not only out of the Road, but out of the Council Chamber, lest that should have been stained.”

*Brethren,*

We join, by these Strings, with you, in removing the Blood. We bury it deep in the Earth.

*Three Strings.*

*Brothers the Cayugas,*

With this Belt “you justly lament the Folly of your young Men, who have suffered themselves to be stolen away from you by the *French*, and then, at their Instigation, to fight us. You take the Hatchet out of our Heads, you ask Pardon for them, and desire we will forgive the Mischief they have done us, and both you and they promise never to hurt us more.”

*Brethren,*

We accept the Belt in their Behalf, and give you this Belt in Token of our Friendship and Reconciliation.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

You may remember, that the Day before Yesterday, your Nephew *Teedyuscung* told me by this String, “that he had already said to me, at our former Meetings, every Thing he had to say, and had made me acquainted with the Cause why he had struck us, and that I knew what had passed between us.—That we had made up all Differences, and had done it, as far as we could, for our future Peace.”

“That at my Request he had given the Halloo, and brought down to this Place you who heard him, and are now present; and that he would sit by, and hear what we said together.”

*Brethren,*

As there are a great many of you here, who were not present at our former Meetings, I think it proper, for your Information, to give you a short Account of what has passed between your Nephews the *Delawares* and us.

1758. About three Years ago your Brethren the *English*, living on the Borders of this Province, were struck on a sudden, at a Time when they were in profound Peace with you, and following their Buſineſs, ſuſpecting no Danger. Many were killed, and others carried away Captives.

We were ſurprized, and did not know who ſtruck us, but ſent Meſſengers up the *Saſquehannab*, as far as the *Six Nation* Country, to enquire whence the Blow came, and for what Reaſon.

On the Return of theſe Meſſengers, we were informed that the Hatchet had been ſtruck into our Heads by our Countrymen the *Delawares* and *Shawaneſe*.

Some Time after this Diſcovery was made, a Ceſſation of Hoſtilities was brought about by the *Six Nations*, at our Requeſt, made to them for that Purpoſe by Sir *William Johnſon*; and, upon our Invitation, our Brother *Teedyuſcung* came down, with a Number of *Delawares* and other *Indians*, to a Council Fire, kindled at this Place, where we have ſince had ſeveral Meetings.

At one of theſe Meetings *Teedyuſcung* told us, that the Cauſe of the War was, their fooliſh young Men had been perſuaded by the falſe-hearted *French* King to ſtrike their Brethren the *English*; and one Reaſon why the Blow came harder was, that the Proprietaries of this Province had taken from them by Fraud the Ground we now ſtand on, and all the Lands lying between *Tobacco-Creek* and *Wyomink*, on the River *Saſquehannab*.

At laſt all Blood was wiped away, and buried under Ground, and Peace Belts were exchanged between us and our Brother *Teedyuſcung*, who then told us he acted in Behalf of Ten Nations, and promiſed to bring in and reſtore to us all our Fellow-Subjects that had been carried off Priſoners by them.

For the Truth of this ſhort Relation I refer you to our Brother *Teedyuſcung*, who will confirm it to you more particularly.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

To continue our Friendſhip, it is abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve Faith, and keep the Promiſes we make with each other.

I will ſpeak plainly to you, and from the Bottom of my Heart, as one Friend ought to another, that nothing may lie heavy on my Mind to diſturb me hereafter; and I expect the ſame Openneſs and Freedom on your Parts.

I deſire therefore to know the true Reaſon, why our Fleſh and Blood, who are in Captivity, and in your Power, have not been delivered to us, according to the Promiſe made us by our Brother *Teedyuſcung*, in Behalf of all the *Indians* he repreſented; and what is become of thoſe Belts we gave him to confirm the Peace, and that Promiſe; for till that Promiſe is complied with, we can never ſleep in Quiet, or reſt ſatisfied in the Friendſhip of thoſe who detain our Children and Relations from us.

*A Belt.*

After the Governor had done ſpeaking, the *United Nations* gave the uſual Shouts of Approbation, with great Solemnity, each according to Rank.

Then Governor *Bernard* delivered the Belts requeſted by the *Senecas*, *Cayugas*, and *Minifinks*, and ſpoke as follows.

*Brethren,*

The Governor of *Pennſylvania* has given a particular Anſwer to what has been ſaid to us both. So far as his Anſwer relates to the Province over which I preſide, I confirm what has been ſaid by this Belt.

*A Belt.*

Previous to what follows, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that *Piſquitomen*, and another *Ohio Indian*, having come to *Philadelphia* laſt Summer, acquainted the Governor, that the *Indians* in thoſe Parts had not received any Account of the late Tranſactions with this Government, nor any Meſſage from it; and that they might be perſuaded to lay down the Hatchet, the Governor therefore took that Opportunity to ſend a friendly Meſſage to thoſe *Indians* by *Piſquitomen*, and appointed Mr. *Frederick Poſt*, a *German*, who underſtood the *Delaware* Language, to attend him, and acquaint the *Indians* at *Ohio* of the Peace made by the *Saſquehannab*



## [ II ]

*hannab Delawares*, and other *Indians*, and the Disposition of this Government to forgive what was past, if they would return to their antient Alliance. This Message was accordingly delivered, and an Answer returned by *Frederick Post*, *Pisquitomen*, and *Thomas Hickman*, an *Ohio Indian*, who having come down together as far as *Harris's Ferry*; *Frederick Post* went to wait on General *Forbes*, and left the two *Indians* to proceed with the Message, who being now arrived at *Easton*, *Pisquitomen*, who had the particular Charge of it, introduced it as follows. 1758.

*Brethren,*

When I was at *Allegheny*, the chief Men sat together as we do here now. I was employed by the Governor, *Teedyuscung*, and *Israel Pemberton*, these three Men, pointing to them; and the chief Men told me, that when I should come among the *English* Inhabitants, I must shake Hands for them with the Governor, *Teedyuscung*, and *Israel Pemberton* (here he shook Hands with them) and that what they had to say, was written down in a Paper, which he then produced, and said they desired it might be read in Publick. Now you, Gentlemen, who are Head Men, sent *Frederick Post* with me, desiring me to take and carry him in my Bosom there, and when I came there, to introduce him to the publick Council; I did this, and have brought him back safe again.

Then taking a Belt, and three Strings of Wampum, which were delivered with the Paper, he said he would interpret them; but as all that was said was truly set down in the Writing, it was not necessary. Let it be read.

Then *Pisquitomen* delivered the Paper, with the Belt, and three Strings of Wampum, who, on being asked afterwards to whom they were sent, answered, one was sent to the Governor, another to *Teedyuscung*, and another to *Israel Pemberton*. The Message was read in these Words.

*The Indians speak now. Brethren, hear what I have to say.*

*Brethren,*

IT is a good many Days since we have seen and heard of you from all Sorts of Nations.

*Brethren,*

This is the first Message which we have seen and heard of you; we have not yet rightly heard you.

*Brethren,*

You have talked of that Peace and Friendship which we had formerly with you.

*Brethren,*

We tell you to be strong, and always remember that Friendship which we had formerly.

*Brethren,*

We desire you would be strong, and let us once more hear of our good Friendship and Peace we had formerly.

*Brethren,*

We desire you to make Haste, and let us soon hear of you again.

*Gave a String.*

*Brethren,*

Hear what I have to say; look Brethren, since we have seen and heard of you of all Sorts of Nations, we see that you are sorry that we have not that Friendship we formerly had.

Look Brethren, we at *Allegheny* are likewise sorry that we have not that Friendship with you we formerly had.

*Brethren,*

We long for that Peace and Friendship we had formerly.

*Brethren,*

It is good that you have held that Friendship which we had formerly amongst our Fathers and Grandfathers.

*Brethren,*

We must tell you we will not let that Friendship quite drop, which was formerly between us. Now, Brethren, it is three Years since we dropped that Peace and Friendship which we formerly had with you. Now, Brethren, that Friendship is dropped, and lies buried in the Ground where you and I stand, in the Middle between us both. Now, Brethren, since I see you have digged up and revived that Friendship, which was buried in the Ground, now you have it, hold it fast. Do, be strong, Brethren, and exert yourselves, that that Friendship may be well established and finished between us.

*Brethren,*

If you will be strong, it is in your Power to finish that Peace and Friendship well.

Now, Brethren, we desire you to be strong, and establish and make known to all the *English* of this Peace and Friendship, that it, over all, may be well established, as you are of one Nation, and one Colour, in all the *English* Governments.

*Brethren,*

When you have made this Peace, which you have begun, known every where amongst your



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1758. your Brethren, and have finished and agreed every where together on this Peace and Friendship, then you will be pleased to send it to me at *Allegheny*.

*Brethren,*

When you have settled the Peace and Friendship, and finished it well, and you send it to me, I will send it to all the Nations of my Colour; when I receive of you the Answer, and I have looked that every Thing is well done, so that I can send it to the Nations of my Colour, they all will join to it, and we all will hold it fast.

*Brethren,*

When all the Nations join to this Friendship, then the Day will begin to shine clear over us. When we once hear more of you, and we join together, then the Day will be still, and no Wind or Storm will come over us to disturb us.

Now, Brethren, you know our Hearts, and what we have to say, be strong; if you do so, every Thing will be well; and what we have told you in this, all the Nations agree to join.

Now, Brethren, let the King of *England* know what our Minds are, as soon as possible you can.

*Gives a Belt of eight Rows.*

Received the above Speech from the under-written, who are all Captains and Counsellors, viz.

<i>Beaver King,</i>	<i>Owabanomin,</i>	<i>Macomal,</i>
<i>Shingas,</i>	<i>Cockquacaukebeton,</i>	<i>Popauc,</i>
<i>Delaware George,</i>	<i>Cushawmebwy,</i>	<i>Wasbascantaut,</i>
<i>Pisquitom,</i>	<i>Kekeknabalin,</i>	<i>John Hickoman,</i>
<i>Tassacommin,</i>	<i>Captain Peter,</i>	<i>Kill Buck.</i>

The above Names is of Captains and Counsellors.

After this was interpreted in the *Six Nation Language*, and in the *Delaware*, the Three Strings were delivered to the Governor, *Teedyuscung*, and *Israel Pemberton*.

As the Governor was going to close the Conference, *Nichas*, the *Mohawk* Chief, spoke for some Time, with great Vehemence, pointing frequently to *Teedyuscung*, and Mr. *Weiser* was ordered to interpret it; but he desired to be excused, as it was about Matters purely relating to the *Indians* themselves, and desired Mr. *Montour* might interpret it; after some Pause, he said, perhaps it might be better if it was interpreted to the Governors, Councils, and Commissioners, in a private Conference. Mr. *Weiser* was desired to mention this to the *Indians*, and know of them what they would chuse should be done, whether it should be interpreted now, or at a private Conference, and they answered now; but soon after they said, that, at the Request of Mr. *Weiser*, they consented that it should be interpreted in the Morning, at a private Conference.

October 14, 1758. The *Indians* declined meeting To-day.

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*At a private CONFERENCE with the Indians on the 15th of October, 1758.*

P R E S E N T,

Governor DENNY,  
His Council, and the Committee of Assembly.

Governor BERNARD, and  
the Jersey Commissioners.

Chiefs of the *Mohawks*, *Senecas*, and *Onondagoes*. Chiefs of the *Oncidoes*, *Cayugas*, *Tuscaroras*, *Nanticokes*, or *Conoys*, and *Tuteloës*.

*Nichas*, the *Mohawk* Chief, stood up, and, directing his Discourse to both Governors, said,

*Brothers,*

WE thought proper to meet you here, to have some private Discourse about our Nephew *Teedyuscung*.

You all know that he gives out, he is the great Man, and Chief of Ten Nations; this is his constant Discourse. Now I, on Behalf of the *Mohawks*, say, we do not know he is such a great Man. If he is such a great Man, we desire to know who has made him so. Perhaps you have, and if this be the Case, tell us so. It may be the *French* have made him so. We want to enquire and know whence his Greatness arose.

Tagashata

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*Tagashata, on the Behalf of the Senecas, spoke next.*

1758.

*Brethren,*

I, for my Nation, say the same that *Nichas* has said; I need not repeat it. I say we do not know who has made *Teedyuscung* this great Man over Ten Nations; and I want to know who made him so.

*Asiarandonguas spoke next, on Behalf of the Onondagoes.**Brethren,*

I am here to represent the *Onondagoes*, and I say, for them, that I never heard, before now, that *Teedyuscung* was such a great Man, and much less can I tell who made him so. No such Thing was ever said in our Towns, as that *Teedyuscung* was such a great Man.

*Thomas King spoke.**Brethren the Governors, and all present,*

Take Notice that I speak in Behalf of Five Nations, who have their Deputies here present, viz. The *Oneidoes*, *Cayugas*, *Tuscaroras*, *Nanticokes*, and *Conoys*, who have joined together, and now make one Nation, and *Tuteloos*. We Five are all connected together, and if any Thing is said to one of us, it is communicated to all the rest.

On their Behalf I now tell you, we none of us know who has made *Teedyuscung* such a great Man; perhaps the *French* have, or perhaps you have, or some among you, as you have different Governments, and are different People. We, for our Parts, entirely disown that he has any Authority over us, and desire to know from whence he derives his Authority.

*A Belt.**Tokaao, the Cayuga Chief, spoke.**Brethren,*

I speak now to you, on Behalf of the Nations just now mentioned to you. You may remember, that you said the other Day, you could not be easy without your Prisoners were returned. We have considered this, and I now assure you that they shall be returned.

We speak from the Bottom of our Hearts; we will look carefully into all our Towns for them. You shall have them all. We will keep none. If there be any of them that have gone down our Throats, we will throw them up again. You told us, a tender Father, Husband, Wife, Brother, or Sister could not sleep sound, when they reflected that their Relations were Prisoners. We know it is so with us, and we will therefore use our Endeavours to make your Hearts easy, and we give you this Belt as a Promise, that we will perform our Words.

*A Belt.**Nichas spoke next, in Behalf of the Mohawks, Senecas, and Onondagoes.**Brethren,*

I speak now on Behalf of my own Nation, and my two other Brethren, Deputies of the *Senecas* and *Onondagoes*. We remember you desired us to leave nothing in our Hearts, but speak open on every Matter, and you said you would do the same to us.

You told us, that you could not sleep sound whilst your Prisoners were detained from you, nor could you have any Confidence in the Friendship of those who did detain them.

We of these three Nations promise, that we will use our best Endeavours to make you easy. When we return, we will enquire of every Town for the Prisoners. We will call our Councils, and lay what you have said before them, and make diligent Enquiry for them through all our Towns, and all that we can find you shall see.

If any of them are gone down our Throats, we will heave them up again.

*A String of seven Rows.*


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*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, on the 16th of October, 1758.*

P R E S E N T,

*The GOVERNORS, and the Gentlemen of their Councils, &c.*

THE Minutes of the preceding Conferences were read, and approved.

Those of Yesterday's private Conference were read at the particular Desire of the Chiefs of the *Eight Nations*, and interpreted to *Teedyuscung*, and the *Delawares*, in the *Delaware* Language, by Mr. *Stephen Calvin*.

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1758.

The Governors then spoke separately ; Governor *Denny* beginning as follows.

*Brethren, the Mohawks, Onondagoes, Senecas, Oneidoes, Cayugas, Tufcaroras, Nanticokes and Tuteloës,*

In a Conference held with you Yesterday, you told me, that we know your Nephew *Teedyuscung* gives out, that he is the great Man, and Chief of ten Nations, and that this was his constant Discourse ; by this Belt therefore you denied him to be so great a Man, and desired to know of me who made him so, or gave him any Authority over you.

*Brethren,*

I will answer you truly, and tell you, in a few Words, all that I know of the Matter ; I have already informed you, that after the *Delawares* had struck us, you, our good-Friends the *United Nations*, advised them to sit still, and do us no more Mischief ; and that soon after this, we invited the *Delawares* to meet us at a Council Fire kindled at this Place.

We received an Answer to our Message from *Teedyuscung* as a Chief among the *Delawares*. At the Time appointed he came, and told us, that he represented ten Nations, amongst which the *United Nations* were included, that he acted as a chief Man for the *Delawares*, but only as a Messenger for the *United Nations*, who were his Uncles and Superiors ; to whom he would faithfully carry every Thing that should be transacted between us, that they might do as they saw Cause.

We believed what your Nephew told us, and therefore made him a Counsellor and Agent for us, and desired him to publish to all Nations of *Indians* what we did at our Council Fires, and to let them know we were sincerely disposed to be at Peace with them.

*Brethren,*

I can only speak for myself, and do assure you, that I never made *Teedyuscung* this great Man, nor ever pretended to give him any Authority over you ; and I must do him the Justice to declare to you, that, at our former publick Treaties, *Teedyuscung* never assumed any such Power, but, on many Occasions, when he spoke of you, called you his Uncles and Superiors.

I never shall attempt to nominate or impose a Chief on any *Indian* Tribe or Nation, but, on all Occasions, will pay due Regard to those who are chosen by their Countrymen.

If any others have made *Teedyuscung* so great a Man, as to set himself above you, I am sorry for it. It is more than I know, and they who have done it must answer for themselves.

I should be greatly concerned, that any Uneasiness should arise among you ; and hope you will guard against it, and preserve that Harmony which ought to subsist between Friends and Relations.

*Brethren,*

By this Belt and String, you promised me to make diligent Search in your Towns for our Flesh and Blood, who are Prisoners among you, and return them to us.

*Brethren,*

We have always found you honest, and punctual in the Performance of your Promises ; your Words therefore give me great Comfort, and fill all our Hearts with Pleasure.

We rely upon you that no Time may be lost in fulfilling an Engagement, on which our Peace and Quiet so greatly depend.

*A Belt and String.*

*Then Governor Bernard spoke.*

*Brethren of all the Confederate Nations,*

As you proposed your Question, concerning *Teedyuscung*, separately, I think it proper to give you a separate Answer thereto.

I know not who made *Teedyuscung* so great a Man ; nor do I know that he is any greater than a Chief of the *Delaware Indians*, settled at *Wyomink*. The Title of King could not be given him by any *English* Governor ; for we know very well, that there is no such Person among *Indians*, as what we call a King. And if we call him so, we mean no more than a Sachem or Chief. I observe, in his Treaties, which he has held with the Governors of *Pennsylvania* (which I have perused since our last Meeting) he says he was a Woman till you made him a Man, by putting a Tomahawk in his Hand ; and through all of those Treaties,

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Treaties, especially in the last, held at this Town, he calls you his Uncles, and professes that he is dependent on you; and I know not that any Thing has since happened to alter his Relation to you. I therefore consider him to be still your Nephew. 1758.

*Brethren,*

I heartily thank you for your kind Promises to return the Captives which have been taken from us. I hope you will not only do so, but will also engage such of your Allies and Nephews, who have taken Captives from us, to do the same. That you may be mindful of this, I give you this Belt.

*A Belt.*

After the Governors had done speaking, and their Answers were interpreted in the *Six Nation* and *Delaware* Languages, the *Indian* Chiefs were asked if they had any Thing more to say; on which *Tagajkata* arose, and made a Speech to his Cousins the *Delawares* and *Minisink Indians*, directing his Discourse to *Teedyuscung*.

*Nephews,*

You may remember all that passed at this Council-Fire. The Governors who sit there have put you in Mind of what was agreed upon last Year. You both promised to return the Prisoners. We, your Uncles, put you in Mind of this Promise, and desire you will perform it. You have promised it, and you must perform it. We, your Uncles, have promised to return all the *English* Prisoners among us, and therefore we expect that you, our Cousins and Nephews, will do the same. As soon as you come home, we desire that you will search carefully into your Towns for all the Prisoners among you, that have been taken out of every Province, and cause them to be delivered up to your Brethren. You know that this is an Article of the Peace that was made between you and your Brethren, in Confirmation of which you received a large Peace Belt; of which Belt we desire you will give an Account, and let us know what is become of it, and how far you have proceeded in it.

*A Belt.*

After this was interpreted in the *Delaware* Language, it was observed, that there were no *Minisink Indians* present; the Governors therefore desired Mr. Read and Mr. Peters would procure a Meeting of the Chiefs of the *United Nations*, with the *Delawares* and *Minisinks*, and cause the Speech of *Tagajkata* to be interpreted to the *Minisinks*, in the Presence of their Uncles.

*Robert White*, the *Nanticoke* Chief, arose, and said he was going to speak in the Behalf of seven Nations, and, directing his Discourse to the Governors, he delivered himself in the *English* Language, as follows.

*Brethren,*

It is now more than two Years past, since we heard of our Cousins the *Delawares* taking up the Hatchet against the *English*. At the first, Sir *William Johnson* sent a Message to the Head Nations, and when they received it, they sent one to us at *Otsaningo*, telling us, that, as we lived close by our Cousins, they desired we would invite them to meet at our Town, and accordingly we invited them, and they came to a great Meeting at our Town of *Otsaningo*. We then gave our Cousins a Belt of a Fathom long, and Twenty-five Rows in Breadth, and desired them to lay down the Hatchet that they had taken up against the *English*, and to be easy with them; and if they would follow this Advice, we told them, that they would live in Peace, until their Heads were white with Age, otherwise it might not be so with them.

Not hearing from our Cousins of some Time, what they did in Consequence of this Belt, we sent to them two other Belts, one of Sixteen, and the other of Twelve Rows, desiring them once more to be easy with their Brethren the *English*, and not to strike them any more; but still we heard nothing from them: Indeed, some Time afterwards we understood the *Delawares* should say, that the *Indians* at *Otsaningo* had grey Eyes, and were like the *English*, and should be served as *Englishmen*; and we thought we should have had the Hatchet struck into our Heads. We now want to know what is become of these Belts; may be they may be under Ground, or they have swallowed them down their Throats.

*Brethren,*

As our Cousins have been loath to give any Answer to these Belts, we now desire they may let us know, in a publick Conference, what they have done with them.

*A String.*

October 17, 1758.

THE *Indians* were in Council all Day; and acquainted the Governors, that they could not be ready to meet before Morning.

*At*

*At a CONFERENCE held at Easton, on the 18th of October, 1758.*

P R E S E N T,

*The GOVERNORS, Council, Gentlemen, and Indians, with the Interpreters as before.*

1758.

MR. Read, and Mr. Peters, acquainted the Governors, that, at a Meeting of the Chiefs of the Older and Younger Nations, with the several Tribes of the *Delaware* and *Minisink* Indians on Monday Night, the Speech of *Tagashata*, delivered that Morning in the Publick Conference, respecting the giving up the Prisoners, was interpreted in the *Delaware* Language by *Stephen Calwin*; and another Belt, on the Part of the Governors, being joined to *Tagashata's* Belt, they were both delivered to the *Delaware* and *Minisink* Chiefs, to enforce the Matter. When this was done *Tagashata* spoke to the *Minisink* Chief, *Egobobowen*, saying, we were told by you that you had delivered up the *English* Prisoners, and we believed you: But our Brethren have told us that they were not delivered up; and therefore we earnestly desire that they may be made easy on this Article. You know, Cousins, that their Hearts will always be in Grief till they see again their Flesh and Blood. It is natural that they should be so. It would be so with us, if it was our Case. We desire you will be extremely careful to perform this Matter fully, and soon. Let there be perfect Peace over all the *English* Country. And let it now be published, that we may all live in Peace, and with Satisfaction, now, and for ever. I told you, *Egobobowen*, when you was in my Town, to bring with you the *English* Prisoners, and that our Brethren would expect it. I wish you had done it. But however do it now with all Speed, and it will be well.

*Egobobowen* answered, it is true, I was at my Uncle's Fire, and I believe he desired me to bring the Prisoners down; but I suppose it was not interpreted to me, for I did not understand it clearly, but I now understand it.

The *Minisink* and *Delaware* Indians were desired to collect all their Warriors together, and give them these Belts, and receive from them their Answer, it being necessary they should concur heartily in whatever should be concluded.

*Nickas*, the *Mohawk* Chief, acquainted the Governors, that, as Counsellors, they had finished, having nothing to propose at this present Meeting. The Warriors were to speak now, and *Thomas King* was appointed to deliver their Words, who thereupon arose, and began with an Exhortation, as well to all concerned in publick Affairs, Governors and their Councils, and *Indian* Chiefs and their Councils, as to Warriors of all Nations, White People and *Indians*, desiring all present to attend carefully to what was going to be related, as Matters of great Consequence, which would serve to regulate the Conduct of *English* and *Indians* to each other. He added, that the Relation going to be made, had taken a great deal of Trouble to put it into Order, and it was made on Information given by the several *Indians* now present, who were acquainted with the Facts. Brethren, we the Warriors have waited some Time, in Hopes our Counsellors would have taken this Matter in hand, but as they have not done it, we have, at their Desire, undertaken it, and they have approved of every Thing. I say, the Counsellors of the Five Younger Nations, as well as the Three Older Nations, have approved of what the Warriors are going to relate; and take Notice, that the Speech is not only the Speech of all the Warriors of the Elder and Younger Nations, but of our Cousins the *Delawares* and *Minisinks*.

This was interpreted in the *Delaware* Language; and *Thomas King* then proceeded, directing his Speech to the Governors, and all the *English* upon the Continent.

*Brethren,*

You have been inquisitive to know the Cause of this War; you have often enquired among us, but perhaps you did not find out the true Cause of the Bitterness of our Hearts, and may charge us wrong, and think that you were struck without a Cause by some of our own Warriors, and by our Cousins. But if you look a little about you, you will find that you gave the first Offence. For in Time of profound Peace, some of the *Sshawanese*, passing through *South-Carolina*, to go to War with their Enemies, were taken up, and put in Prison. The *English* knew they were going to War, and that they used to do it every Year; and yet, after they had persuaded them in a friendly Way into their Houses, they were taken up, and put into Prison, and one, who was an Head Man of that Nation, lost his Life, and the others were severely used. This first raised Ill-will in the Minds of the *Sshawanese*, and as the *French* came a little after this happened to settle on the *Ohio*, the *Sshawanese* complained of it to them, and they made an artful Use of it, set them against the *English*, and gave them the Hatchet.



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Hatchet. Being resolv'd on Revenge, they accepted it, and likewise spoke to their Grand-fathers the *Delawares*, saying, Grandfathers, Are not your Hearts sore at our being us'd so ill, and at the Loss of one of our *Cousins*? Will not you join us in revenging his Death? So by Degrees our young Men were brought over to act against you. On searching Matters to the Bottom, you will find that you, in this Manner, gave the first Offence. This we thought proper to let you know. It may be of Service for the future. You may be induced by this to take better Care in conducting your Council Business, so as to guard against these Breaches of Friendship; or, as soon as they happen, in corresponding immediately with one another, and with the *Indian Nations*, who are in any wise concerned, on such Occasions.

1758.

*Eight Strings of black Wampum.*

*Bretbren,*

This was the Case of the *Shawanese*, that I have just now related. Another of the like Nature has since happened to the *Senecas*, who have suffered in the same Manner.

About three Years ago, eight *Seneca* Warriors were returning from War, through *Virginia*, having seven Prisoners and Scalps with them; at a Place called *Green Briar*, they met with a Party of Soldiers, not less than One Hundred and Fifty, who kindly invited them to come to a certain Store, and said, they would supply them with Provisions; and accordingly they travelled two Days with them in a friendly Manner, and when they came to the House, they took their Arms from the *Senecas*: The head Men cried out, here is Death; defend yourselves as well as you can, which they did, and two of them were killed on the Spot, and one, a young Boy, was taken Prisoner. This gave great Offence, and the more so, as it was upon the Warriors Road, and we were in perfect Peace with our Brethren. It provoked us to such a Degree, that we could not get over it.

*Bretbren,*

You have justly demanded your Prisoners; it is right, and we have given you an Answer. And therefore, as we think this young Boy is alive, and somewhere among you, we desire you will enquire for him. If he be alive, return him; if you have swallowed him down your Throats, which perhaps may be the Case, let us know it, and we will be content. His Name is *Squissatego*.

*Six Strings of white Wampum.*

*Bretbren,*

We have one Word more to mention of the same Nature, and which was the very Cause why the *Indians* at *Ohio* left you.

*Bretbren,*

When we first heard of the *French* coming to the *Ohio*, we immediately sent Word to the Governors of *Virginia* and *Pennsylvania*; we desired them to come, and likewise to supply us with such Things as were proper for War, intending to defend our Lands, and hinder the *French* from taking the Possession of them. But these Governors did not attend to our Message; perhaps they thought there was no Foundation for our Intelligence. The *French*, however, came, and became our Neighbours, and you neither coming yourselves, nor assisting us with warlike Stores, our People, of Necessity, were obliged to trade with them for what we wanted, as your Traders had left the Country. The Governor of *Virginia* took Care to settle on our Lands for his own Benefit; but when we wanted his Assistance against the *French*, he disregarded us.

*A Belt.*

*Bretbren,*

At this Treaty you justly demanded to see your Flesh and Blood. We have pressed this on our Cousins the *Minisinks*, and they, by this String, desired us to assure you, the Governors, that they would make strict Search in their Towns, and sincerely comply with your Request, and return all the Prisoners in their Power.

*Two Strings of black and white Wampum.*

Then directing his Discourse to the Governor of the *Jersey*, he proceeded.

*Brother, the Governor of Jersey,*

Our Cousins the *Minisinks* tell us, they were wronged out of a great deal of Land, and the *English* settling so fast, they were pushed back, and could not tell what Lands belonged to them. If we have been drunk, tell us so. We may have forgot what we sold, but we trust to you the Governor of *Jersey* to take our Cause in Hand, and see that we have Justice done us. We say that we have here and there Tracts of Land, that have never been sold. You deal hardly with us; you claim all the wild Creatures, and will not let us come on your Land to hunt after them. You will not so much as let us peel a single Tree; this is hard, and has given us great Offence. The Cattle you raise are your own; but those which are wild, are

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still



1758.

still ours, and should be common to both; for our Nephews, when they told the Land, did not propose to deprive themselves of hunting the wild Deer, or using a Stick of Wood, when they should have Occasion. We desire the Governor take this Matter into his Care, and see Justice done in it.

*Two Strings of white Wampum.*

*Brethren,*

All that has been said has been of one Nature, that is, of Matters that are Subjects of Dispute; this that I am now going to speak upon is of another Nature.

Then, directing himself to the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, he said,

We must put you in Mind, that four Years ago, you bought at *Albany* a large Tract of Land over *Sasquebannah*, extending from the Mouth of *John Penn's* Creek to the *Ohio*. The Proprietaries Agents then paid *One Thousand Pieces of Eight* for the Part which was settled by your People, that have been since driven off and killed. We acknowledge to have received Payment for those Parts that were settled, but for the other Part that we have not received Payment for, that we reclaim. Our Warriors, or Hunters, when they heard that we had sold such a large Tract, disapproved our Conduct in Council; so now we acquaint you, that we are determined not to confirm any more, than such of the Lands as the Consideration was paid for, and were settled; tho' included in the Deed, they are our hunting Grounds, and we desire the Request may be granted, and Notice taken, that it was made in open Conference.

*Three white Strings.*

Then *Thomas King* sat down.

The *Six Nation* Chiefs being asked if they had any Thing to say, answered, that they had done; and having eased their Minds of all that lay heavy upon them, they would return home.

The Governors promised attentively to consider what was said, and give them an Answer.

*Teedyuscung then arose, and spoke.*

*Brethren,*

I should have said something at the Time our Uncles laid before you their Grievances, or Causes of Complaint, in Behalf of my Countrymen who lived near *Goshen*. About three Years ago nine of their People were killed at *Goshen*, when they were in Peace. I will not take upon me to say that the Land had never been sold, but there was no Dispute about this at that Time. I verily believe that they killed those nine *Indians*, for no other Reason than because they were hunting on that Land. I speak to all the *English* when I mention this, as what was very wrong.

*Three white Strings.*

*Brethren,*

One of the *Wapping* Tribes, or *Goshen* *Indians*, tells me, that, as soon as those nine Men were killed, he went with three Belts, and Tears in his Eyes, to *George Freeland's*, in order to have the Matter made up; but he never received an Answer to this Day, tho' he told him that he would send the Belts to the Governor, and as soon as he should receive his Answer, he would send for him, and let him know it; but he has never yet received any Answer.

*Brethren,*

I give you this String, to enquire what became of the three Belts, and what Answer was made to them.

*Three Strings of white Wampum.*

*Brethren,*

You may remember we made Peace last Year, and a Peace Belt was made, a Fathom long, and of Fifteen Rows. Mr. *Croghan* was present, so were some of my Uncles, and the *Minijinks*. They all saw it. You have asked me what is become of that Belt, and how far it went. I will tell you; I sent it up the *Sasquebannah* to *Diaboga*; from thence it went to *Ajintzin*; thence to *Secaughkung*. The chief Men there got together to consider what was best to be done with it. They all concluded that it should be sent to our Uncle. He is a Man, and often told us he ought to see Things first, and consider what is to be done. The *Senecas* had the Belt the first, and then all the *United Nations* afterwards; they had it almost a Year. Now it is come back, and in *Lapachpeten's* Hands, who is one of the *Delawares*, and lives at *Secaughkung*. How far the Peace Belt went, I don't know; but I suppose it went thro' all my Uncles, and I assure you I will do as my Uncle does. He has promised you he will deliver up all your Captives, and I assure you I will do so; wherefore I find them, in all my Towns. Four Tribes, now present, have agreed to this, viz.

*Delawares.*

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*Delawares, Unamies, Mobiecons, and Wapings, who are settled as far as Secaughkung. This Belt confirms my Words.* 1758.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

I did let you know formerly what my Grievance was. I told you, that from *Tobicon* as far as the *Delawares* owned, the Proprietaries had wronged me. Then you and I agreed that it should be laid before the King of *England*; and likewise you told me you would let me know, as soon as ever he saw it. You would lay the Matter before the King, for you said he was our Father, that he might see what were our Differences; for as you and I could not decide it, let him do it. Now let us not alter what you and I have agreed. Now let me know if King *GEORGE* has decided the Matter between you and me. I don't pretend to mention any of my Uncles Lands, I only mention what we the *Delawares* own, as far as the Heads of *Delaware*. All the Lands lying on the Waters that fall into the *Sasquehannab*, belong to our Uncles.

*A Belt.*

*Teedyuscung* then took up another Belt, designing to speak to his Uncles the *United Nations*; but whilst he was delivering the above, their Chiefs had one after another left the Council, seemingly much displeased, he therefore declined speaking it.

October 19, 1758.

THE Governors, having prepared their Answers, desired the *Indians* to meet, but they continued holding private Councils among themselves all that Day, till late in the Afternoon; and as the Governors were going to the Place of Conference, the *Indians* sent Mr. *Weiser* out of Council, to desire they would defer meeting till the next Morning, their own private Business not being finished.

*At a private CONFERENCE with the Indians, held at Easton, October 19, 1758. P. M.*

P R E S E N T,

*His Excellency Governor BERNARD,*

*The Commissioners of New-Jersey,*

*The Chiefs of the United Nations, and of the Minisinks and Wapings,*

GEORGE CROGHAN, Deputy to Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON,

ANDREW MONTOUR, His Majesty's Interpreter,

STEPHEN CALVIN, Interpreter of the Minisink and Waping Language.

HIS Excellency reciting the Request of the *United Nations* to him, to do Justice to their Nephews the *Minisinks*, concerning their Claims to Lands in *New-Jersey*, said, he would make diligent Enquiry what Lands were remaining unfold by them; but as that would be a Work of Time and Expence, he wished that some Means could be found to give them Satisfaction at this Meeting. The People of *New-Jersey* said, that they had bought all, or the greatest Part of the *Minisink* Lands; and the *Minisinks* said they had a great Deal of Land unfold.

He could not tell who was in the right; but would suppose there were some Lands unfold, and upon that Supposition would give them some Money, by Way of Consideration, for them, if they would propose a reasonable Sum; and desired they would advise about it, and give an Answer.

The *United Nations* said it was a very kind Proposal, and recommended it to the Consideration of the *Minisinks*.

The same Day *Teedyuscung* waited on Governor *Denny*, at his House, bringing with him *Isaac Stille*, for his Interpreter, and his Grandson; and, in the Presence of Governor *Bernard*, Mr. *Andrew Johnson*, and Mr. *Peters*, acquainted the Governor, that the *Delawares* did not claim Lands high up on *Delaware River*; those belonged to their Uncles; and he thought proper to let the Governor know this, that there might be no Misunderstanding of what he had said in the publick Conference.

*At*

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, held at Easton, October 20, 1758.*

P R E S E N T,

*The GOVERNORS, Council, Gentlemen and Indians, with the Interpreters, as before.*

1758. **G**OVERNOR Denny desired to know of *Teedyuscung*, if he proposed to speak, as the abrupt Departure of the *Six Nation* Chiefs from the Conference Yesterday, had prevented him from finishing what he had to say.

Then *Teedyuscung* arose, and, addressing himself to the *Six Nation Indians*, said,

*Uncles,*

According to our old Custom, we used to speak to one another at home ; but we are now met here on Business, I must speak to you in the Presence of the *English* Governors ; and what I shall say, I desire both you the *English*, and my Uncles, who are here, will attend to.

*A Belt.*

*Uncles,*

I take this Opportunity of speaking to you in the Presence of our Brethren the *English*, and two of their Governors ; please to take Notice what I am going to say.

*Uncles,*

You may remember that you have placed us at *Wyomink*, and *Shamokin*, Places where *Indians* have lived before. Now I hear since, that you have sold that Land to our Brethren the *English* ; let the Matter now be cleared up, in the Presence of our Brethren the *English*.

I sit there as a Bird on a Bow ; I look about, and do not know where to go ; let me therefore come down upon the Ground, and make that my own by a good Deed, and I shall then have a Home for ever ; for if you, my Uncles, or I die, our Brethren the *English* will say, they have bought it from you, and is wrong my Posterity out of it.

*A Belt*

*Governor Denny then requested the Attention of the Indians, and spoke.*

*Brethren, Chiefs and Warriors of the Six United Nations, and your Nephews, here assembled,*

I am much obliged to you for the Account you gave me the Day before Yesterday, of the true Cause of the Bitterness of your Hearts towards us, and the Reasons which induced some of your young Men first to strike us, and others to side with the *French* on the *Ohio*.

The Advice you gave us, to take better Care and guard against any Breach of Friendship between us for the future, is very kind and wholesome ; we will join with you, and endeavour to prevent the like Evils for the Time to come.

I promise you, that I will immediately send to the Governor of *Virginia*, to enquire after the *Seneca* Boy, *Squiffatego*, who you say was left a Prisoner in his Country, and if he is alive, you may depend on his being returned to you.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

By these Strings you put me in Mind, that the Proprietaries, four years ago, bought of you at *Albany*, a large Tract of Land over *Sasquehamab*, from the Mouth of a Creek called *Kayarandinhagh*, or *John Penn's Creek*, to the *Ohio*, and were paid by the Proprietaries Agents *One Thousand Pieces of Eight*, as the Consideration Money for such Parts as were settled by our People ; but that, as your Warriors disapproved of your Conduct in Council for making that Sale, you now reclaimed such of the Lands contained in that Grant, as you have not received a Consideration for.

*Brethren,*

The Proprietaries of this Province have, on all Occasions, manifested their particular Regard for you ; they prefer your Friendship and the publick Good to their own private Interest. Their former Conduct gives you no Room to doubt the Truth of this ; what I am about to tell you is a further Confirmation of it ; therefore give me your Attention, and listen to what I shall say. You may remember, that, at a Treaty you held with your good Friend Sir *William Johnson*, three Years ago, some of your wise men told him, that there were some among them who were dissatisfied with the Sale of the above Lands, made by them at *Albany*, and were desirous that

## [ 21 ]

that Part of it should be reserved for them; though the Proprietaries had purchased it fairly of them, and paid *One Thousand Pieces of Eight*, which was all they were to receive, till our People settled to the Westward of the *Allegheny*, or *Appalaccian Hills*. Sir *William Johnson* represented this Matter to the Proprietaries, in your Behalf, whereupon they cheerfully agreed to release to you all that Part of the Purchase you have reclaimed, and, by a Letter of Attorney, empowered *Richard Peters*, and *Conrad Weiser*, to execute a Deed to you for those Lands, on your confirming to them the Residue of that Purchase. On this Subject therefore you will please to confer with them, and settle the Boundaries between you, that they may release the Lands to you accordingly, before you leave this Place, and set your Minds at Ease.

1758.

A String.

Brethren,

I thank you for the Pains you have taken with your Nephews, to prevail with them to return us such of our Brethren as are Prisoners among them, and we depend on the speedy Performance of their Promise.

Brethren,

I have something to say to you which is of the utmost Importance to us all; it requires your particular Attention and Consideration. Providence has brought you and your Nephews together at this Meeting, Face to Face with us, that every Thing may be settled, and nothing remain, not so much as a Doubt, to create any Uneasiness in our Hearts hereafter. You know, Brethren, that there is an old Agreement between the Proprietaries and you, that you will not sell any of the Lands lying within this Province to any one but them, and they never take Possession of Lands till they have bought them of the *Indians*. You know also, that the *United Nations* have sold Lands to the Proprietaries; which your Nephews the *Delawares* now claim as their Right. This is the Case with Regard to some Part of the Lands lying between *Tobacco Creek* and the Head of *Delaware River*, which *Teedyuscung*, in your Hearing, the Day before Yesterday, said, the Proprietaries had defrauded him of. The Proprietaries are desirous to do strict Justice to all the *Indians*, but it cannot be supposed they can know in which of you the Right was vested. It is a Matter that must be settled among yourselves; till this is done, there will probably remain some Jealousy and Discontent among you, that may interrupt both your and our future Quiet, which we should guard against by all Means in our Power.

A String.

Brethren,

I now acquaint you, that a Store of all Sorts of Goods for your Use is opened at *Shamokin*, where the *Indians* may be supplied, at the most reasonable Rates, with any Goods they want, and the best Prices will be given to you for such Skins, Furs and Peltry, as you shall bring them. Another Store is intended to be opened at *Fort Allen*, and you may depend upon it that such Persons will be placed there, who shall use you with the strictest Justice in all their Dealings.

A String.

Frother Teedyuscung,

As I understood at our last Meeting, that you were prevented at that Time, by the Absence of some of the *Six Nation* Chiefs, from finishing what you then had to say, I defer answering, for the present, such Parts of your Speech as relate to me. But I shall soon take an Opportunity of doing it.

This was interpreted to the *Delawares* by *Isaac Stille*.

After the Governor had done speaking, *Tagashata* and *Nichas* arose, and said, they did not rightly understand that Paragraph relating to the Lands, and requiring them to settle Matters among themselves; they said the Governor had left Matters in the Dark; they did not know what Lands he meant. If he meant the Lands on the other Side of the Mountain, he knew the Proprietaries had their Deeds for them, which ought to be produced and shewn to them. Their Deeds had their Marks, and when they should see them, they would know their Marks again.

And then *Conrad Weiser* being desired to bring the Deed, Governor *Bernard* informed the *Indians* he was going to speak to them; on which they acquainted him, that they chose to be spoke to by one Governor only at a Conference; for that when they both spoke, their Belts were mixed, and they were thereby confused in their Councils. Whereupon he deferred his Speech to another Time.

The Deed was then produced to the *Indians*, and *Nichas* said, this Deed we well remember; we know our Chiefs who signed it; some of them are present now; we sold the Land, and were honestly paid for it; the Land was ours, and we will justify it. They were desired

1758. to take it with them into their Council Room, and confer on it, and settle the Matter among themselves.

*The Conference then broke up.*

*Teedyuscung* having Yesterday requested of the Governor, that two Belts, which he then presented to him, might be sent as their joint Belts to the *Ohio Indians*:

This Day the Chiefs of the *United Nations*, and *Teedyuscung*, had a Meeting with two Members of Governor *Denny's* Council, at which the following intended Answer from Governor *Denny* to the *Ohio Indians*, being first interpreted to the *Indians*, was considered, settled, and approved by all present.

Governor DENNY's Answer to the Message of the *Ohio Indians*, brought by *Frederick Post*, *Pisquitomen*, and *Thomas Hickman*.

BY this String, my *Indian* Brethren of the *United Nations* and *Delawares*, join with me in requiring of the *Indian* Councils, to which these following Messages shall be presented, to keep every Thing private from the Eyes and Ears of the *French*.

*A String.*

*Brethren,*

We received your Message by *Pisquitomen* and *Frederick Post*, and thank you for the Care you have taken of our Messenger of Peace, and that you have put him in your Bosom, and protected him against our Enemy *Onontio* and his Children, and sent him safe back to our Council Fire, by the same Man that received him from us.

*A String.*

*Brethren,*

I only sent *Post* to peep into your Cabbins, and to know the Sentiments of your old Men, and to look at your Faces, to see how you look. And I am glad to hear from him that you look friendly, and that there still remains some Sparks of Love towards us. It is what we believed before-hand, and therefore we never let slip the Chain of Friendship, but held it fast on our Side, and it has never dropped out of our Hands. By this Belt we desire you will dig up your End of the Chain of Friendship, that you suffered, by the Subtily of the *French*, to be buried.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

It happened that the Governor of *Jersey* was with me, and a great many *Indian* Brethren, sitting in Council at *Easton*, when your Messengers arrived, and it gave Pleasure to every one that heard it; and it will afford the same Satisfaction to our neighbouring Governors, and their People, when they come to hear it. I shall send Messengers to them, and acquaint them with what you have said.

Your requesting us to let the King of *England* know your good Dispositions, we took to Heart, and shall let him know it, and we will speak in your Favour to His Majesty, who has, for some Time past, looked upon you as his lost Children. And we can assure you, that, as a tender Father over all his Children, he will forgive what is past, and receive you again into his Arms.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

If you are in Earnest to be reconciled to us, you will keep your young Men from attacking our Country, and killing and carrying Captive, our Back Inhabitants. And will likewise give Orders that your People may be kept at a Distance from *Fort Duquesne*, that they may not be hurt by our Warriors, who are sent by our King to chastise the *French*, and not to hurt you. Consider the commanding Officer of that Army treads heavy, and would be very sorry to hurt any of his *Indian* Brethren.

*A large Belt.*

*And Brethren,*

The Chiefs of the *United Nations*, with their Cousins, our Brethren the *Delawares*, and others now here, jointly with me send this Belt, which has upon it two Figures that represent all the *English*, and all the *Indians* now present, taking Hands, and delivering it to *Pisquitomen*, and we desire it may be likewise sent to the *Indians*, who are named at the End of these Messages\*; as they have all been formerly our very good Friends and Allies; and we desire they will all go from among the *French* to their own Towns, and no longer help the *French*.

*Brethren on the Ohio,*

If you take the Belts we just now gave you, in which all here join, *English* and *Indians*, as we don't doubt you will; then, by this Belt, I make a Road for you, and invite you to

\* Saftaghretsy, Anigh Kalickon, Atowateany, Towigh Towighroano, Geghdageghroano, Oyaghtanont, Siagghroano, Siaggeghroano, Jonontadyaago.



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come to *Philadelphia*, to your first old Council Fire, which was kindled when we first saw one another; which Fire we will kindle up again, and remove all Disputes, and renew the old and first Treaties of Friendship. This is a clear and open Road for you; fear therefore nothing, and come to us with as many as can be, of the *Delawares*, *Shawanese*, or of the *Six Nation Indians*. We will be glad to see you; we desire all Tribes and Nations of *Indians*, who are in Alliance with you, may come. As soon as we hear of your coming, of which you will give us timely Notice, we will lay up Provisions for you along the Road. 1758.

*A large white Belt, with the Figure of a Man at each End, and Streaks of black, representing the Road from the Ohio to Philadelphia.*

Brethren,

The *Six Nation* and *Delaware* Chiefs join with me in those Belts, which are tied together, to signify our Union and Friendship for each other; with them we jointly take the Tomahawks out of your Heads, and bury them under Ground.

We speak loud, so as you may hear us; you see we all stand together, joined Hand in Hand.  
*Two Belts tied together.*

The *Indian* Chiefs being asked, if it would not be proper to insert in the Message an Account of the Situation of our Army to the Westward, and to desire them to join General *Forbes*, against the *French*; they replied, that they would by no Means advise this Government is soon to press them to take up the Hatchet, because their Wounds were not yet healed, nor Peace made, which must first be done. They said further, that as the *French* had many *Indians* fighting for them, and they by Intermarriages were related to the *Indians* who sent the Messages, it could not be expected they would easily be persuaded to join the *English*, lest they should kill their own Flesh and Blood, adding, that the only proper Measure that could now be taken, was to advise them to sit still, and keep out of the Way, and this Advice they believed would be hearkened to.

They then desired, that at least two of our Inhabitants might accompany *Pisquatomen* and *Thomas Hickman*, the two Messengers, to the *Ohio*. The *Six Nation* Chiefs promised to send two of their own People with them; and *Tecumseh* said he would send one, if not two *Delawares*.

*At a private CONFERENCE with the Indians, held at Easton, October 21, 1758,*

P R E S E N T,

*His Excellency Governor BERNARD, and the Jersey Commissioners;*

*THOMAS KING, Chief of the Onondoes,*

*TAGASHATA, Chief of the Senecas,*

*TOKAAIO, Chief of the Cayugas,*

*EGOHOWEN, Chief of the Minisinks,*

*NIMHAM, Chief of the Wapings, with other Indians of the several Nations;*

*GEORGE CROGHAN, Deputy to Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON,*

*ANDREW MONTOUR, His Majesty's Interpreter to the United Nations,*

*STEPHEN CALVIN, Interpreter of the Delaware and Minisink Languages.*

**H**IS Excellency informed them, that he met them to agree about the Price of the uncertain Claims of the *Minisinks*, *Wapings*, and other *Indians*, Claimants of Land in the Northern Parts of the Province of *New-Jersey*, and desired that it might be considered, that they knew not what they sold, and he knew not what he bought; therefore the Price ought not to be large.

That they might propose a Sum to him, or he would make an Offer to them; or it should be left to their Uncles to consider of a Price, as would please them best.

The *Mingoes*, or *Six United Nations*, by *Thomas King*, said, that the *United Nations* had no Claim to the Lands of the *Minisinks*, or others their Nephews, on the East Side of *Delaware*, and should therefore leave the fixing a Price to them.

Then the *Minisinks* and *Wapings* withdrew to consult upon it; and being returned, *Ego-howen*, the *Minisink* Chief, said, they would chuse the Governor should make an Offer, as they might perhaps demand too much.

His



1758. His Excellency, having consulted the Commissioners, offered them *Eight Hundred Spanish Dollars* for their Claim in *New-Jersey*, as an extraordinary Price.

The *Minisinks* said, they should be glad of the Opinion of their Uncles in the Matter.

The *Mingoes*, or *United Nations*, by *Thomas King*, said, that it was a fair and honourable Offer, and that if it were their own Case, they would cheerfully accept of it; but as there were a great many Persons to share in the Purchase-money; they recommended it to his Excellency to add *Two Hundred Dollars* more; and if that was complied with, the Report of it would be carried to all the Nations, and would be a great Proof of the Affection and Generosity of their Brethren the *English* on this Occasion, and would be very agreeable to them.

His Excellency desired to know of the *Minisinks*, and other Claimants, if they approved of the Proposal of their Uncles, and they informed him that they did.

The Governor, after consulting the Commissioners, said, it was more than he had intended to give; but as the *United Nations* had given themselves the Trouble of being Mediators between them, he could not refuse their Recommendations, and was glad of the Opportunity he had of shewing his Regard to the *United Nations*, and his Benevolence to the *Minisink* and other *Indians*, who had resided in the Province where he presided, and therefore complied with their Request.

His Excellency then desired them to remember, that this Consideration Money was to be in full for the Claims of all the *Minisink* and *Wapping Indians*, and all others who claim any Lands in a Map, which was laid before them at the same Time, which included all the Lands from the Line between the Provinces of *New-York* and *New-Jersey*, and down *Hudson's River*, to the Mouth of *Rariton*, up the same to *Laometang Falls*, on the North Branch of *Rariton River*; thence on a strait Line to *Paequalin Mountain*, where it joins on *Delaware River*; and thence up the *Delaware* to *Cuskybink*; and recommended it to them to have respect to this in the Division of the Consideration Money.

Then *Tagahtata*, the *Seneca* Chief, arose, and, addressing himself to the *Minisinks*, and other *Indian* Claimants, spoke as follows.

*My Nephews,*

I desire you will now give over all Thoughts of your Land, and that we may hear no more Complaints about it.

Now you must remember the Friendship between you and your Brother, and transmit it to your Children; and make them acquainted with the Transactions of this Day. I recommend this to you, not from my Lips only, but from the Bottom of my Heart. I hope it will also make a deep Impression in your Hearts.

It seems as if your Grandfathers had not told you of the Treaties they used to have with their Brethren, but carried them with them to the Grave. But we hope you will not do so, but carefully inform your Children of your Agreements. We have given you this Advice, and hope you will follow it. We also expect you will take Care of your young Men, that they do no more Violence to their Brethren the *English*.

*Egobobowen* then addressed himself to the Governor, and desired to be heard.

*Brother,*

We are now thoroughly satisfied, and we still retain a Friendship for our Brethren the *English*, and we desire, that if we should come into your Province to see our old Friends, and should have Occasion for the Bark of a Tree to cover a Cabbin, or a little Refreshment, that we should not be denied, but be treated as Brethren; and that your People may not look on the wild Beasts of the Forest, or Fish of the Waters, as their sole Property, but that we may be admitted to an equal Use of them.

The Governor answered, that, as soon as he got home, he should issue a Proclamation to notify to the People of his Province, that he had made a Peace with them; and to order, that, for the future, they should be treated as Brethren, which he hoped would be done; but desired that they would not go into those Parts where they had lately committed Hostilities, till the Peoples Passions were cooled; for he could not be answerable for his Peoples Behaviour, whilst their Losses were fresh upon their Minds.

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On the 21st of *October* the Members of the *Pennsylvania* Council received a Message from Mr. *Weiser*, that the Chiefs of the *United Nations* were met in Council, with their Nephews the *Delawares*, at the House of *Nicholas Scull*, and that the *Delawares* had something to say to their Uncles, which they desired some of the Members of that Council, and Commissioners, should be Witnesses of, and hear. 1758.

Messieurs *Gowdon*, *Clew*, and *Missin*, attended accordingly, with Messieurs *Galloway*, *Fox*, and *Hughes*, Commissioners, and *Israel Pemberton*, *Isaac Zane*, and some other *Quakers*, who were present at this particular Request of the *Delawares*.

## P R E S E N T,

<i>All the Six Nation Chiefs,</i>	<i>AWERELA, alias James Davis,</i>
<i>TEEDYUSCUNG,</i>	<i>LAPPINK,</i>
<i>TAPISCAWEN, alias Samuel Davis,</i>	<i>NECCOCHOON, Munsey Chief,</i>
<i>NOWALEKEEKA, or Four Steps,</i>	<i>MOSES TITTAMY,</i>
<i>COMPASS,</i>	

*CONRAD WEISER, ANDREW MONTOUR, ISAAC SLILLE, Interpreters.*

*Teedyuscung, on Behalf of the Delawares, arose, and spoke as follows.*

*Uncles,*

I DESIRE you will hear me. We have gone so far at this Treaty as to talk of Lands; I therefore thought proper to meet you here, to let you know that I have consulted with all my Brethren, your Cousins, here present, about the Deed you, our Uncles, signed to the Proprietaries of *Pennsylvania*, shewn to us Yesterday, for the Lands beyond the *Kittochtinny Hills*:

We have seen the Deed, and know it well. *Nutimus*, one of our Chief Men, has signed it, and here sits one of our Men, named *Philip Compass*, who was present when the Sale was made; and remembers that *Nutimus*, our Chief, received *Forty-four Dollars*, as his Part or Share of the Consideration Money. We agree to it, and acknowledge that the Land was fairly sold. We give it up, and now confirm it. Let there be no Difference, nor any Thing more said about it. This is not the Land I have disputed with my Brethren the *English*. That Land lies between *Tobacco Creek* and the *Kittochtinny Hills*.

*Gave a String.*

*Tokaion*, the *Cayuga* Chief, stood up and spoke as follows, addressing himself to *Teedyuscung*.

*Cousin,*

I thank you for your Openness and Honesty on this Occasion, freely to declare the Truth. We wish our Brethren the *English*, naming the Governors of *Pennsylvania*, *Virginia*, *Carolina* and *Jersey*, were so honest and precise.

They have called us down to this Council Fire, which was kindled for Council Affairs, to renew Treaties of Friendship, and brighten the Chain of Friendship. But here we must hear a Dispute about Land, and our Time is taken up, but they don't come to the chief Point.

The *English* first began to do Mischief; we told them so. They only thanked us for our Openness and Advice, and said they would take Care for the future, but healed no Wounds. In short, when they speak to us, they do it with a shorter Belt or String than that which we spoke to them with; tho' they can make Wampum, and we cannot.

They ought not thus to treat with *Indians* on Council Affairs. Several of our strong Belts are lost in their Hands entirely. I fear they only speak from their Mouth, and not from their Heart.

On the same Day, *P. M.* *Pisquitomen* and *Thomas Hickman* came to take their Leave of the Governor, accompanied with Captain *Bull*, *William Hayes*, and *Isaac Stille*, the Persons appointed to attend them to the *Ohio*, who were particularly recommended to their Care and Protection by a String of Wampum.

The Belts and Strings were numbered, as well in the written Paper containing the Messages, as on Labels tied to each of them, and delivered to *Pisquitomen*, and the written Message was delivered, with the Passports, to Captain *Bull*.

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The

1758. The 22d of *October*, the *Six Nation* Chiefs held a private Council, and named two of their People to send to the *Ohio*, viz. *Tojenontawoby*, a *Cayuga* Chief, and the youngest *Shick Calamy*, who joined *Pisquitomen*, and set off this Afternoon. As they were setting out, Mr. *Frederick Post* arrived with News from General *Forbes*, that a large Body of *French* and *Indians*, having attacked his advanced Post at *Loyal Hanning*, were repulled with great Loss on their Side; which News he communicated to the *Indians*.

At Noon the Governors, being prepared for a Conference, proposed a Meeting of the *Indians*, which they desired might be deferred till the Morning.

*October 23, 1758.*

This Morning one of the *Seneca* Chiefs died; Condolence Ceremonies, and Presents being made as usual, he was decently interred, a Number of the Inhabitants attending the Funeral. This took up the Forenoon.

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, the same Day, P. M.*

P R E S E N T,

*The GOVERNORS, and the Gentlemen of their Councils, &c. as before.*

THE Minutes were read, and approved, to the End of the publick Conference on *Friday* last; after which Governor *Denny* spoke.

*Brethren,*

By this Belt, we heal your Wounds, we remove your Grief; we take the Hatchet out of your Heads; we make a deep Hole in the Earth, and bury the Hatchet so low, that no Body shall be able to dig it up again.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

Now we have healed your Wounds, we, by this Belt, renew all our Treaties; we brighten the Chain of Friendship; we return to our first Affection; we confirm our antient Union; we put fresh Earth to the Roots of the Tree of Peace, that it may bear up against every Storm that can blow, and live and flourish to the End of Time, whilst the Sun shines, and the Rivers run. And we desire you would publish it among your own, and all other *Indian*, Nations, who are your Friends and Allies, and engage them to join with you in a firm Peace with His Majesty, and all His Subjects; in whose Behalf I give you this Belt.

*A large Peace Belt.*

*Brethren,*

We now open a Road to the old Council Fire, which was kindled by your and our Fathers in the City of *Philadelphia*.

Be assured, that you will always find this Road open, easy and pleasant to travel in, and, for the future, whenever Occasion calls, we shall be glad to see you there.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren of the United Nations, and all our other Brethren, your Cousins and Nephews,*

We thank you for the Care and Diligence with which you have attended to the several Matters recommended to you in these Conferences, which has yielded us Abundance of Satisfaction.

This Treaty will convince all our Enemies, that we are now united in the firmest Band of Amity; and whilst we join our Strength together, it will not be in their Power to hurt either you or us.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

As a Token of the Love we your Brethren of this Province bear to you, I shall make a Present of a Quantity of Goods, which we have prepared for you, and desire your Acceptance of them; sensible of the approaching Season, and of the many Difficulties you live under, from the present War. We give it with an hearty Good-will.

Here his Honour delivered a List of the Goods, and desired Mr. *Weiser*, and Mr. *Montour*, would interpret it to them at a proper Time.

*I N-*

3 Groce of narrow starred Gartering.	1 Piece of brown Halfticks.
4 Ditto of broad Star.	2 Ditto of white Ditto.
2 Ditto of middle Star.	1 Piece of blue Broadcloth.
4 Ditto of narrow <i>Scotch</i> .	5 Laced Coats.
2 Ditto of middle <i>Turkey</i> .	8 Plain Ditto.
2 Ditto of broad <i>Turkey</i> .	50 Pair of Shoes.
4 Ditto of best <i>Scotch</i> .	3 Dozen and one Pair of Womens Wor-
5 Ditto of mixt figured.	sted Stockings.
2 Ditto of narrow Calimancoe.	1 Ditto of Yarn Ditto.
2 Ditto of broad Calimancoe.	4 Pieces and 2 Bandanoe Handkerchiefs.
2 Ditto of spotted.	1 Ditto Lungee Romals.
2 Ditto of Leaf.	1 Ditto of Cotton Romals.
1 Ditto of <i>London</i> lettered.	4 Ditto of Nonsopretties.
2 Ditto of plad.	8 lb. Coloured Thread.
3 Ditto of middle Scarlet.	3 Dozen and ten Worsted Caps.
4 Ditto of broad Scarlet.	2 Ditto of Knives.
3 Ditto of superfine.	1 Ditto of Tobacco-boxes.
2 Ditto of Boys, lettered.	1 Ditto of coarse Linen Handkerchiefs.
2 Ditto of broad white lettered.	4 Pieces of figured Gartering.
2 Ditto of coloured Pigeon.	4 Ditto of blue and white flowered Hand-
2 Ditto of Camblet.	kerchiefs.
33 Painted Looking-glasses.	3 Dozen and ten plain Hats.
8 Pieces of red Stroud.	2 Dozen of Taylors Shears.
4 Ditto.	6 Gun-Locks.
14 Ditto of Mazarine Blue.	1 Bunch of black Beads.
1 Ditto.	3 Groce and an Half of Sleeve Link But-
1 Ditto black	tons.
1 Ditto red, and one blue.	4 Dozen of Ivory Combs.
2 Pieces of 6-gr. blue Duffil.	1 Groce of Womens Thimbles.
2 Ditto of 7-8ths Ditto.	100 Blankets.
1 Ditto napped.	160 Matchcoats.
1 Piece of stamped Serge.	246 Shirts, plain.
1 Piece of red Halfticks.	187 Ditto, ruffled.

*Brother Teedyuscung,*

By this Belt you put me in Mind, that we formerly referred our Dispute about Lands to our Father King GEORGE, and you desired to know if he has decided it.

*Brother,*

You should consider the Circumstances of the Affairs of your Father King GEORGE; His Majesty lives at a very great Distance from us, is now engaged in a War with the *French*, and the Business of War takes up a great deal of Time and Attention; besides, in Time of War, we have but few Opportunities of hearing from him.

As yet I have had no Answer relative to your Affairs. You may depend upon it, as soon as I receive one, it shall be communicated to you. And I can assure you, the Proprietaries have pressed Dispatch, and will do every Thing they can to bring it to a speedy Determination.

*A Belt.*

Then Governor *Bernard*, requesting the Attention of the *Indians*, addressed them as follows.

*Brethren of the United Nations,*

By this String you spoke on Behalf of our Brethren the *Minisinks*, and said that they were wronged in their Lands; that the *English* settled so fast, that they were continually pushing them back; and when they asked for their Lands, they were told that they had sold their Lands, and had got drunk, and forgot it. If they had swallowed their Lands, they must be content, but they did not believe that they had swallowed all, but that some was left. They desired that I would enquire after their Lands that were left, and do them Justice.

*Brethren,*

I am glad I have an Opportunity, in the Presence of so many Nations, to express the Desire I have of doing Justice to every one. The Throne of the Great King is founded on Justice, and I should not be a faithful Servant to him, if I neglected to give Redress to all Persons that have received Injuries from the People over whom the Great King has placed me.

I have

1758. I have therefore had a Conference with the *Minisinks*, in the Presence of some of their Uncles, and have come to a full Agreement with them; the Proceedings of which are now ready to be read to you.

*Brethren,*

I have another Proof to give you of the Uprightness and Justice of our Province. We have come to an Agreement with the *Delaware Indians*, and other *Indians*, for the uncertain Claims they had on the Southern Parts of our Province; I hereby produce the Deeds that have been executed on this Occasion, that the Subject of them may be explained to you, and be had in perpetual Remembrance by all the Nations present; and I desire that you may all remember, that, by these two Agreements, the Province of *New-Jersey* is entirely freed and discharged from all *Indian* Claims. In Confirmation of which I give you this Belt.

*A Belt.*

*Brother Teedyuscung,*

By this String you tell me, that, after the killing the nine *Indians* near *Efopus*, you carried three Belts to *George Freeland*, who undertook to give them to the Governor, and you ask what is become of those Belts.

*Brother,*

I can only say, that I never heard of those Belts before; nor do I know what Governor *George Freeland* undertook to carry those Belts to. The proper Governor was the Governor of *New-York*; for in his Province was this Mischiefe committed. And probably the Governor of *New-York* had these Belts; for I have heard that he issued a Proclamation for apprehending the Perpetrators of this Fact. This Fact has been blamed by all good and wise Men; and I am glad it was not done by the People of my Province. I will acquaint the Governor of *New-York* with what you have said upon this Occasion, and I will enquire after those Belts, and give you an Answer.

*A String.*

Governor *Denny*, being obliged to return to *Philadelphia*, on urgent Business, took his Leave of the *Indians*.

*Brethren,*

It gives me great Pleasure that the Business of this Treaty has been carried on with so much Satisfaction.

I am sorry I am now to inform you, that I am obliged to leave you, having received last Night an Express from General *Forbes*, who is now near the *Ohio*. My Business calls me to Town; I shall therefore leave Mr. *Logan* and Mr. *Peters* to transact the Remainder of the Business, and doubt not but they will act to your Satisfaction.

I assure you of my Affection for you, and wish you all Manner of Happiness.

*Teedyuscung* arose, and desired to be heard on Behalf of the *Wapings*, or *Wapinger Indians*, called the *River Indians*, living near *Efopus*, and produced a short broad Belt of white Wampum, having in the Center two Hearts, of a reddish Colour, and in Figures 1745, wrote after the following Manner, 17♥♥45. The Belt had a round Circle Pendant, representing the Sun; he then produced two Certificates, one from Governor *Clinton*, and the other from Governor *Hardy*, both which were much in Favour of the *Wapinger* Tribe of *Indians*. He said the Belt was given them by the Government of *New-York*, and represented their Union, which was to last as long as the Sun should continue in the Firmament.

*Teedyuscung* addressed Governor *Bernard*, desiring, by a String of Wampum, that he would extend his Protection to the Tribe of the *Wapings*; and as their Chief was old and infirm, he requested the Favour of a Horse to carry him home, which was readily granted.

*Takeaghsado*, or *Tagasata*, made the same Request to Governor *Denny*, which was likewise granted.

The *Six Nation* Chiefs consulted together, and, in a little Time, *Nichas*, in their Behalf, returned an Answer to the Speeches of the Governors, laying the Belts and Strings upon the Table in the Order they were delivered, and repeating distinctly what was said on each of them. At the End of every Article he returned Thanks, and expressed the highest Satisfaction, particularly on the ratifying the Peace, and the large Belt given thereupon, which he said should be sent to all the distant Nations of *Indians*, to whom it would be very agreeable; he likewise promised, that every Thing transacted in these Conferences, which, he again said,



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said, had afforded him great Pleasure, should be laid before the great Council at Onondago, whose Answer should be carefully transmitted. He thanked Governor Bernard for making up all the Differences between the Government and the *Minisink Indians*, so much to their Satisfaction. He made an Apology for the Want of Wampum, and the Exchange of other Belts, to give in Confirmation of their Performance of the several Things mentioned in the Governor's Speeches, agreeable to *Indian Customs*. Then wished Governor Denny a good Journey.

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October 24, 1758.

Mr. Peters, and Mr. Weiser, the Proprietary Agents; held a private Conference with the Chiefs of the *United Nations*, at the House of *Adam Jobe*, in *Easton*; at which were present,

WILLIAM LOGAN, Esq; of the Council.

GEORGE CROGHAN, Esq; Deputy Agent to Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON,

CHARLES SWAINE, Esq; Prothonotary, of Northampton County,

Mr. HENRY MONTOUR, Interpreter, and

Mr. JOHN WATSON, Surveyor, in the County of Bucks.

And there were likewise present the following Indians.

*Kuriabtaaty*, Chief of the *Mobawks*,  
*Seguchenyont*, Chief of the *Oneidos*,  
*Affaradungua*, Chief of the *Onondagoes*,  
*Tagahata*, Chief of the *Senecas*,  
*Tokaio*, Chief of the *Cayugas*,

*Nichaquantaquoa*, Chief of the *Tuscaroras*,  
*Comiach*, Chief of the *Conoys*,  
*Robert White*, Chief of the *Nanticokes*, and  
Several other *Indians*.

MR. Peters, and Mr. Weiser, in Virtue of a Power of Attorney from the Proprietaries of *Pennsylvania* to them, under the Great Seal of the said Province, having previously settled with the *Indian Chiefs* the Limits of the Lands to be released by the said Proprietaries, and of the Lands to be confirmed by the *United Nations*, the Proprietary Release, and the *Indians* Deed of Confirmation were read and interpreted, and the *Indians* expressing their Satisfaction at every Part thereof, and particularly with the Limits, as described in the Draught annexed to their Confirmation Deed, they were both executed in the Presence of *William Logan*, *George Croghan*, *Henry Montour*, *Charles Swaine*, and *John Watson*, who subscribed their Names, as Witnesses thereto. A Belt was given to the *Indians* at the Delivery of the Release; and it was agreed, that both Deeds should be produced at the next publick Conference, in order to be acknowledged.

On the 25th of *October* the *Indians* were employed all Day in dividing the Presents among their several Tribes.

At a CONFERENCE held at Easton, with the *Indians*, October 26, 1758.

P R E S E N T,

His Excellency Governor BERNARD,

WILLIAM LOGAN,  
RICHARD PETERS,  
ANDREW JOHNSON,  
CHARLES READ,  
JOHN STEPHENS, } Esquires.

GEORGE CROGHAN,  
CONRAD WEISER,  
CHARLES SWAINE, } Esquires.  
Major ORNDT,  
The Sheriff and his Officers,

Mr. JOHN WATSON,

The Chiefs of the *United Nations*, and of the other Nations of *Indians*, *Moses Tittamy*, and *James Davis*, and several other *Delawares*.

THE Secretary having observed to the *Six Nation Chiefs*, that the Governors were charged, by *Tokaio*, with having omitted some Things in their Answers, and desired to know what they were; *Thomas King* said they were afterwards supplied, and recommended some Things to be more particularly mentioned than they had been; and agreeably to this Advice the following Speech was spoke by the Members of the *Pennsylvania Council*.

Brethren,

As we have now settled all Differences, and confirmed the antient Leagues of Amity, and brightened the Chain of Friendship; we now clean the Blood off your Council Seats, and put

H



1753. put them in Order, that when you hold Councils at Home, you may sit as you formerly used to do in your Seats, with the same Peace and Tranquility.

*A String, consisting of One Thousand Grains of Wampum.*

*Brethren,*

With this String of Wampum we condole with you for the Loss of your wife Men, and for the Warriors that have been killed these troublesome Times, and likewise for your Women and Children; and we cover their Graves decently, agreeable to the Custom of your Forefathers.

*A String of One Thousand Grains of Wampum.*

*Brethren,*

We disperse the dark Clouds that have hung over our Heads during these Troubles, that we may see the Sun clear, and look on each other with the Cheerfulness our Forefathers did.

*A String of One Thousand Grains of Wampum.*

Mr. Peters and Mr. Weiser produced the Confirmation Deed, executed by the Chiefs of the United Nations, as before set forth, which the Indian Chiefs acknowledged to have been their voluntary Act and Deed, and that they clearly understood the Contents thereof, together with the Limits described in the Draught annexed to it; and the same being handed from Indian to Indian, it was re-delivered to the Proprietaries Agents.

After which the Indian Chiefs produced the Proprietary Deed of Release, executed by Mr. Peters, and Mr. Weiser, the Proprietary Agents, who acknowledged it to be their Act and Deed, in Behalf of their Constituents, and re-delivered it to the Indians, together with the Belt.

His Excellency Governor Bernard produced the following Deeds; one executed by five Indian Attorneys, appointed by a Council of the Delaware Nation, for all the Lands lying in New-Jersey, South of a Line from Paqualin Mountain, at Delaware River, to the Falls of Laometing, on the North Branch of Rariton River, and down that River to Sandy-Hook; dated the 12th of September last, with Endorsements thereon, made by Teedyuscung, Anawalleckon, and Tepaslocou, signifying their Agreement thereto, and Acknowledgment of their having received Satisfaction thereon, witnessed by three Chiefs of the United Nations, who, in Behalf of the United Nations, approved the Sale; and also by several English Witnesses:

Another Deed, dated the 23d of October Instant, at Easton, from the Chiefs of the Munseys, and Wapings, or Pumpions, Sixteen in Number, and included all the remaining Lands in New-Jersey, beginning at Cushetung, and down the Division Line between New-Jersey and New-York, to the Mouth of Tappan-Creek, at the North or Hudson's River, and down the same to Sandy-Hook; then to the Mouth of Rariton; then up that River to Laometing Falls; then on a strait Line to Paqualin, where it joins on Delaware River; and up Delaware to Cushetung; endorsed by Nimham, a Chief of the Pumpions, or Wapings, who was sick at the Execution thereof, and approved by the United Nations, which was testified by three of their Chiefs, signing as Witnesses. And Governor Bernard desired all present might take Notice of the same, the Indian Title to all the Lands in the Province of New-Jersey being conveyed thereby; which being interpreted in the Six Nation and Delaware Languages, his Excellency addressed the Indians, as follows.

*Brethren,*

I am very glad this good Work has been so happily finished. I came among you, wholly unacquainted with your Forms, and therefore if I have omitted any Ceremonial, you will readily excuse me. But in whatever I have been deficient, I am sure I have not wanted a good Heart towards you.

The Circumstances of our Province have hitherto rendered us unable to give you any great Proofs of our Regard for you; but I shall endeavour to persuade my People to do you good Service for the future, by opening a Communication with you, which, if rightly managed, will be much to the Advantage of both People. And, for my own Part, I shall be always ready to do you Justice, and desire that whenever you have Cause of Complaint against my People, you will take Care to signify it to me.

*A String.*

The Five Nation Chiefs having laid all the Belts and Strings on the Table, that were delivered at this and the last Conference, the Cayuga Chief, Tokaio, desired the Governors, and all present, would hearken to what Thomas King was going to say on Behalf of the United Nations (now Eight in Number) on which Thomas King arose, and taking up the fifth Belt, which was given by Teedyuscung, when he requested a Deed for the W'omink Lands, he addressed the Delawares, Teedyuscung not being present, as follows.

*Cousins,*

Cousins,

By this Belt *Teedyuscung* desired us to make you the Owners of the Lands at *Wyomink*, *Shamokin*, and other Places on the *Sasquehannab* River; in Answer to which, we who are present say, that we have no Power to convey Lands to any one; but we will take your Request to the great Council Fire, for their Sentiments, as we never convey or sell any Lands, before it be agreed in the great Council of the *United Nations*. In the mean Time you may make use of those Lands, in Conjunction with our People, and all the rest of our Relations, the *Indians* of the different Nations in our Alliance, which being interpreted in *Delaware*, the String of Wampum was given to *Moses Tittamy*, and *James Davis*, to be delivered to *Teedyuscung*, as he was not present.

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Then taking up each Belt and String, in the Order it was delivered in this and the last Conference, he proceeded to repeat distinctly what had been said under each Article, returning Thanks for all those good Speeches, which he said were extremely agreeable: He made particular Mention of the large Peace Belt, saying, the Nations were vastly pleased, that all the antient Treaties made here, at *Albany*, and elsewhere, were renewed, as well as that the old Council Fire at *Philadelphia* was kindled again, and a good Road made to it, that might be travelled without any Danger; these in particular, as well as every other Matter transacted at these Conferences, we will make known to our own Nations, and to every other in Friendship and Alliance with us; and we are sure they will be very well received.

Then, addressing Governor *Bernard*, they thanked him for his Farewel Speech, saying, it was a very kind one, and that they were very glad at his having been present and given his Assistance at this Treaty, which had given them an Opportunity of gaining an Acquaintance with him, which they would ever remember with Pleasure. After a Pause, he desired to be excused in mentioning something that had been omitted by the Governors and their Councils. You have forgot to bring with you Ammunition, of which we always used to receive a sufficient Quantity, not only to serve us in our Journey, but support us in our hunting Season, that we might be enabled to make Provision for our Families. You have given us Gun-Locks without Guns, which are of no Manner of Use to us; and therefore this must surely have been forgot, as it is impossible for *Indians* to subsist without Guns, Powder and Lead, of which we have received none.

Brethren,

As many of us are old and infirm, we desire our Brethren will be so good as to furnish us with a Number of Waggons to carry such of us as are not able to walk with the Goods you have been pleased to give us, as far as *Wyomink*, where we have left our Canoes, and then we will discharge the Waggons. We further desire a Supply of Provisions may be put into the Waggons, enough to serve us till we get to our respective Habitations.

He then took up the Proprietary Release, and returned Thanks for it. He said that, when the *United Nations* first made the Request to Sir *William Johnson*, to be transnitted to *Onas*, they had no Doubt but *Onas* would comply with it, having always found him ready to grant all their Requests; with him we have never had any Difference, he has always settled our Affairs without giving us any Trouble, and to our Satisfaction. We heartily thank *Onas*. This Act confirms us in the good Opinion we have always had of him.

Then, addressing himself to the *Delawares*, with a String of Wampum, he spoke as follows.

This serves to put *Teedyuscung* in Mind of his Promises, to return the Prisoners. Remember Cousin, you have made this Promise in our Presence; you did it indeed before, and you ought to have performed it; it is a Shame for one who calls himself a great Man to tell Lies; let us, as Counsellors, perform our Engagements and Promises; Cousin, you must not now fail to perform your Word; we are all one People, and we must all of us be punctual in the Performance of our Engagements. This was interpreted in the *Delaware* Language, and the String was given to *Moses Tittamy* for *Teedyuscung*. He then said the *United Nations* had finished what they had to say.

Looking round the Room, he espied Mr. *Vernon*, the Person who had the Care of furnishing the *Indians* with Provisions, and he desired, that, now Council Business was over, he might be ordered to take the Lock off the Rum, and let it run freely; that, as they were going away, their Hearts might be made glad, and we could very well spare it, as it was of no Use to us.

Some Wine and Punch was then ordered in, and the Conferences were concluded with great Joy and mutual Satisfaction.

*The E N D.*



M I N U T E S  
O F  
C O N F E R E N C E S,

H E L D A T

E A S T O N,

In A U G U S T, 1761.

With the Chief SASCHEMS and WARRIORS of the

ONONDAGOES,	♦	CAYUGAS,
ONEIDAS,	♦	NANTICOKEs,
MOHICKONS,	♦	DELAWARES,
TUTELOES,	♦	CONORS.



P H I L A D E L P H I A :

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# Minutes of Conferences, &c.

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians at Easton, on Monday the Third of August, 1761.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esq; LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ;  
RICHARD PETERS, and BENJAMIN CHEW, Esquires, of the Council of the Province ;  
JOSEPH FOX, Esq; one of the Provincial Commissioners, and several other Gentlemen from  
Philadelphia and other Parts of the Province ;*

*The Deputies of the*

ONONDAGOES,	NANTICOKES,
CAYUGAS,	DELAWARES,
ONEIDAS,	TUTELOES,
MOHICKONS,	CONOYS ;

*Men, Women and Children, about Four Hundred in Number, which encreased afterwards to near Five Hundred.*

SENECA GEORGE, <i>Speaker.</i>	SAMUEL WEISER,	} <i>Interpreters.</i>
	JAMES SHERLOCK,	
	JOSEPH PEPY,	

**T**HE Governor opened the Conference with the usual Ceremonies of giving them a String, to bid them heartily welcome, and another to wipe the Sweat from their Bodies, to take the Thorns and Briars out of their Legs and Feet, to clear their Throats, and to open their Hearts ; after which he acquainted them, that he then was, or would at any Time be ready, upon their giving him Notice, to attend to any Thing they had to say to him. 1761.

Then *Seneca George* stood up, and spoke as follows, *viz.*

*Brother Onas,*

I am very glad to meet you here at this Time, and to find that the Sky is clear, and that the Road is open and safe to travel in : I speak this in Behalf of Seven Nations, and all their Cousins, Captains and Warriors, and thank the Almighty that he has once more brought us all together, to shake Hands.

*A String.*

*Brother Onas,*

We suppose, that during the late Troubles, you may have lost many of your People, either by Sickness or War, since we were last together ; by this String, therefore, we wipe away the Tears from your Eyes, clear your Throats, wash away the Blood from your Bodies, sweep the Council Chamber, and throw the Dirt out of Doors, that you may see and speak to us clearly at the present Conference.

*A String.*

*Brother*



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Brother Onas,

1761.

We the Seven Nations, and all our Cousins, are sorry, from the Bottom of our Hearts, for the Death of your Men, Women and Children; and by this Belt we collect all their Bones together, bury them in one Grave, and cover them up.

*A black Belt of eight Rows, streaked with White.*

Brother Onas,

We the Seven Nations, and our Cousins, are at a great Loss, and sit in Darknes, as well as you, by the Death of *Conrad Weiser*, as since his Death we cannot so well understand one another: By this Belt we cover his Body with Bark.

*A white Belt of seven Rows, with four black Streaks.*

Brother Onas,

By the last Belt I mentioned to you that we both sat in Darknes, now by this Belt I remove the Clouds from before the Sun, that we may see it rise and set, and that your Hearts may be eased from Sorrow, on Account of what I mentioned before.

*A white Belt of five Rows, with three black Bars.*

After the Delivery of the Belt, he added (having forgot it before) We pray the Great God above, who can enlighten our Hearts, that we may live in Love and Peace until Death.

Brother Onas,

Having taken Notice of the Death of *Conrad Weiser*, and the Darknes it has occasioned amongst us, I now, by this Belt (taking Hold of the Belt in the Middle) raise up another Interpreter, by whose Assistance we may understand one another clearly.

Brother Onas,

(Speaking with the other Part of the Belt) You know that in former Times, when great Men grew old and died, we used to put others in their Places; now as *Conrad Weiser* (who was a great Man, and one Half a Seven Nation *Indian*, and one Half an *Englishman*) is dead, we recommend it to the Governor to appoint his Son (pointing to *Samuel Weiser*, then present) to succeed him as an Interpreter, and to take Care of the Seven Nations and their Cousins. We take Hold of this Belt, and clasp our Hands together in Friendship, and desire you will not neglect our Request.

*A black and white Belt of eight Rows.*

Brother Onas,

*Jeneciaada*, the Chief of the *Onondagoes*, sends this String, by *Abenock*, to his Brother the Governor, saying,

Brother,

When I receive a Letter from you, I cannot understand it, which I think very hard, and we ought to have some body living among us, who can understand and interpret your Messages, and the Letters you send to us; wherefore I take my Child, *James Sherlock*, by the Hand, and present him to you, that with your Leave he may live amongst us, and serve us as an Interpreter on all Occasions.

*Three Strings.*

Brother Onas,

Having by the last String recommended *James Sherlock* to you, as an Interpreter, we have no more to say to you at present, but to inform you that we have sufficiently rested ourselves, after the Fatigue of our Journey, eased our Hearts of all Sorrow, and are ready to hear any Thing you have to say to us.

*Three Strings.*

The Governor then informed them, that he thanked them for what they had said, and would return them an Answer at another Time, and in a more convenient Place, of which he would give them timely Notice.

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, on Wednesday the 5th of August, 1761.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor;

RICHARD PETERS, BENJAMIN CHEW, Esq; } &c. &c. &c. as before;

quires, of the Council of the Province,

SAMUEL WEISER, ISAAC STILLE, DAVID SEISBERGER, Interpreters.

Tokahaio, the Cayuga Chief, stood up and spoke.

Brother Onas,

BY this Belt, three Years ago, at a Treaty held here at *Eaflon*, the Governor invited us to come down in greater Numbers, as we were not all then present; and now that we do

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do all appear, we return you the Belt, that had been given us at the making the Peace, and are glad to see you here Face to Face.

1761.

*A very large white Belt of eighteen Rows.*

Brother Onas,

You told us by this Belt, three Years ago, that you removed this, which is but a little Fire, to *Philadelphia*, where our Ancestors formerly kindled their great Fire, and made all their Alliances and Treaties.

Brother Onas,

By this other Belt, you at the same Time cleared the Road to the Great Council Fire, at *Philadelphia*, and removed all Obstructions out of it, that it might be open for us to pass in Safety.

*Two Belts joined together.*

Brother Onas,

By this Belt, you at the same Time told us, that you cleared our Ears; that all the Nations might hear what you had to say to us.

*A white Belt of seven Rows, striped.*

Brother Onas,

At the same Time you told us, that our Eyes were bad, and that by this String you cleared them, that we might be able to see a great Ways, and every Thing that passed.

*Six white Strings.*

Brother Onas,

You also gave us this String, and told us we seemed a little shy; but desired we would lay aside all such Thoughts, for you had no ill Intentions against us.

*Three white Strings.*

Brother Onas,

This String was sent to us, the *Six Nations*, by Seven Nations of *Indians* over the Lakes; who have formerly been in the *French* Interest, but have lately entered into an Alliance with us, desiring that they might lay Hold, with us, of one End of the Chain of Friendship, that subsists between us and the *English*; and we desire the Governor, that they may be accepted as Friends.

The Names of the Seven Nations, abovementioned, are as follow, viz.

<i>Warontas,</i>	<i>Schejova,</i>	<i>Cochinawagechbrona,</i>	<i>Neoquechta.</i>
<i>Scheiquouccbrona,</i>	<i>Connechsatagechbrona,</i>	<i>Chefocbecbrona,</i>	

*Ten white Strings.*

Brother Onas,

When we came as far as *Fort-Allen*, you sent us this String by Mr. *Horsfield*, inviting us to come down to *Easton*; and now that we are come, we return it you again.

*Four white Strings.*

Brother Onas,

By this String you told us, on *Monday* last, that you were very glad to see us all well here; we are likewise glad to see you, and return it you again.

*Three white Strings.*

Brother Onas,

By this String you wiped the Sweat from our Bodies, took the Thorns from our Legs and Feet, cleared our Throats, and opened our Hearts; we thank you, and return it you again.

*Four Strings, chequered.*

Brother Onas,

These three Belts were brought to us, the *Onondagoes*, by the *Oncidas*, but they brought no Speeches with them; we therefore return them to you again, for, as they are your own Belts, you may know their Meaning;—we do not.

*One Belt of eleven, one of eight, and one of seven Rows, black and white.*

Being asked whether they were brought all together, or at different Times, they answered, that they were all brought by one Messenger, about a Year ago, which Messenger was an *Oneida*, but that they do not know his Name.——Being asked how the *Oneida* came by them, and what he said, they answered, that he said no more, but that they were about the Governor's Business.

*Papouman*, by one of his *Indians*, called *Tougachena*, living at *Wigbaloufin*, then spoke to the Governor as follows.

Agreeable to your Request, when I was at *Philadelphia* last Summer, I carried your Message to *Acboan*, the Chief of the *Minijinks*, respecting his sending the *English* Prisoners, and I now deliver to you *Acboan's* Answer.

Brother Onas,

1761.

" You desired me last Year that I should clear myself, as your Brothers that live at *Wig-balousin* did, by which you would have a Proof of my Friendship. After I received your Message, I took it away to my Uncles, the *Senecas*, and delivered to them what you had said to me, upon which they advised me to deliver up all the Captives : Now, Brother, I would have you not be impatient, and I will come as soon as possible. I will hunt up all the Captives that are amongst us, and will not leave one, but will bring them all ;—but I have not yet found them all. I expect to come when the Corn is ripe ; but if I should fail then, I will certainly come by the Spring."

*Three white Strings.*

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, the same Day, in the Afternoon.*

P R E S E N T, as before.

*Teedyuscung, the Chief of the Delawares, stood up and spoke.*

*Brother, and all the rest of my Brethren and Uncles, attend.*

I INTEND to take no other Method, than what I have already agreed with the Governor. Brother, now I take the soft Feather to clear your Ears, which our Grandfathers used for the same Purpose, that you may hear distinctly whatever I may say.

*Four chequered Strings.*

*Brother,*

I desire you would now hear me ; I beg you would frame that good Heart God has given you in a right Way, that you may sensibly feel, and have a right Understanding, of what I am going to say to you,

*Four chequered Strings.*

*Brother,*

I am come here to this Place, where we met about three Years ago. I then told you, I would take that Medicine which our Maker has ordered for us, to apply to any Wounds we may have. I likewise told you, that I do not apply it any where but where the Wound is—I have now come to see whether the Wound is healed, or no.

*A Belt of eight Rows.*

*Brother,*

You then told me, when you looked ~~on~~ the Road our Grandfathers laid out, that you observed many Bushes and much Grass grown there, so that you could not see me. You then took me by the Hand.

*Brother,*

All my young Men, as far as the *Tweteway* Nations, have let me know, that they intend firmly to join in and stand to whatever you and I have agreed on ; and also those young Men I have with me, *Molickons*, *Opias* and *Delawares*, say they will not take Notice of what few Drops of Blood have stained our Road, but will look steady to our Agreement.

*A black Belt of seven Rows, and five chequered Strings.*

*Brother,*

Observe what I am going to say, and I will let you know we have cleared ourselves, as far as *Makabelousink*, *Papounan's* House. I will assure you, that I want to make a Peace between us as lasting as the World. I call the Almighty to witness, that I have no Captives in my Possession, as far as *Makabelousink*.

*Seven chequered Strings.*

*Brother,*

I have one Thing more to say : I would not have you look to me any more for any Thing, for I believe nothing will ever make us differ again, except it is your Fault, for I am sure nothing on my Part shall cause it ; therefore, if any Thing should fall out, examine your own Hearts, for it must spring from you, because all our young Men have put it into the Care of their Chiefs to manage Affairs.

*Three chequered Strings.*

*Brother,*

Our Grandfathers used to hold great Treaties of Peace and good Friendship, now we that succeed them will do the same ; they used to agree that we should have one Ear and one Eye, now you sit at *Philadelphia*, and I am away in the Country, and whatever one hears or sees, the other should hear it and see it also, because we are Brothers.

*Thirteen chequered Strings.*

*Brother,*

As I told you just now that we have one Ear, I desire you would hear me : My Uncles, the *Seven Nations*, that sit here now, desire me to leave *Wyoming*, for fear ; I answered, I will

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I will not leave it so suddenly ; but, if I should see any Danger, I will endeavour to jump out of the Way of that Danger. 1761.

*A black and white Belt of six Rows.*

*Brother,*

My Uncles have now put some Tobacco in my Pouch ; they tell me, I must steadily look towards the Mountains, and “ if you see *English* Brethren coming over the Mountains, you “ must light your Pipe, and come to us (the *Mingoes*) and we will receive you.”

*A white Belt of six Rows, striped.*

*Brother,*

It is about three Years ago that I desired my Uncles would give me a Deed for the Lands at *Wyoming*, but as they have not done it, I believe I shall get up and leave it ; for you know, according to your Custom, you hold all Lands by Deeds, and if our Uncles had given us a Deed, our Children would enjoy them after us : If they had given me a Deed, my Children and Grandchildren would live there as long as the World lasts ; but as that is not done, I believe I shall leave it.

*A white Belt of twelve Rows.*

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians at Easton, on Friday the Seventh of August, 1761.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania ;*

*RICHARD PETERS, and BENJAMIN CHEW, Esquires, of the Council of the Province ;*

*JOSEPH FOX, Esq; one of the Provincial Commissioners, and several other Gentlemen from Philadelphia and other Parts of the Province ;*

*The Deputies of the*

ONONDAGOES,  
CAYUGAS,  
ONEIDAS,  
NANTICOKES,

MOHICKONS,  
DELAWARES,  
TUTELOES,  
CONOYS ;

*Men, Women and Children, about Four Hundred in Number.*

The Governor, addressing himself to the *Indians* present, spoke as follows, *viz.*

*Brethren of the Six Nations, and of all the other Indian Nations now present,*

**H**E A R K E N to me, while I return an Answer to your Speeches of *Monday* and *Wednesday* last.

*Brethren,*

It gives me Pleasure to hear that you have found the Sky clear, and the Road to this Council Fire open and safe, and I join with you in returning Thanks to the Almighty, that he has once more brought us all together, to speak to one another, as Brethren and Friends, Face to Face.

*A String.*

*Brethren,*

We thank you for remembering those whom we have lost, during the late Troubles, either by Sickness or War, and for wiping away the Tears from our Eyes, clearing our Throats, washing away the Blood from our Bodies, and sweeping clean the Council Chamber ; in return, we most heartily condole with you, the *Seven Nations*, and all your Cousins and Warriors, for the Death of all our *Indian* Brethren, who have died or been killed since we last met in Council, and with this String we wipe away the Tears from your Eyes, clean your Throats, wash away the Blood from your Bodies, sweep the Council Chamber, and throw the Dirt out of Doors, that there may be nothing to interrupt our present friendly Conference.

*A String.*

*Brethren,*

With this Belt we collect together the Bones of all your Men, Women and Children, and most affectionately bury them in one Grave, that they may rest in Peace for ever.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

We are very sensible, with you, that both of us have sustained a very heavy Loss, by the Death

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1761. Death of our old and good Friend *Conrad Weiser*, who was an able, experienced and faithful Interpreter, and one of the Council of the *Seven Nations*; and that since his Death we, as well as you, have sat in Darknefs, and are at a great Loss for Want of well understanding what we say to one another: We mourn, with you, for his Death, and heartily join in covering his Body with Bark.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

By this Belt we dispel the dark Clouds, which you have justly observed the Death of our good Friend has occasioned, and make the Sky perfectly clear again, that we may behold the Light all the Day long: We ease your Hearts from the Grief you were under, on this mournful Account, and we pray God that we may for ever live together in Peace and Love!

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

Having thus paid our Regards to our deceased Friend, we cannot but observe, with you, that there is a Necessity of appointing some other Person to succeed him, by whose Assistance we may be enabled to find the true Sense and Meaning of what there may be Occasion to say to one another, either in Council, or by Letters, or Messages.

*Brethren,*

In Conformity to the ancient Custom of taking from among the Relations of any great Man who dies, some fit Person to supply his Place (as Mr. *Weiser* was by Adoption one of the *Six Nations*, though by Birth one of us) we think you did well to cast your Eyes upon one of his Children; and, inasmuch as *Samuel Weiser* is the only one amongst them who has any Knowledge of the *Indian* Language, and has lived among you, we shall be glad to make Trial of him for the present, and if we find him capable of serving in the Office of an Interpreter, and in the Management of *Indian* Affairs (in both which Capacities his Father so well acquitted himself) we shall appoint him to that Service. We look upon this Choice of yours as a Mark of your grateful Affection for *Conrad Weiser*, who was always your sincere Friend; and we join this Belt to yours, in Token of our Concurrence, so far as to make Trial of him.

*Their Belt, and another.*

*Brethren,*

I have now answered every Thing that you, of the *Seven United Nations*, said to me at our last Meeting. I now address myself to *Jenochryada*, the *Onondagoe* Chief, to answer the Message he sent to me by *Ashenoch*.

*Brother Jenochryada,*

You tell me that *James Sherlock* has for some Time past lived with you: I am glad to hear he has behaved in such a Manner as to obtain your good Opinion of him, and I hope he will continue to prove himself worthy of your Confidence: I have no Objection to his living among you, or to your employing him in any Business you may have to transact with us, which you think him capable of executing; but as he is a young Man, and quite a Stranger to me, I cannot consent to employ him as an Interpreter for this Government, until I have as full an Experience of his Abilities and good Disposition as you have had. In the mean Time, if I should have any Occasion of sending Messages or Letters to your Nation, I shall commit the Care of them to Messengers of my own; and desire you will observe the same Method, as the likeliest Means to our right understanding of one another, and preventing Mistakes, which might otherwise happen.

*A String.*

*Brethren of the Seven United Nations,*

You told me, that three Years ago, at a Treaty held here, I invited you, by this Belt, to come down in greater Numbers, as you were not then all present; and that, as you all were now here, you returned me this Belt, and I were glad to see us here Face to Face.

*Brethren,*

My Counsellors well remember, that this Belt was given you by the late Governor of this Province, at the last Treaty, but you seem to have mistaken the End and Purpose for which it was given; I must therefore inform you, that it was given to you as a Peace Belt, by which we then renewed our old Treaties, brightened the Chain of Friendship, confirmed our former Union, and put fresh Earth to the Roots of the Tree of Peace, that it might bear up against every Storm, and live and flourish to the End of Time, whilst the Sun should shine, and the Rivers run; and we then further desired you would publish this good News among your own and all other *Indian* Nations, who were your Friends and Allies, and engage them to join with you in a firm Peace with our great King, and all his People. All this appears by the Minutes of that Treaty, taken down in Writing at that Time; you ought therefore



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therefore to preserve this Belt, as a Bond or Earnest of the Engagements we then made to one another, and keep it safe in your Bosoms, and I now return it you for that Purpose.

1761.

*The Peace Belt returned.*

*Brethren,*

You informed us, that this String was sent from Seven Nations of *Indians* over the Lakes, who have formerly been in the *French* Interest, but have lately entered into your Alliance, desiring they might lay Hold, with you, of one End of the Chain of Friendship, that subsists between you and the *English*.

*Brethren,*

It gives me great Pleasure to hear that you have strengthened your Interest, by entering into an Alliance with these Seven Nations of *Indians*, who have been formerly in the Interest of the *French*. You and I are one Flesh and Blood, and I shall love and esteem all *Indians* whatsoever, who are in your Friendship. I will take this String, and send it to the King's Commander in Chief, and Sir *William Johnson*, and let them know the Desire those *Indians* have of entering into Friendship and Alliance with the *English*, and I make no Doubt but they will receive them with open Arms. To confirm my Words, I give you this String.

*A String.*

*Brethren,*

I am very much surprised to hear from you, that these three Belts were brought to the *Onondagee* Council, by an *Oneida Indian*, about a Year ago, without any Speeches or Messages to attend them. I can assure you, I did not send these Belts to the *Onondagee* Council, and therefore I am at a Loss to know the Meaning of them, or from whom they came. I have frequently sent Messages into the *Indian* Country, to put them in Mind of their Promise to return to us our Flesh and Blood, who are Prisoners among them, and to press them to fulfil that Promise; and it is possible, that the Belt sent with the Messengers for that Purpose, may have been forwarded to the *Six Nation* Council by Mistake; I therefore now return you the Belts, that you may make further Enquiry of the *Oneidas* about them.

*The Belts returned.*

*Brethren,*

You acquainted me, by these three Belts, first, that you were coming to see me, and were got as far as *Wyoming*; by the second, you desired me to meet you at *Easton*; by the third, you desired me to stop strong Drink, and send you Waggon, Provisions and Paint. As I have complied with these several Requests, I now return you the Belts.

*The three Belts returned.*

The several other Belts and Strings which you received from us at the last Treaty, and were returned by you to me the Day before Yesterday, I have accepted, and put into the Council Bag.

*Brethren,*

Whatever may be the Occasion of your coming down at this Time, I can truly say, I am glad to see my old Friends and Brethren once more, and take them by the Hand, and will make you as welcome and easy, while you stay among us, as I possibly can. I have only further to say to you at present, that as we are now Face to Face, we should open our Hearts to one another, and let nothing remain upon our Minds; if you, on your Part, have any Thing to offer or communicate to me, that relates to the private Interest or Concerns of this Province, or that can tend to promote and confirm our Friendship, and prevent all future Causes of Jealousy and Discontent, I shall be glad to hear it.

*A Belt.*

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, on Saturday the Eighth of August, 1761.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esq; &c. as before.*

*Joseph Pepy stood up, and spoke as follows, viz.*

*Brother Onas,*

I AM to speak a few Words to you. We had a great Council Fire at *Albany*, when a Friendship was first made with our Grandfathers; after which, about seven Years ago, our Brother General *Johnson* moved the Council Fire from *Albany* to his own House, where he said to us, "I am one Half *Indian*, and one Half *English*: What I say to my dear "Brethren, the *Seven Nations*, shall be true."—The *Seven Nations* were accordingly all assembled to the Place where he had kindled the Fire, at which Time he took up a *Tomahawk*, gave it them, and told them, he was going to War against the *French*, and

C

themselves



1761. them to join with him, and promised them, that after the *French* were all conquered and removed, Trade should be made open and free to them, and all Kinds of Goods should become more cheap, and that their Furs and Skins should bear a good Price.——

Last Year General *Johnson* appointed his Brethren, the *Seven Nations*, to meet him at *Oswego*, upon which they did assemble there; at which Time General *Johnson* observing that their Chiefs and Warriors were not all come, he sent a second Message, desiring them all to attend him there, and when they did come he said,

*Brethren,*

"I am very glad to see you here. I see many of your Chiefs are dead. I am now going against the *French*, and out of the Prisoners that I shall take from them, I will put as many in their Room."——Now, Brother *Onas*, as General *Johnson* has not performed his Promise to us, we see Death coming upon us, and the God above knows he has wronged us.

*Brother Onas,*

We give no Belt or String upon this Occasion, and only relate it as Matter of Information to you.

*Brother Onas,*

Listen to what your Brethren of the *Seven Nations* say, in Answer to what you told us Yesterday.

You desired us to open our Hearts, that nothing unknown might lay hid there, but that every Thing may come out: We desire, by this Belt, that you may do the same.

*A white Belt of eight Rows, with three black Bars:*

*Brother Onas,*

We see, Brethren, on each Side of us: On the one Side, the Governor of *Virginia*, who does not speak or do right to us; on the other Side, General *Johnson*, who does the same. We have often heard you speak, and you always do and speak right and justly to us; every Time you speak it does our Hearts good. When we look towards you, General *Johnson*, and the Governor of *Virginia*, we esteem you all as One; how comes it then that you do not all speak alike. We, your Brethren of the *Seven Nations*, are penned up like Hogs. There are Forts all around us, and therefore we are apprehensive that Death is coming upon us. We want nothing but Friendship with you, so long as the Sun shall shine, and the Waters run.

*A white Belt of nine Rows, and four black Bars.*

*Brother Onas,*

Hearken to what your Brethren, the *Seven Nations*, are going to say to you. When our Grandfathers first made a Friendship together, God saw it: Now we, and all the Nations, would stand to the Agreement they made, and when any Nations smile upon us, we will join with them. Now, dear Brother, may God Almighty give us Strength and Knowledge to continue our Friendship. We look at no other, but to you, to hold fast the Chain of Friendship. We are crushed on all Sides, so that we cannot stir ourselves, nor look any Way but to you.——Now, dear Brother, that we see you Face to Face, we desire that you would not slack your Friendship, but hold it fast.

*A black and white Belt of seven Rows.*

*Brother Onas,*

I would only let you know, in a few Words, how our Brother General *Johnson* served us.——When we come to him for Ammunition, and bring our Skins, he does not give us the Worth of our Skins, but only a Handful of Powder; and for that Reason we think there is certain Death coming upon us.——

He shuts up his Powder from us, and will not give us more than will serve us two or three Days. We only mention this to you, but if you will continue to smile on us, we will look to you.

*A white Belt of six Rows, and three black Bars.*

*Brother Onas,*

We are now sensible, that we were under a Mistake with Respect to the Meaning of this Belt (holding up the large Peace Belt) We should not have brought it back to you again, if we had known what it meant: We are very glad that you have explained it to us: We look upon it as the Belt of Peace, and will shew it to all the Nations over the Lake, and will lodge it in the *Onondagoe* Council, where the only General Council Fire is kept, and where it ought to remain.

*Brother Onas,*

This is all your Brethren of the *Seven Nations* have to say.

## [ II ]

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, on Monday the Tenth of August, 1761.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esq; &c. &c. as before.*

*Tokahaio stood up and spoke as follows, viz.*

*Brother Onas,*

YOU will please to hear what the *Six Nations* are going to say to you. Some of the *English* have settled upon our Lands, but we don't know from whence they came. 1761.  
We hope, that as you are strong, you will assist us in preventing them from settling upon our Lands, that we may not be wronged out of them.

*A Belt of seven Rows, with six Diamonds and a Bar.*

*Brother Onas,*

We have heard that this Land has been sold, but we do not know for certain by whom. The *Six Nations* have not sold it, and never intended it as yet. Whoever has sold the Land, stole it from us, and only did it to fill their Pockets with Money; but we have heard that two *Tuscaroras*, one *Oneida*, and one *Mohawk*, have sold it, unknown to the *Six Nations*.

*A String of four Rows.*

*Brother Onas,*

Hear what we are going to say to you.—You know there is a Line made between you and us, and we desire that none of the *English* would settle on the other Side of that Line. [Being asked what they meant by that Line, they answered, the Line of the Purchase last made by this Province from the *Six Nations*.] Some People have already settled over that Line, which People we do not like, and hope you will be strong, and assist us in having them removed.

*A Belt of seven Rows, with three black Diamonds.*

*Brother Onas,*

We are very poorly off, as we have no Trade stirring among us, and as we have mentioned to you that the Things we buy from General *Johnson* are very dear, we hope you will have Pity on us, and erect a Trading-house at *Diaboga*, that we may be able to buy our Goods cheaper. We are in great Want of all Kinds of Goods, but especially of Powder and Lead, and hope you will supply us plentifully with them. We desire you would not allow any strong Liquor to be sent among us, as we shall fetch that ourselves, whenever we shall want it. As soon as we see your People come with Goods, we will acquaint all our young Men with it, both far and near, and if your Goods are sold reasonable, we suppose that General *Johnson* will also sell his Goods cheaper than he now does.—We desire that you would send a good and honest Man to trade with us.

*A Belt of seven Rows and four black Bars.*

*Brother Onas,*

You have frequently sent us Messages by straggling *Indians*, *Delawares*, and others, upon whom there is no Dependence: They sometimes lose the Belts and Messages, and sometimes drink them away; but if they do happen to reach us, they are nothing but Nonsense. We desire you, therefore, that whenever you have Messages to send, you will send them by trusty Persons to our Great Council Fire at *Onondago*, that we may be able to understand them rightly; and as we have chosen *Samuel Weiser* for that Purpose, you can always send your Messages by him.

*A chequered String of four Rows.*

*Brother Onas,*

You have often made Mention of your Flesh and Blood, who are Prisoners among us. 'Tis true, Brother, there was some of your Blood among us; there were Ten among the *Cayugas*, but our Brother General *Johnson* has also often spoke of them to us, and we have delivered them all up to him; there is none amongst us at present—You must now look for them amongst the *Delawares*, our Cousins.

*A Belt of five Rows, with three black Bars.*

*Brother Onas,*

We have nothing further to say, and as we have been here a great While, we desire the Governor to make Haste to dismiss us.

(*James Sherlock* reports, that he had a Belt from the *Onondagoes* to the *Delawares*, at *Chugnot*, above *Diaboga*, demanding the *English* Prisoners they had; that he received one Woman from them, and was coming off with her in a Canoe, but that *Mehtochkaway*, the *Delaware* King, followed him, and took her from him, telling him that the *Delawares* would not deliver up their Prisoners, till they heard what their Brothers, the *English*, should say.)

*At*

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, on Tuesday the Eleventh of August.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esq; &c. as before.*

The Governor, addressing himself to the *Seven United Nations*, spoke as follows, *viz.*

1761. *Brethren of the Seven United Nations, and all our Indian Brethren now present,*  
 YOU desire me to open my Heart, and conceal nothing from you. I give you this String, to assure you that I will always communicate to you every Thing that comes to my Knowledge, or that rises up in my Mind, which concerns our common Interest, and keep nothing secret, but will agree that you and I shall have but one Eye, one Ear, and one Heart.

*A String.*

*Brethren,*

I am very sorry to hear that you apprehend General *Johnson* has been unkind to you. I am afraid the Evil Spirit is again endeavouring to blind your Eyes, and mislead you. You well know that General *Johnson* has, for a great Number of Years past, manifested his Love and Friendship for the *Indians*, on many Occasions, and you have as often given Proofs of your Esteem and good Opinion of him. You should not therefore suffer the Confidence and Trust you have reposed in him, to be interrupted by any Jealousies or Suspensions; but you should open your Hearts to him, and tell him your Minds freely. I am persuaded he is a very worthy Gentleman, and your good Friend, and if you will lay your Grievances before him, I am sure he will do you Justice, if you have been injured, and remove all your Uneasiness.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

You say that you are afraid Death is coming upon you, and seem to apprehend yourselves to be in great Danger; I am much surprized to hear this, nor can I find out what has given Rise to your Fears, as there is now a perfect Peace and Friendship betwixt you and all your Brethren the *English*; you must not therefore make yourselves uneasy without any just Grounds or Foundation. I speak to you from the Bottom of my Heart, and do assure you that I never heard, nor do I believe that there are any ill Designs forming against you.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

I thank you for the particular Affection you express for the People of this Province. We have always made it a Rule to speak to you plainly, and from the Bottom of our Hearts, and to treat you not only justly, but with Brotherly Love, and Kindness. And it now gives us great Satisfaction to hear that you think so well of us. I assure you we desire nothing more, than to live in perfect Peace and Friendship with you, as long as the Sun and Moon endures. We will always hold the Chain of Friendship in our Hands, and keep it Bright and Free from Rust, and in all our future Conduct to, and Dealings with you, continue to use you well, and give you every Proof of our Affection and Regard for you.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

I have carefully considered that Part of the Speech you made Yesterday, wherein you say that some Lands have been stole from you, and sold by some *Indians*, who have no Right to them, to the *English*, who have settled upon them. I know of no Lands lying within this Province, which have not been purchased of you, that have been settled by the *English*, except a Tract lying on or near the River *Delaware*, about Fifty Miles above the *Blue Mountains*. Brethren, I am glad to have this Opportunity of speaking to you on this Head: It is a Matter of great Consequence, and has given me much Concern; listen attentively, therefore, to what I shall say to you about this Matter.—You know that an Agreement was made, a great While ago, between your Ancestors and your Brother *Onas* (which has been often renewed and confirmed by many of your Chiefs now living) that your Brother *Onas* would never settle any Lands in this Province, till he had fairly purchased them of the *Indians*, who engaged that they would never sell any Lands in this Province to any other Person than their Brother *Onas*. That you may refresh your Memories, and call to Mind this Agreement, I give you this Belt.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

A great Number of People who lived in *Connecticut* Government, came about a Year ago, and settled near this River, beyond the Line of the Lands purchased of you, at a Place called *Cushtunk*, and claimed all the Lands from thence quite up to *Wyoming*. As soon as I heard

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of it I sent Messengers to them, informing them these Lands had never been purchased of the *Indians*, and desiring them to remove away. They sent me back, for Answer, that they had purchased all those Lands of you, and under that Pretence had a Right to them, and would hold them. Now, Brethren, as you have told me you will hide nothing from me, I desire you will tell me truly, whether you have sold these Lands to these Strangers, who have settled them, against my Will and Consent? — (To which Question the *Six Nations* made Answer, That those were the Lands which they mentioned Yesterday to have been sold by four straggling *Indians*, without the Knowledge or Consent of their General Council, and that they understood *Thomas King*, an *Oncida Indian*, was one of those who had sold those Lands.) 1761.

Upon which Answer the Governor said,

*Brethren,*

You know all such private Sales are of no Force. I therefore join this String to the Belt, and desire you will send for those *Indians* into the Great Council at *Onondagoe*, and reprove them for their Conduct, and cancel their Deeds.

*A Belt and a large String.*

*Brethren,*

I have already, by the Consent of my Wife Men, set up two great Stores, or Trading-houses, to furnish the *Indians* with all Sorts of Goods, at a cheap Rate, one at *Pittsburgh*, and the other at *Shamokin*; at the last of which Places you may easily supply yourselves with whatever you want. The Expences, Losses, and many Difficulties which attend our sending Goods to these two Places, are so great, that I cannot set up another Store-house at so great a Distance as *Diaboga*, according to your Desire. — I am sorry to refuse you any Thing; but if I should agree with you, to do more than I can perform, you would have just Reason to charge me with deceiving you. You must not therefore take it amiss, that I always speak plainly to you, and tell you my Mind.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

I told you before, that if I should have Occasion to send you any Messages, I would commit the Care of them to Messengers of my own; and as *Samuel Weiser* is a Person recommended by you for that Purpose, I will use him for the future.

*A String.*

*Brethren,*

I am pleased to hear you sent to General *Johnson* our Flesh and Blood, who were Prisoners among the *Cayugas*. We esteem it as the strongest Proof of your Friendship that you can possibly give us. — You all agreed, at the Treaty held here three Years ago, that you would search all the Towns and Places in the *Indian* Countries for them, and deliver them up to us, without leaving one behind; and that if they had gone down your Throats, you would heave them up again. I am sorry that but very few have yet been brought back, though I know there are a great many scattered up and down among the *Indians*. We cannot help thinking that you speak only from your Lips, and not from your Hearts, whatever Professions of Regard you make for us, till this Promise is performed, and we see our Fathers, Mothers and Children, who have been carried into Captivity, restored to us, this Promise was the Condition on which the Peace Belt was exchanged between us. — Some among you have been faithful, and sent back all the Prisoners they had; I do not therefore address this Part of my Speech to them, but take them to my Heart; it is intended only for such of the *Indians* as have deceived us, and still detain our Flesh and Blood. I sincerely wish to be Friends with you all, and therefore once more put you in Mind of your Engagements, and insist on your immediately complying with them, by restoring the Prisoners, that nothing may remain to make any Difference between us to the End of Time.

*A Belt.*

The Governor, addressing himself to *Teedyuscung*, spoke as follows, *viz.*

*Brother,*

Agreeable to your Request, I have taken into serious Consideration what you said to me on *Wednesday* last, and shall answer you with the same good Will and Sincerity that true Friends always use to one another.

*A String.*

*Brother,*

I readily acknowledge that you have been a great Instrument in bringing about the great Work of Peace; and, according to the Promises you made us at this Place three Years ago, the Peace Belt has been sent to several Nations of *Indians*, who have since joined their Hands to it; so that, by the Blessing of the Most High, the Wound, by the Means of the Medicine you have applied, is intirely healed. And it shall be my Endeavour, as you say it shall be yours, to keep the Wound from ever opening again.

*A Belt.*

*Brother,*

1761.

*Brother,*

You tell me that all your young Men as far as the *Twightwees*, and those now with you, *Mobickons*, *Opies* and *Delawares*, intend to join in, and stand to, whatever you and I have agreed to ; and that they will not take Notice of whatever Drops of Blood may have stained the Road, but will look steadily to our Agreements.

*Brother,*

I very much commend this Resolution ;—it is a Mark of Prudence and real Love for Peace ; considering how many wicked Men there are in the World, it must be expected that private Mischiefs, and even Murders, will now and then be committed : When this happens, we shall do well to let one another know of it, and join in taking all proper Measures to detect and punish the evil Doers. This being done, the public Peace can never be affected or hurt.—By this Belt I assure you that this is my Disposition and Resolution, as well as it is yours.

*A Belt and String.**Brother,*

I take special Notice of your declaring that you have cleared yourself as far as *Wigba-lousin*, *Papounan's* Town, as far as that Place, you say you have no Prisoners, but they are all delivered up, and you want to make a Peace as lasting as the World ; Brother, I take this public Declaration of yours very kindly ; I believe you say true ; if all like you would do the same Thing,—and they are engaged, and have often promised, to do it,—the Peace would last for ever. On the Part of this Government all Engagements shall be punctually observed ; this String confirms my Words.

*A String.**Brother,*

You say you would not have me look to you for any Thing further, for nothing will ever make a Difference betwixt you and me, and therefore if any Thing happens, it must spring from me, as your young Men have put all their Affairs into the Hands of their Chiefs. Brother, assure yourself that my Heart is good towards you, and that I shall take all the Pains in my Power to prevent any Breach of the Peace ; keep but your young Men sober, and in Order, and let them do no Mischief to the Inhabitants, and I am well assured we shall always remain on good Terms, and enjoy all the Benefits of Peace.

*A String.**Brother,*

I agree with you that friendly Conferences between us are of great Use, as they give us an Opportunity of settling Matters that may arise from time to time, which might otherwise breed Misunderstandings between us.—I shall be your Ear, and inform you constantly of any Thing that may concern you.

*A String.**Brother,*

I thank you for your Information respecting what you told me was said to you by the *Seven Nations*. You are now all together ; speak your Minds to one another freely and affectionately, as Friends and Relations should do, and agree now on all Points. If you really mean to continue at *Wyoming*, let your Uncles know it, and they will, I doubt not, consent to it. They seem to apprehend that Danger is nigh to you as well as themselves ; but I hope what I have said to them of the good Disposition of General *Johnson*, will quiet both their and your Fears. By this Belt I assure you that I will give you the earliest Notice in my Power if any Harm should ever be intended against you. At present I know of none ; I am assured that there is none.

*A Belt.**Brother,*

I shall be very sorry if you remove from *Wyoming* ; this Province has cheerfully, and at a considerable Expence, assisted you to build Houses, and make your Settlements there commodious to you as long as you live ; there you will always find us disposed to assist you, if you go away, it will not be so much in our Power. Consider this well ; your Uncles, who now hear me speak to you, will not, I hope, after placing you there, and after the Expence that has been laid out by us in building Houses for you, desire you to go to live at another Place, without your giving them some Cause of Complaint ; and that I hope you never will do. In Confirmation of the Truth of what I now say to you, I give you this Belt.

*A Belt.*

The Governor then addressing himself to the *Papounan*, speaks as follows.

*Brother Papounan,*

I thank you for your Care in sending my Message to *Achoan*, and for delivering his Answer. I shall give you no more Trouble in this Matter, nor send him any more Messages ; but expect his Uncles, the *Seven Nations*, will acquaint him with what I have so strongly urged upon them, during these Conferences, with Respect to the Delivery of the Prisoners.

*At*



*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, the same Day, in the Afternoon.*

P R E S E N T, as before.

IN Consequence of the Governor's pressing Demand, for the *Indians* to deliver up all the *English* Prisoners they had now with them, they produced one Girl, and delivered her up to the Governor in Form. 1761.

The Governor then spoke to the *Indians*.

*Bretbren,*

I am now to inform you, that since our last Meeting at this Place, three Years ago, the Road has been stained with a few Drops of Blood. The first Thing of this Kind happened over *Sasquebanna*, where one *Indian* Man, his Wife, and two Children, were found dead, having been either murdered or drowned in the River *Conedugannieth*. It no sooner came to my Knowledge, but I issued a Proclamation, offering *Two Hundred and Sixty-six Dollars*, as a Reward for detecting and apprehending all such as should be concerned in this Murder; but, notwithstanding all my Endeavours, nothing certain has yet been discovered.

About two Months ago, our very good Friend *Thomas Hickman* was found shot in the *Tuscarora Path Valley*. One Person is now in Goal, on Suspicion; two others were put into Prison, but set at Liberty again, at the Instance of the *Indians*, it appearing to them that they were innocent. All possible Endeavours are now using to find out who did this wicked Act; a Reward has been offered, by public Proclamation, for their Apprehension, and I hope we shall find them.

There may have been some few more of such Instances, which I may not have been particularly informed of; but these are all that have reached my Ears.

*Bretbren,*

These are Accidents, which ought not to affect the Peace made between us: It is as grievous to me as to you to hear of these wicked Acts, and let them be who they will that have been guilty of these Murders, they shall die themselves, as soon as convicted thereof, by a lawful Trial. With this Belt I collect their Bones, and put them all into one Grave.

*A Belt.*

I fill up their Graves, and cover their Bodies with these Strouds.

*Strouds.*

With these Handkerchiefs I wash off the Blood from your Bodies, and wipe away the Tears from your Eyes.

*Handkerchiefs.*

With this Belt I take all Sorrow out of your Hearts, I clear your Throats, Eyes and Ears, and desire you will no more mourn for them.

*A Belt.*

*Teedyuscung* then informed the Governor, that he desired to speak a few Words to him, and to his Uncles the *Six Nations*; whereupon the Governor desired him to begin, and he spoke as follows.

*Uncles,*

I beg you will hearken to what I am going to say. You may remember, some Years ago, at our Council Fire, you took me by the Hairs of my Head, and shook me, and told me to go and live at *Wyoming*, for you gave me the Land there, where I might raise my Bread, and get my Living; now again you desire me to move off from thence, and would place me somewhere else. The Reason why I complied with your first Request was, because I thought you would give me the Lands at *Wyoming*, in the Room of some of our Lands you had sold the *English*; I assure you now, that if I move from thence, some *English* will come and settle there, in the Midst of our Road, so that we cannot pass from thence to this Province; and we shall lose the Land, so that neither you nor me will have any Benefit from it.

Addressing himself to the Governor, he said,

*Brother,*

I am really very glad to hear you say the Wound is healed up; we are all pleased at it; since this is the Case we expect you will pay us for the Lands we have been complaining about.



1761. about. It was left to King GEORGE. You told me as soon as ever you heard from the King, you would let me know of it ; but I have not heard you say any thing about it since : Now, Brother, as there are some here present, who have never been paid for some of their Lands, we desire you would pay them now ; but as for the *Munfies*, and some others at *Allegheny*, who also claim Lands near this Place, they will agree with you when they see you.

The Governor replied, that he would take into Consideration what he had said, and would answer him in the Morning.

Being asked what Lands he desired to be paid for ; he answered, that the Lands are where we now stand, betwixt the Mountains and *Tobickon Creek* ; but acknowledged that some Lands about *Durham*, four Miles square, were paid for.

*Tokahaio then stood up and spoke.*

*Brother Onas,*

We the *Seven Nations*, especially the *Nanticokes* and *Conoys*, speak to you.—About seven Years ago we went down to *Maryland*, with a Belt of Wampum, to fetch our Fleth and Blood, which we shewed to some *Englishmen* there, who told us they did not understand Belts, but if we had brought any Order in Writing from the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, they would let our Fleth and Blood then come away with us ; but as this was not done, they would not let them come :—Now we desire you would give us an Order for that Purpose.

*A white String of five Rows.*

*Brother Onas,*

We would have you make some Satisfaction to our Cousins here, the *Delawares*, for their Lands, as we suppose they desire it.—Some of them are now present, who claim some Lands here, and are often thinking of it, particularly one (pointing to *Joseph Pepy*.)

*At a private CONFERENCE, on Wednesday the Twelfth of August, 1761.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor, &c. &c.*

*RICHARD PETERS, } Esquires ;*  
*LEWIS GORDON, }*

*The Chief of the Onondagoes,*  
*ASHENOCH, Speaker ;*

*JAMES SHERLOCK, Interpreter.*

*Brother Onas,*

IT is a long Time since we last met together, and we are now glad to see you. Brother, we request it of you that you would give us a Duplicate of this Deed (shewing a Deed of Release from *Richard Peters*, and *Conrad Weiser*, Esquires, Proprietary Attornies to them at the last Treaty) because it is the Desire of *Jenochryada*, and in Order that the *Mohawks* may have the Original, and we keep the Copy.

*A chequered String of three Rows.*

To which Request the Governor assented, and desired *Lewis Gordon*, Esq; to prepare an exemplified Copy of the above-mentioned Release for them.

*Jeoquanta then Spoke to the Governor.*

*Brother Onas,*

My old Mother and Children, who are here at present, are not able to walk, I desire therefore that my Brother would help me to a Horie, as I have a great Way to go Home, and cannot make a Canoe at this Time of the Year.

*A black Belt of seven Rows.*

*Brother Onas,*

I have come a great Way, and have brought with me a Pack of Beaver. Our Brother General *Johnson*, and those who live near him, sell their Goods very dear, and give us nothing for our Skins, but as I heard our Brothers of this Province gave better Prices for our Skins, I have brought them here, and hope my Brother will see Justice done me in the Sale of them. And if my Brother thinks I can get a better Price for them by carrying them to *Philadelphia*, I should be obliged to him for his Information.

*A chequered String of three Rows.*

## [ 17 ]

*At a public CONFERENCE on the same Day.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esq; &c. &c. as at the former public Conferences.*

*The Governor, addressing himself to Teedyuscung, spoke as follows.*

*Brother,*

AS to the Lands lying between the Kittoctinny Hills and Toubickon Creek, which you say you have never been paid for, you know the Proprietaries of this Province have always insisted that they were fairly purchased of the *Delawares*, before you were born, who received the Consideration Money for them; you know also that the Dispute between you and the Proprietaries about these Lands was, by your own particular Desire, referred to our Great King over the Water, who, from his Love of Justice, and Regard to you, has taken upon himself to settle it, and has ordered General *Johnson* to hear your Complaint, and enquire into the Truth of it, and make Report to him, that he may direct what is right to be done; of this General *Johnson* gave you Notice, by a Letter, above a Year and an Half ago, and desired you to appoint a proper Time and Place to meet him on this Occasion, that the Affair might be speedily settled. I have waited ever since in Expectation that you would comply with General *Johnson's* Request; and I now inform you that I am, and at all Times shall be, ready, on my Part, to send the Proprietary Commissioners to support their Claim, whenever you shall appoint the Time and Place of Meeting; it is therefore your own Fault if the Matter is delayed any longer.

1761.

Addressing himself to the *Seven Nations*, he said,

*Brethren of the Seven United Nations,*

I have considered what you said to me on Behalf of the *Conoys* and the *Nanticokes*, who have some of their Brethren still remaining in the Province of *Maryland*: As I am not Governor of that Province, I have no Power to order the People there to suffer their Relations to come away; I will, however, afford them all the Assistance I can, and will not only give the Messenger they send to *Maryland* a Passport, or safe Conduct, but will write to the Governor, and request him to permit their Brethren to come away, without Interruption.

*Brethren,*

You desire me to make Satisfaction to your Cousins the *Delawares* for these Lands which they claim, as they often think of it; had you known, as well as I do, how groundless and unjust this Claim of theirs was, I am sure you would not have taken any Notice of it. Your old Men must remember, that at a full Council held with the *Six Nations*, at *Philadelphia*, in the Year 1742, the Claim the *Delawares* now make for these very Lands was laid before them, and the Deeds from them to the Proprietaries perused and considered by the *Six Nations*; who, upon a full Hearing of the Matter, then were convinced that the Proprietaries had fairly purchased them of the *Delawares*, and paid for them. Whereupon the *Six Nations* ordered the *Delawares* to remove off from them, and go to *Wyoming*, which they accordingly did. *Teedyuscung*, some Time ago, renewed his Complaint about these Lands to our Great King, who has ordered General *Johnson* to enquire into the whole Matter, and let him know how it is circumstanced, that Justice may be done as well to the *Delawares* as to us; and I am ready to send my Commissioners to General *Johnson*, to lay before him the Proprietaries Deeds for, and Right to, these Lands, whenever *Teedyuscung* will appoint a Time and Place for this Purpose.

*Tokahaio* addressed the Governor, in Behalf of the *Tutcloes*, as follows.

*Brother Onas,*

We desire our Brother will be so good as to furnish us with three Waggon, to carry home our Sick, who are not able to walk, as we intend to go home as soon as we can;—which Request the Governor granted, and left the Number of Waggon to be provided for them, to the Direction of *Joseph Fox*, Esq;

*Tokahaio then added,*

*Brother Onas,*

We have been here at this Council Fire, and heard what good Words you have spoke to us. We have no more to say at present, and we see likewise that you have nothing more to

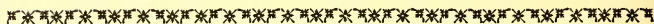
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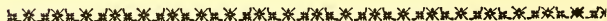
1761. } say to us ; we are therefore going to part. When we return home, we will acquaint all our People with what we have heard. We heartily thank you for the good Usage we have received from you.

The Governor informed them, that he had brought up with him a Present from the Government to them, which Mr. *Fox* would distribute amongst them To-morrow ; and then concluded the Treaty, by shaking Hands with the Chiefs of the *Indians*.

In the Afternoon the Governor and his Company set out for *Philadelphia*.



*T H E E N D.*



M I N U T E S  
O F  
C O N F E R E N C E S,

H E L D A T

*L A N C A S T E R,*

In *A U G U S T*, 1762.

With the SACHEMS and WARRIORS of several Tribes of

*Northern and Western* I N D I A N S.



P H I L A D E L P H I A :

Printed and Sold by B. F R A N K L I N, and D. H A L L, at the  
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# Minutes of Conferences, &c.

At a COUNCIL held at Lancaster, on Wednesday the Eleventh of August, 1762.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esq; LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR;

WILLIAM LOGAN, RICHARD PETERS, and BENJAMIN CHEW, Esquires.

THE Governor having been informed last Week, at *Philadelphia*, that in Consequence of several Invitations sent by this Government, at sundry Times, to the *Indians* living on and near the *Ohio*, the *Delaware* Chief *Beaver*, and the Deputies of other Tribes of Western *Indians*, would be at *Lancaster* on the Eighth Instant; sat out from *Philadelphia*, attended by several Gentlemen, and came here on the Ninth Instant, and found that the *Indians* had arrived the Evening before.

1762.

On the Tenth the Governor, attended by the Gentlemen abovementioned, with several of the Inhabitants of this Town, paid a Visit to *Beaver*, and the other *Indians*, at their Encampment, about a Mile from the Town, where he took them by the Hand, and bid them heartily welcome; and having seen that they were well accommodated, took his Leave, and came back to Town.

The Governor Yesterday Afternoon received a Message from *Beaver*, that having been a long Time from Home, they would take it very kindly if he would be pleased to open the Conferences with them To-morrow Morning, without waiting any longer for the *Six Nations*, as he and those *Indians* with him were the first invited, and were only made acquainted with the coming of the *Six Nations* since they left their Homes.

The Governor returned them for Answer, that the Interpreter was not come; but as soon as he should arrive, he would immediately proceed to Business with them, and give them Notice when to attend.

This Afternoon arrived Six *Tuscarora* *Indians*, who waited on the Governor, and acquainted him, that they were sent to him by those of their Nation, living at *Onoboguage*, on the Upper Waters of the *Sasquehannab*, with a Letter; which, after the Ceremony of opening his Eyes and Heart, by a String of Wampum, they delivered to him, and it follows in these Words.—

*Lower Tuscarora, Onoboguage, July 8, 1762.*

Great Brother,

" I the Bearer, *Augus*, Chief of the Nation, am, and ever have been, a Friend and Brother to the *English*, and to the Interest of *Great-Britain*, now wait upon your Excellency, by Agreement, to transact Affairs of Importance; and heartily rejoice that the *Five Nations* have agreed to, and (as I hear) have actually returned the *English* Prisoners, to enjoy the Liberties of their own Nation.—And I the said *Augus*, Chief, with my whole Tribe, have ever been for Peace with the *English* Colonies in *America*, and have minded the Things of Religion, and of a private Life. And as true Friends to the Protestant Cause, we congratulate your Excellency, our Brother, and all the *British* Nation, on the various Conquests obtained against the common Enemy, and especially on the total Reduction of *Canada*, with its Dependences, being greatly delighted with the happy Prospect that now arises, without Clouds. As we rejoice to hear that the Prisoners are released, so we hope a Peace will

be



## [ 4 ]

1762. be established between us, the *Five Nations*, and the *English Colonies* on the Continent; a Peace that shall be lasting and undisturbed, while the Waters run, and the Grass grows.— We should be glad to be informed of the State and Behaviour of our Brethren in *Tuscarora Valley*, and to have some Directions about the Way, as we propose to make them a Visit; and also should be glad of a Pass, or Recommendation in Writing, that we may be friendly received on the Way, and at the Valley.

*I am your Brother, AUGUS, Chief."*

The above was taken from the Mouth of the said *Augus, Tuscarora Chief*, by the Help of an Interpreter, by me

ELI FORBES, *Missionary at Onohoquage.*

After the Governor had read the Letter, they delivered him a Belt of Wampum, to confirm the Sincerity of their Professions contained in the said Letter.

They then delivered the Governor another Belt from the *Nanticokes* and *Conoys*, as a Testimony of their joining with the *Tuscaroras* in the same sincere Professions.

The Governor acquainted them that he would take the Letter into Consideration, and at a proper Time return them an Answer.

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians held at Lancaster, on Thursday the Twelfth of August, 1762.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor, &c.*

WILLIAM LOGAN, RICHARD PETERS, BENJAMIN CHEW, *Esquires, of the Council of the Province;*

JOSEPH FOX, GEORGE ASHRIDGE, JAMES WRIGHT, SAMUEL RHODS, JAMES WEBB, *Esquires, of the Assembly, and several Magistrates, and a Number of Gentlemen from Philadelphia, and other Parts of the Province.*

Tomago, or Beaver, } *Chiefs of the Ohio Delawares, and Twenty-two*  
Wendocalla, } *others, most of them Warriors;*  
Tiffacomah,

Akis, } *Chiefs of the* Miskepalathy, or Red Hawk, } *Chiefs of the Shawanese,*  
Lenaskocana, } *the* Wapemasbehawy, or White Elk, } *and Ten other War-*  
Enasquana, } *Tuscaroras;* Magalacutway, } *riors;*

Cakakey, } *Chiefs of the* Teacott, } *Chiefs of the*  
Micathie, } *Kickapoe Nation;* Wiougha, } *Wawachtanies;*  
Weatona, }

Paoughawe, Nenaouseca, } *Chiefs of the* ISAAC STILLE, and } *Interpreters.*  
Cottalinnea, Sawnaughakey, } *Twightwee Nation;* FREDERICK POST, }

AFTER the *Indians* had taken their Seats, the Governor opened the Conferences with the following Speech.

*Brethren the Delawares, Shawanese, Twightwees, Wawachtanies, Tuscaroras, and Kickapoes,*

With this String I clean your Bodies from the Dust and Sweat, and open your Eyes and Ears, that you may see your Brethren with Cheerfulness, and hear distinctly what I have to say to you at this Conference,

*A String (480)*

*Brethren,*

With this String I open the Passage to your Hearts, that you may speak freely, and without Reserve, as Brethren ought to do when they meet together.

*A String (260)*

*Brethren,*

## [ 5 ]

*Bretbren,*

It is now a great while since we have had the Pleasure of meeting one another in Council, wherefore I take this Opportunity of condoling with you for the Losses you may have sustained by the Death of any of your People, and with this String I gather up the Bones of our deceased Brethren, and bury them decently, according to the Custom of our Forefathers.

*A String (460)*

*Bretbren,*

With this String I disperse the dark Clouds, which for many Years have hung over our Heads, and prevented our seeing each other, that we may for the future meet and confer together, as our Fathers used to do, and brighten and renew the Covenant Chain of Friendship, for our mutual Benefit and Advantage.

*A String (300)*

*Bretbren,*

As the Council-Chamber hath contracted much Duft, for Want of Use for some Years past, and hath also been stained with Blood, I, with this String, sweep it quite clean, and wipe all Blood from off the Seats, that we may sit down and confer together, without seeing any Thing to interrupt us, or make us uneasy.

*A String (280)*

*Bretbren,*

Having now wiped your Eyes, opened the Way to your Hearts, and cleansed the Council Seats, I, by this Belt, take you by the Hand, and bid you heartily welcome, and assure you, that I am ready to do every Thing in my Power to strengthen and preserve that Brotherly Love and Friendship, which so long subsisted between your Ancestors and His Majesty's Subjects of this Government.

*A Belt.*

The Governor then told them he had finished what he had to say to them at present, and that if they were prepared to speak to him at this Time, he was ready to hear them; if not, he would appoint another Time for that Purpose.

*Beaver, the Chief of the Delawares, then spoke to the Governor as follows.*

*Brother,*

We all rejoice to hear what you have said to us, and are glad that you have cleansed us, and have spoke to us in the Manner which our Forefathers used to do to one another. As we speak different Languages, we shall be glad of an Opportunity of consulting among ourselves, and shall deliver what we have to say to you To-morrow Morning.

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, held at Lancaster, on Friday, the Thirtieth of August, 1762.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esquire, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, &c.*

*WILLIAM LOGAN, RICHARD PETERS, BENJAMIN CHEW, Esquires, Members of the Council.*

*JOSEPH FOX, SAMUEL RHODS, JAMES WRIGHT, JOHN MORTON, Esquires, of the Assembly.*

*The Chiefs and Deputies of the several Nations of Indians as before.*

The Governor having told the *Indians* that he was ready to hear them,

*Beaver, the Delaware Chief, spoke as follows.*

*Brother,*

I H A V E heard what you said to me Yesterday, and am well pleased with it. You have cleansed me, opened my Eyes, and cleaned my Ears in the same Manner as our Forefathers used to do. You will now listen to me attentively; with this String I also open your Eyes, and clean your Ears, that you may see me, and hear what I have to say to you.

*A String.*

*Brother,*

When our Grandfathers used to meet together, they wiped the Tears from one another's Eyes, and with this String I now wipe the Tears from your Eyes, that you may see clearly your Brothers now before you.

*A String.*

B

*Brother,*

1762.

*Brother,*

When our Grandfathers used to meet our Brethren, they cleansed each others Hearts, and took away all Grief and Sorrow out of them :—By this String I do likewise clean your Hearts, and remove all Sorrow and Grief from them, and strengthen your Breath, that you may speak more freely to your Brothers here before you.

*A String.**Brother,*

It is a great While since we saw one another ; we here present are really very glad to see you and all our Brethren well.—It is about four Years ago since we first received any Messages from you, and ever since we have been employed in carrying good News to all the Nations round, who were rejoiced to hear it from you. And we have been likewise ever since endeavouring to bring in your Flesh and Blood, as you required it of us. Mr. *Croghan*, and the Commander at *Fort-Pitt*, know that we have delivered many of them, and now we bring a few more of them to you. There are some behind yet, and they meet with good Usage, and live as we do, and chuse to stay with us ; but I hope they will come to you after some Time, because you live better than we do.

*A Belt.**Brother,*

I heard you Yesterday, and was much rejoiced to hear you, as were all your Brethren here present. You told me you had removed all the dark Clouds that hung over us. I am rejoiced that the dark Clouds are dispersed, so that we can see one another clearly.

By this Belt I do, on my Part, disperse the Clouds. Now, Brother, let us join heartily, and put our Hands together, to put away the Clouds.

If we should see the Clouds rise again, let us join to remove them, and keep Peace together, so that our Children and Grandchildren, when they meet, may rejoice to see one another, and live to great Ages in Peace.

*A Belt.**Brother,*

We are rejoiced to see one another ; all the dark Clouds are now scattered, and the Sun shines clear upon us, and all the Nations who are our Friends. We see plainly that good Road which our Grandfathers used, when they travelled to your Council Fire, to consult about our Affairs, when we lived in Friendship.

*Brother,*

We will join with you to keep that Road open and good ; I assure you it was never yet quite stopt up ; we find our old Council Fire, which our Grandfathers made, is still burning ; now by this Belt I collect dry Wood to put to the Fire, and make it bigger, so that the Smoke may rise to the Skies ; when other Nations see it, they will know by the Light that I have been in Council with my Brethren.

*A Belt.*

*Beaver then got up, and holding a Belt in his Hand, said,*

This Belt we received last Fall from Sir *William Johnson*, at *Fort-Detroit*, who then informed us, that he had heard of the good Work of Peace in which we had been engaged with our Brethren the *English* ; which Belt represents us, the *Delawares*, in the Middle, and the Western Nations of *Indians* at one End, and the *English* at the other, Hand in Hand, together holding fast the Chain of Friendship ; and assured us, that if we held this Chain of Friendship fast, our Children and Grandchildren should grow up, and live to great Ages.—We were so pleased with this, that we put it into our Hearts, and have always kept it there till now.

And now, Brother, you have heard from me what passed between Sir *William Johnson* and me.—I assure you I will actually do what was desired of me, and hold fast this Chain of Friendship. I assure you I will always do my Part in keeping this Friendship firm, and the Nations to the Westward will do the same. I desire all you, my Brethren, will be strong, and join heartily in keeping this Friendship alive ; which if you do, you and your Grandchildren shall arrive at a great Age.

*A Belt.**Brother,*

I desire you will take Pity on those of our Brothers that live or come amongst you, and be kind to them. Our Brethren live among you, because they love you. When any of our Brothers the *English* come amongst us, we always take Pity on them, and give them Victuals, to make their Bodies strong ; and we desire that you will do the same to such of us as come amongst you, or live with you.

*A Belt.**Brother,*

## [ 7 ]

Brother,

I have no more to say at present; I shall wait to hear what you have to say to us at another Time. You desired me to bring other Nations of *Indians* with me, and I have brought them a great Way, who also wait to hear what you have to say.

1762.

The Governor then acquainted *Beaver*, that he was well pleased to hear what they had said to him; and that he received it into his Heart, and should take a proper Opportunity to give them an Answer.

The Governor rose and went to the Place where the *English* Prisoners sat, and received them one by one, from the Hands of King *Beaver*, and here follow their Names.

<i>Thomas Moore</i> ,	taken from	<i>Potowmack</i> ,	<i>Maryland</i> .
<i>Philip Studebecker</i> ,	- -	<i>Conegocheague</i> ,	Ditto.
<i>Ann Dougherty</i> ,	- - -		<i>Pennsylvania</i> .
<i>Peter Condon</i> ,	- -		Ditto.
<i>Mary Stroudman</i> ,	- -	<i>Conegocheague</i> ,	Ditto.
<i>William Jackson</i> ,	- -	<i>Tulpebacken</i> ,	Ditto.
<i>Elizabeth M<sup>c</sup>Adam</i> ,	- -	<i>Little Cove</i> ,	Ditto.
<i>John Lloyd</i> ,	- - -	Ditto,	Ditto.
<i>Eleanor Lancefloetes</i> ,	-		Ditto.
<i>Dorothy Skobrin</i> ,	- -	<i>Big Cove</i> ,	Ditto.
<i>Richard Rogers</i> ,	- -		<i>Virginia</i> .
<i>Esber Rogers</i> ,	- - -		Ditto.
<i>Jacob Rogers</i> ,	- -	<i>South Branch</i> ,	Ditto.
<i>Archibald Woods</i> ,	- -		Ditto.
<i>Christopher Holtomen</i> ,	-		Ditto.
<i>Rebecca Walter</i> ,	- - -		Ditto.
<i>Hans Boyer</i> , a Boy,	- -	not known from whence.	

FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 1762. This Afternoon *Tokabaion*, and a Number of the *Six Nation Indians* coming to Town, about Fifteen of them waited on the Governor, at his Lodgings, and *Tokabaion* spoke to the Governor as follows.

Brother,

We were some Time ago invited by you, and our Brethren the *Quakers* of this Province, to come to this Treaty at *Lancaster*, with our Cousins the *Delawares*. Agreeable to this Invitation, we came down as far as *Harri's Ferry*, where we heard that you intended to return Home To-morrow, which induced us to make all the Hasten we could to this Place, that we might have the Pleasure of seeing you. On our Way one of our Brethren died, but our Hurry was so great that we threw his Body aside, and did not so much as stay to bury him. We are just come to Town, and pay you this Visit to take you by the Hand, and let you know we are glad to see you. We must request of you to order your People to lock up all Rum, and not let our *Indians* have any, till the End of our Conferences.—He added, that they had ten the Cabbins which had been built to accommodate them, but that they were at so great a Distance from the Place where their Cousins the *Delawares* were lodged, that they could not conveniently discourse with them; wherefore he desired that others might be provided near to them To-morrow.

The Governor took them by the Hand, and after bidding them welcome, told them that they were misinformed respecting his designing to return Home To-morrow; that as he heard they were on their Way, he had waited some Days, in Expectation of their coming, and was now glad to see them; that he would do every Thing in his Power, during their Stay here, to render their Situation easy and agreeable to them, and would give strict Orders that no Rum should be sold to them; that the Field where the *Delawares* were encamped, being too small to accommodate them, he had pitched on a Place which he judged most convenient, where Cabbins had been built, by his Order, for their Reception, at a considerable Expence of Time and Money, which he hoped they would be well pleased with; but if, on Trial, they should still be dissatisfied with that Situation, he would remove them where they thought most proper; and that when they had rested themselves, after the Fatigues of the long Journey they had come, he would speak to them, and give them sufficient Notice of the Time, that they might be prepared to meet him in Council.—They were refreshed with a Draught of Beer, and then took their Leaves, and departed.

1762. *At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, held at Lancaster, on Saturday the Fourteenth of August, 1762.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor, &c.*

*WILLIAM LOGAN, RICHARD PETERS, and BENJAMIN CHEW, Esquires, of the Council;*

JOSEPH FOX, GEORGE ASHBRIDGE, }  
JAMES WRIGHT, JOSEPH GIBBONS, } *Esquires,*  
SAMUEL RHODES, DAVID M'CONAUGHY, } *of the Assembly, &c.*  
JOHN MORTON,

*The Western INDIANS, as before;*

Hinderuntie, <i>or the Garr,</i>	} <i>Senecas;</i>	Tokahaion,	Gachradodo,	} <i>Cayugas;</i>
Hogaftees,		Totinyentunya,	Soghiowa,	
Hajentora, <i>Speaker, &amp;c.</i>		Onechfogaret,	Dochneghdoris, <i>or John</i>	
			Shacalamy;	
Diohaguaande,	} <i>Onandagoes;</i>	Thomas King,	} <i>Oneidas;</i>	
Hoghletagegle,		Conogoragheri, <i>or Hans George,</i>		
Cagentorongua,		Tiokoraghta,		

*Ganigal, Tionaskocto, Tuskaroras;*

Teedyuscung,	} <i>Delawares;</i>	Ullauckquam, <i>or Robert White,</i>	} <i>Nanticokes and Conys.</i>
Tapefkohonk, <i>or Samuel,</i>		Olaykenawightamen, <i>or Jemmy,</i>	
Wehololahund, <i>or Joseph Peepy,</i>		Canahatch, <i>or Last Night,</i>	
Memenowal, <i>or Augustus,</i>		Tuchfat, <i>or Sam,</i>	
Kakolopomet, <i>or Compafs,</i>		Packfowamuchquis, <i>or Charles,</i>	
Naywolaken,		Packetellam, <i>or Sam Adams,</i>	
Penowotis, <i>or John Philip,</i>		<i>and several others,</i>	

*A List of the Northern INDIANS, including Men, Women, and Children, at the Treaty at Lancaster, August 1762.*

Oneidas,	} 156.	Senecas,	} 97.
Onondagoes,		Cayugas, <i>and</i>	
Tuskaroras,		Saponys, <i>and</i>	
Nanticokes,		<i>a Mixture of</i>	
Conoys,		Shawanefe <i>and Munseys,</i>	
			128.

*TEEDYUSCUNG, and the Delawares with him, 176. In all, 557.*

THE Governor sent a Message to the *Six Nations*, and those that came along with them, to acquaint them, that he was going into Conference with the Western Nations, at which they might be present, if they pleased; and on their coming in, and taking their Seats, the Governor spoke to the Western Indians as follows.

*Brethren the Delawares, Shawanefe, Twightwees, Wawachtanies, Tuskaroras, and Kickapoes,*

I return you Thanks for your Speeches of Yesterday, which were very agreeable to me; and I shall now give you an Answer to such Parts thereof as require one.

*Brethren,*

Before I take Notice of what you said Yesterday, let me remind you of the strict Friendship which was established with your Forefathers, by our old Proprietor *William Penn*, on his first Arrival in this Country, and how happily it subsisted between them and their Children, till the Troubles which unfortunately broke out some few Years ago, and stopt up the Road between us. The many Messages which we have since, from Time to Time, sent you, by *Frederick Post* and *Teedyuscung*, and the great Pains we have taken to drive away the Evil Spirit, plainly shew how sincerely we have been disposed to renew that Friendship.

*Brethren,*



## [ 9 ]

*Brethren,*

You acquainted me, that after receiving our first Message about Peace, which was about four Years ago, you made it known to all the *Indian* Nations on this Side, and over the Lakes, who were glad to hear the good News; and as we desired you to deliver up our Flesh and Blood, you say that you have, from Time to Time, delivered up many at *Fort-Pitt*, to the Commanding Officer, and to Mr. *Croghan*, and that you now have brought in a few, which you delivered to me Yesterday. You likewise say, you have yet others in your Possession, and that some of them chuse to live with you; but you made no Doubt of their coming to us some Time hence, as we live better than the *Indians*.

1752.

*Brethren,*

For the Prisoners that you have delivered at *Fort-Pitt*, as well as for those you have now brought along with you, and delivered to me, I return you my hearty Thanks; but you must remember, that on re-establishing and renewing the antient Chain of Friendship with us, you repeatedly engaged to deliver us all our Flesh and Blood, which you have taken from us, by the Instigation of the Evil Spirit. On these Assurances and Engagements we have relied, and as we cannot enjoy the Blessings we expected from that Peace, till the Parents and Relations of those Prisoners have them restored to them, I must insist on your taking every Measure in your Power to deliver them up, agreeable to your Engagements, which will be the only Means of strengthening and establishing a lasting Peace, to us and our Children, yet unborn.

*A large Belt of Thirteen Rows.*

*Brethren,*

You Yesterday, by this Belt, said you would join with me in dispersing the dark Clouds, which have for some Time hung over our Heads; and desired I would join with you, in hearty Endeavours to prevent any more Clouds from rising, or if they should chance to rise, from coming to an Head.

*Brethren,*

GOD, who made all Things, has given us Eyes to see, and Tongues to speak to each other, freely and openly; and I assure you, if I should see any little Clouds arise, at never so great a Distance, I will take every Measure in my Power to prevent their encreasing, and communicate it to you forthwith; and if you do the same to me, at all Times, it will prevent any Clouds from gathering to an Head, so as to disturb the public Peace and Tranquility, which have been lately so happily established between us.

*A Belt of Seven Rows.*

*Brethren,*

It gave me great Satisfaction Yesterday, to hear you declare your Intentions to keep open the Council Road between your Nation and us. As a small Interruption on that Communication may be attended with dangerous Consequences to us both, I heartily join with you in keeping the Road open, and perfectly clear from Obstructions, for our mutual Use and Advantage.

I likewise take it kind in you to heap up dry Wood on our Council Fire, and I, on my Part, shall still add more Wood to it, that the Smoke thereof may be seen by the most distant Nations of *Indians*, to the Sun-setting, that are in Friendship with His Majesty's Subjects.

*A Belt of Nine Rows.*

*Brethren,*

Yesterday you shewed me a Belt, with the Figures of three Men in it, which you say you received from Sir *William Johnson* last Fall, at the Conference he held with all the Western Nations of *Indians*, at *Fort-Detroit*, repeating what he said to you on it; all which Transactions there I am acquainted with, by Sir *William Johnson*, who, as His Majesty's Superintendent of *Indian* Affairs, did then renew the antient Covenant Chain of Friendship, in Behalf of all His Majesty's Subjects, with all those Western Nations of *Indians*. You say further, that since you received that Covenant Belt, you laid it close to your Heart; and, by this Belt, you assure me that you, and all the Western Nations, are determined to adhere strictly to that Treaty and Renewal of Friendship; and desire me to be strong, and hold it fast.

*Brethren,*

You must remember, that you then not only promised Sir *William Johnson* to deliver up all our Flesh and Blood, who were Prisoners in your several Towns and Countries; but that this Promise was an express Condition of that Treaty, made between him and you. This Matter lies so near to my Heart, that I should not act as your true and sincere Friend, if I did not speak with the greatest Freedom and Plainness to you about it, and tell you again, that it is impossible we can look upon you as our Brethren, if you detain from us our Flesh and Blood; we cannot sleep quietly in our Beds, till we see them all; our very Dreams are disturbed on their Account; we demand of you nothing more than the Right which God and Nature has given us.



1762.

If we had among us ever so few of your Children, would you think that any Professions of Friendship we could make to you were sincere, if we withheld them from you but for one Day? Your Brother *Teedyuscung* may remember, that at our first conferring with him, at *Easton*, we had then one of your People in Prison, and he thought it so grievous a Thing, that he told us he could not speak freely to us, and should look upon what we said as coming not from our Hearts, but from our Mouths only, until the said Prisoner was restored to him; which was immediately done. Can you then delay doing us that Justice, which you yourselves expected and received from us! We do not well understand your Meaning, when you say, some of the Prisoners chuse to live with you. If you intend it as a Reason for not delivering them up, till they consent to come, we must inform you, that we cannot admit of it. They were born Subjects of our Great King, and as such, he has a Right to demand them. You have, it is true, by the Delivery of some of the Prisoners, performed your Agreement in Part; but as we know, and you acknowledge, there are a great many yet behind, we now insist positively, that you do not fail, immediately on your Return, to collect every one that remains among you, and deliver them up to us. Relying therefore on your Honesty, and that you will faithfully comply with an Engagement you have so solemnly made with us, I do, by this Belt, in Behalf of all His Majesty's Subjects of this Province, lay Hold of that Covenant Belt, and will keep it fast, that we, our Children, and Grandchildren, may long enjoy the Blessings of Peace, and live together as Brethren, till they are old Men.

*A Belt of Fifteen Rows.**Brethren,*

I thank you for the kind Entertainment which you always give to any of our People who live with you, or come among you. I am persuaded, that such of you who have either lived or come amongst us occasionally, have always found that we received and treated them with the same Kindness that we used to do. We are Brethren, and while we live and love like Brethren, we shall be sure to give one another a Share of what we have.

*A Belt.*

*At a CONFERENCE with the Six Nation Indians, held at Lancaster, on  
Monday the Sixteenth of August, 1762.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esquire, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, &c.  
&c. as before.*

THE Governor, addressing himself to the *Indians* present, spoke as follows.

*Brethren of the Six Nations, and all other our Brethren now present,*

We are glad to see you, and with this String we bid you heartily welcome.

*A String.**Brethren,*

So long a Journey as you have now taken must have been very fatiguing, and made your Bodies very dirty; with this String therefore I clean your Bodies, and wipe off all the Sweat and Dirt from them.

*A String.**Brethren,*

As you came along, you must have hurt your Feet with the Stones, and torn your Legs with the Bushes and Briars; I therefore apply some healing Oil to them, and make them well.

*A String.**Brethren,*

With this String I open your Eyes, and clean your Ears, that you may see your Brethren clearly, and hear distinctly what they shall have to say to you.

*A String.**Brethren,*

With this String I clear your Throats, and open the Passage to your Hearts, that we may confer together freely and affectionately, as our Forefathers used to do.

*A String.**Brethren,*

Having now cleansed your Bodies, opened your Eyes and Ears, cleared your Throats, and made a Passage to your Hearts, I am now ready and disposed to hear every Thing that you have to say to me.

*Then Thomas King stood up, and spoke as follows, viz.**Brother,*

We are well pleased to hear what you have said to us, and as we are of different Nations, and speak different Languages, we shall take Time to consider and explain what you have said;

## [ II ]

said; and To-morrow, after Breakfast, I shall give you Notice when we shall be ready to speak to you. 1762.

*A String.*

*Brother,*

I take this Opportunity to acquaint you, that all our Guns, Hatchets, and other Things, are out of Repair, and we beg you will give Orders that they may be forthwith mended

*A String.*

The Governor granted them their Request, and told them their Guns, &c. should be mended, and desired that they might be brought to the Council House, for that Purpose.

*At a CONFERENCE with the Western Indians, held at Lancaster, on Monday, the Sixteenth of August, 1762.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esquire, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, &c. &c. as before.*

THE Governor having acquainted the *Indians* that he was ready to hear what they had to say,

*Beaver, a Delaware Chief, spoke as follows.*

*Brother,*

I do not chuse to speak now myself, as I do not speak clearly and distinctly, and therefore shall appoint this *Indian*, named *Clegbiccon* (in *English*, *Simon*) to speak for me.

*Then Clegbiccon spoke.*

*Brother,*

The Day before Yesterday you spoke to me, and I have heard you, and we your Brethren, the *Western Indians*, have all been consulting about it.

*Brother,*

I now inform you, in Behalf of my Grandchildren, the *Tawwas*, they have none of your Flesh and Blood left in their Towns, for they have delivered them all up to you: Likewise in Behalf of my Grandchildren, the *Twightwees*, they have delivered them all up also, and have none left: Also on Behalf of the *Wawaghtanies*, they have none of your Prisoners, for they have also delivered them all up: And lastly, on Behalf of another Nation, called the *Kickapoos*, they say they never had any Prisoners.

*Brother,*

The Day before Yesterday I heard what you said, and I assure you I am very well pleased with it. From what you have said, I suppose this Matter of the Prisoners to be the principal Business for which you invited us here.

*Brother,*

I have told you I left some of your Flesh and Blood where I came from, and I assure you I look upon them as my own Flesh and Blood, and I assure you again, you shall see them some Time hence.

*Brother,*

I am very well pleased that you have demanded them now, and assure you, you shall have every one of them that remain with us.

*Brother,*

You may remember that you told me, we should deliver all the Prisoners at *Pittsburgh*, and I shall be glad you would now shew to me the Persons here whom you shall appoint to receive those our Friends, and we shall be glad of it.

*A Belt of Seven Rows.*

*Then Beaver stood up, and spoke.*

*Brother,*

This is all I have to say to you. We, the *Western Indians*, have nothing further to say to you. You know that we spoke three Days ago to you, about the Friendship between us.

*Brother,*

1762.

*Brother,*  
The next Nation that have a Mind to speak to you are our Grandchildren, the *Shawanese*, and they are now about to speak.

*Then Miskapalathy, a Shawanese, rose up and spoke.*

*Brother,*  
I have heard what you and the Chief Men have been conferring about, and now I desire you will hear your younger Brothers, the *Shawanese*. Our Chief Men are not here, but we are sent by the Chief Men, to speak for them, and what we say comes from their Hearts. There are several of our Nation here, though but two of us are deputed by our Chiefs.

*Brother,*  
I am very well pleased to hear you have cleansed our Council House. Now, though we who are left are like Boys, I assure you we will assist you to cleanse our Council Chamber, and we will do it always from our Hearts.

*A Belt of Eight Rows.*

*Brother,*  
You have heard what I had to say last Fall: *George Croghan* knows it, and I suppose you know it. I told him then, that I would cut all the Prisoners loose, and set them at Liberty.

*Brother,*  
I have heard what you said to my Grandfathers, the *Delawares*, respecting the Demand of your Flesh and Blood, and I am very well pleased with your Demand; and I now assure you I am in a Hurry to get Home, for they, your Flesh and Blood, yet remain there.

*Brother,*  
I have heard what you said. Now I shall depart very soon. I expect to meet my People, and all the Prisoners, at *Pittsburgh*, where I shall deliver them up, and you shall then hear what I shall have further to say to you.

*A String.*

*Brother,*  
Now you have heard what I have said to you, and it is all I intend to say to you.

*Brother,*  
I now want to mention something to you about our Trade with you.

*Brother,*  
We of the *Shawanese*, *Twightwees*, *Ottaways*, *Wawaghtanies*, and *Kickapoes*, desire you will take Pity on us. Our Chief Men at Home have their Eyes on us Boys, who came with our Grandfathers, the *Delawares*, to talk with you about Friendship. We have now concluded our Friendship with you. I now desire you will open a Trade with us, and that you will not be too hard in it. If you open a Trade among the back Nations, we desire to know at what Prices you can afford your Goods.

*A Belt of Seven Rows.*

The Governor asking the Names of the two *Shawanese* Chiefs, or Deputies, was informed they were called *Miskapalathy*, or the *Red Hawke*, and *Wapemashaway*, or the *White Horse*. The Governor told them he had heard what they had said, and it was very agreeable to him, and that he would give them Notice when he should return them an Answer.

*At a CONFERENCE with the Western Indians, held at Lancaster, on Wednesday, the Eighteenth of August, 1762.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esq; LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR,  
*&c. &c. as before.*

THE Governor, addressing himself to *Beaver*, and the *Delawares* from the *Ohio*, spoke as follows, *viz.*

*Bretbren,*  
Listen to me, while I give you an Answer to the Speeches that you made to me on Monday.

You

[ 13 ]

You spoke to me in Behalf of your Grandchildren, the *Tawwas*, *Twightwees*, *Wawaghtanies*, and *Kickapoes*, acquainting me that they had respectively delivered up all our People, who were Prisoners in their Towns during the War. 1762.

*Brethren,*

Let them know, that we esteem this as the greatest Mark they could have given us of the Sincerity of their Friendship, and by this Belt we return them our hearty Thanks.

*Brethren,*

You told us that our demanding the Prisoners at this Time, and in the Manner we have done it, was very agreeable to you ; and you supposed it was the principal Business for which we invited you here.

*Brethren,*

You judge right, in thinking that the Affair of our Prisoners was a principal Reason of our inviting you here ; it really was so, for we had it very much at Heart.

Another Reason of our desiring to see you was, that we might renew our antient Friendship, and brighten and strengthen the Covenant Chain, which so long and happily subsisted between our Ancestors. This last has now been done to our mutual Satisfaction, and it has given me, and all the good People present, the highest Pleasure to hear from your own Mouths that, agreeable to our Demand, you are determined to deliver up all the Prisoners, that remain in your Towns, to such Persons as I shall appoint to receive them, at *Pittsburgh*.

*Brethren,*

I have not yet concluded upon the Persons to be sent to *Pittsburgh*, for that Purpose, but you may be assured I shall very soon ; who, when they come, will bring with them a Message and full Credentials from me, by which you will know, that they are deputed by me to receive the Prisoners from you. I propose they shall be at *Pittsburgh* the Second Day of *October* next, by which Time I expect you will have collected all of them, and brought them to that Place.

*Brethren,*

*A String.*

We shall now return an Answer to your Grandchildren the *Shawanese*.

*Brethren the Shawanese,*

You told me, at your last Meeting, that you were pleased to hear what had passed between us and your Grandfathers, and with our having cleaned the Council Chamber, which you said you would always assist in keeping clean. You told us also, that your Chief Men are not here, but have deputed you to speak for them, and that what you shall say comes from their Hearts.

*Brethren,*

As we have been very sincere and open in every Thing we have said to your Grandfathers, we should have been glad that more of your Chiefs had been here, to have heard it ; but as they are not, we desire you will acquaint them, and all your Nation, that we are extremely well disposed towards them, and are determined to hold fast the Chain of Friendship that has been so happily renewed between us, and are glad to hear you will always readily assist us to keep the Council Chamber clean.

*Brethren,*

*A Belt.*

You told me that you had sent me Word last Fall, by Mr. *Croghan*, that you would cut all the Bands of the Prisoners loose, and set them at Liberty ; that you were pleased to hear the Demand I made of your Grandfathers, that they might all be delivered up ; that you expect to meet your People, and all the Prisoners, at *Pittsburgh*, where you will deliver them ; and that you are in a Hurry to go Home, for that Purpose.

*Brethren,*

Mr. *Croghan* delivered me your Message last Fall, and I was very well pleased to hear you had concluded to set our People at Liberty ; and I am the more so, to hear that you expect your People may be on the Way to *Pittsburgh*, with the Prisoners, and that you will deliver them up immediately ; and your desiring to return Home forthwith, for that Purpose, convinces me you are in earnest, and I much approve of it.

*Brethren,*

You desired we would open a Trade with you, and the other Western Nations, and not be too hard in our dealing with them. I must address my Answer not only to you, but to the *Delawares*, and all present, who I desire may listen attentively to it.

D

*Brethren,*

1762.

*Brethren,*

Trade is a Business of Importance, and what I intended to mention to you all at this Meeting. You know that, for some Years past, this Government hath kept a great Store at *Pittsburgh*, in order to supply you with Goods, in Exchange for your Skins and Furs, near your own Homes. Good Men have been appointed to regulate the Prices of our Goods, and your Skins, and great Care has been taken that you should not be cheated, or imposed upon, by those who have, from Time to Time, kept the Provincial Store; but I am sorry to inform you, that the Charges of carrying our Goods, and bringing back your Skins, so many Hundred Miles, on Horseback, are so high, that it is a great Discouragement to that Trade, and we lose a great Deal of Money by it every Year, inasmuch that I fear it will drop, unless your Uncles, the *Six Nations*, will consent to let us go, with our Canoes, up the West Branch of *Sasquehanna*, as far as we can, and build a few Store-houses on the Banks of that River, to secure our Goods in, as we pass and re-pass. This will cut off a long Land Carriage, and may be a Means of encouraging the Continuance of the Trade with you, and enabling our People to sell their Goods to you at a reasonable Rate.—We intend to speak to your Uncles on this Subject.

*Brethren,*

I have now finished my Answers to your several Speeches, but I have still something particularly to say to the *Carver*, and our Brethren of the *Delaware Nation*, living at *Allegheny*, and desire you will attend to me.

*Brethren the Delawares,*

I take this Opportunity to inform you, that about Six Years ago your Brother *Teedyuscung* made a Complaint against the Proprietaries, wherein he charged them with defrauding the *Delawares* of a Tract of Land, lying on the River *Delaware*, between *Tobicon-Creek* and the *Kittatinny Hills*. He alledged, that this Complaint was not made by him, on his own Account, but on Behalf of the Owners of the Land, many of whom, he said, lived at *Allegheny*. This Dispute, Brethren, was, by mutual Consent, referred to our Great King *GEORGE*, who ordered Sir *William Johnson* to enquire fully into the Matter, and make his Report to Him, that Justice might be done you, if you had been wronged. Accordingly Sir *William*, about two Months ago, came to *Easton*, where, on the Proprietaries Commissioners producing and reading sundry Writings and Papers, *Teedyuscung* was convinced of his Error, and acknowledged that he had been mistaken with Regard to the Charge of Forgery made against the Proprietaries, having been misinformed by his Ancestors, and desired that all further Disputes about Land should be buried under Ground, and never heard of more; offering that such of the *Indians* as were then present should sign a Release for the Land in Question, and that he would endeavour to persuade the rest of his Brethren who were concerned to do the same at this Treaty at *Lancaster*. Now, Brethren of *Allegheny*, as we are Face to Face, be plain, and tell whether you are satisfied with, and approve of, what was done at the last Treaty at *Easton*, and whether you lay any Claim to those Lands, that there may be no Room left for any future Dispute about it among our Children.

*A small Belt.**To which Beaver said,**Brother,*

As to my own Part, I know nothing about the Lands upon the River *Delaware*; but since you request it, I will first speak to my own People about it.

Then *Peaver* consulting with his Counsellors, returned the following Answer.

*Brother,*

I must acknowledge I know nothing about the Lands upon the *Delaware*, and I have no Concern with Lands upon that River. We know nothing of the *Delawares* Claim to them. I have no Claim myself, nor any of my People. I suppose there may be some Spots or Pieces of Land, in some Parts of the Province, that the *Delawares* claim; but neither I nor any of my People know any Thing of them. As to what you and our Brother *Teedyuscung* have done, if you are both pleased, I am pleased with it. As to my Part, I want to say nothing about Land Affairs; what I have at Heart, and what I came down about, is to confirm our Friendship, and make a lasting Peace, so as our Children and Grandchildren may live together in everlasting Peace, after we are dead.

*Teedyuscung* and his *Delawares* being present, something passed between them, which was not interpreted.

*The Governor, addressing himself to Beaver, said,*

I am very much pleased with what you have said; you speak like an honest Man, and I hope that the Friendship that has been made between us and our Brethren, the *Delawares*, will remain firm, as long as the Sun shines, and the Rivers run.

*Teedyuscung*



*Teedyuscung then stood up, and addressing himself to the Governor, said,*

*Brother,*

Before all these *Allegheny Indians* here present, I do now assure you, that I am ready and willing to sign a Release to all the Lands we have been disputing about, as I told you I would at *Eagleson*, and desire no more may be ever said or heard of them hereafter.

On which the Governor told *Teedyuscung*, that he was pleased with what he had said, and that on that Occasion he had acted like an honest Man.

*The Governor then concluded.*

*Brethren,*

Your Brothers, the Proprietaries, about three Years ago, directed me, as soon as *Teedyuscung's* Complaint against them was determined, and Justice done to their Characters, to make their old Friends, the *Delawares*, a Present, in their Name, to supply your Wants, and as a Mark of their Affection and Regard for you, and to convince you that they had no ill Will in their Hearts against you, but looked upon you as formerly to be their good Friends and Brothers. Now as that Dispute is happily at an End, I am at Liberty to follow their Directions, and shall accordingly order a Present of Goods to be delivered to you from the Proprietaries.

*At a CONFERENCE with the Northern Indians, held at Lancaster, on Thursday, the Nineteenth of August, 1762.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable J A M E S H A M I L T O N, Esquire, &c. &c. as before.*

**T**HOMAS KING, a Chief of the *Oneidas*, stood up, and spoke as follows, viz.

*Brother,*

Hearken to what I am going to say, in Answer to your Speech to me the Day before Yesterday. I return you my Thanks; it gives me Pleasure that we see one another, in the same Manner as our Forefathers used to do.—Then taking up the Strings delivered by the Governor in their Order, he repeated what had been said upon them.

We are all very glad to see you, and your Brethren that are with you, in Health. All the *Six Nations*, and our Nephews, have had interpreted to them all that you said, and they are pleased with it, and very glad to see you, and that it has pleased the Great GOD, who has all Power in his Hands, to suffer us to come together, to speak to one another freely.

*A String.*

Then taking another String, he repeated the Governor's Words spoke upon it; and, in the Name of all the *Indians* present, returned him Thanks for his taking the Briers out of their Legs, and healing the Bruises that were made in their Feet by the Stones.

*A String.*

*Brother,*

The other Day you cleared my Ears, and my Cousins here, for which I return you Thanks; and now, by this String, I clear your Ears in the same Manner, that you may hear what I have to say to you.

*A String.*

*Brother,*

You told me the other Day, that as we were come from afar, and the Roads were very dusty, you cleaned our Throats from the Dust, and opened a Passage to our Hearts; we all return you Thanks that you have cleaned us so far, and we do in the same Manner clean your Throats and Hearts.

*A String.*

*Brother,*

You likewise told me you wiped the Tears from my Eyes, for the Loss of my Friends, that we may see one another clearly, for which we all return you our Thanks.

*A String.*

*Brother,*

It is now three Years since you first demanded of us your Flesh and Blood. Now hear me, as to what I and all our Nations and our Allies, that live as far as the Sun-setting, have done.

*Brother,*



1762.

*Brother,*

I assure you, in Behalf of all of us present, and the Western *Indians*, of whom you have been demanding your Flesh and Blood, that I have them here, and that it is not my Fault, neither can I say our Maker has been the Cause, but the *French* have been the Cause why you have not had them sooner.

Then directing his Discourse to his Brothers and Cousins, the *Delawares*, he proceeded, and said,

I never had Occasion to go to War with the *English* Nation; the People I had Occasion to go to War with live to the Southward; it has been so from all Ages, and we have always gone to War against the Southern *Indians*; I never had Cause to go to War with the *English*, this was owing to the Evil Spirit, the Devil. When I used to go to War with the Southern *Indians*, and brought Prisoners Home, I thought they were mine, and that no Body had any Right to meddle with them. Now since I joined with you, I went to War again, and I brought *French* People Home with me, as Prisoners, and you took them from me; this makes me think it was owing to the Evil Spirit,

*Brother,*

I desire you to be strong. I have heard you often say, you would be very glad if I would bring you the Captives, and you would make me Satisfaction, because you know I am not as you are; I am of a quite different Nature from you; sometimes I think you are not in Earnest with me, in telling me you will make me Satisfaction.

*Brother,*

We have heard you, and so have all my Brothers and Cousins to the Westward heard what you have said about giving us Satisfaction; your Words seem to be very sweet to us. You told us if we did so and so, you would do so with us.

*Brother,*

You know we are different Nations, and have different Ways. We could not immediately perform what you required of us, in returning your Flesh and Blood, because every one of these Nations have different Ways; that is the Reason why we could not so soon perform it.

*Brother,*

I am sorry it is so difficult for us to understand each other: If we could understand one another, we would put one another in Mind of the Friendship that subsisted between us and our Forefathers; but as we do not easily understand one another, we are obliged to deliver you the Substance in short of what we have to say, which makes it tedious.—(Meaning that they are obliged to interpret in two or three Languages, before it is told to us.)

*Brother,*

You have often told me, if I would bring your Flesh and Blood you would be very glad, and would give such Prisoners Liberty to return with them, if they did not incline to stay with you, and to go where they pleased.

*A Belt of Eight Rows.*

*Thomas King* being asked, who it was that promised the Prisoners should be left to their Choice, to return with them, or to go where they pleased? He answered, the Governor promised it at *Easton*, and there were two Governors there at that Time.—(Meaning Governor *Denny*, and Governor *Bernard*, of *New-Jersey*.)

*Brother Onas,*

You have been requiring your Flesh and Blood these three Years; I promise you I will give you them, and now I will deliver all I have brought.

*A Belt of Eight Rows.**Brother Onas,*

I am sorry we cannot speak to one another any faster, because we cannot understand one another without so many Interpreters, and this takes up much Time, so that we must be slow in telling our Business.

*Brother Onas,*

You have told us, of the *Six Nations*, that we must assist you to see your Flesh and Blood. If we assist you, you say you shall see your Flesh and Blood.

*Brother,*

We have done what we can, and that is the Reason why you see so many of your Flesh and Blood; some *Indians* part with them with Reluctance, and want to keep them longer; they

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they are unwilling to part with them; this brings a great deal of Trouble on us, the *Six Nations*. 1762.

*Brother Onas,*

You have often told us, the *Six Nations*, that we should assist in getting your Flesh and Blood. I have done my Endeavour, and taken great Pains: I have got a great many of them, though at first with great Difficulty: When I brought them by the *English* Forts, they took them away from me; all along from *Ofwego* to the Carrying-Place, and so to *Niagara*, till I got to *Shamokin*, they got them all from me, and I believe they have made Servants of them: This is the Reason why I brought so few of them: No Wonder they are so loath to come, when you make Servants of them: You know that you have told me that I should assist you, you cannot deny it: By and by you will say, I never told you to assist me, and that I tell Lies when I say so.

*Brother Onas,*

You told me you would be very glad if I would bring you your Flesh and Blood, and that you were able to make me Satisfaction for them: You said you had Rooms full of Goods, and that we should never want any Thing while you have Goods: You told me, we shall have a Recompence for our Trouble in bringing them down. I assure you, I have brought all your Flesh and Blood that I could get at this Time; there are some behind yet, but they belong to such People as are gone to War against the *Cherokees*, and we could not take them without their Leave, and when they return from War, we will certainly bring them.

*Brother Onas,*

I have brought Fourteen of your Flesh and Blood, that is all I could get this Time; for as I told you, your People in the Forts have got them all away from me, they have stole them, or persuaded them to run away from me, and have hid them in the Bushes. As I told you, there are few left that belong to those *Indians* that are gone to War against the *Cherokees*, with whom we have been at War from all Ages, and they are at War with you; I assure you when they return, we will bring them all to you. You used to tell me, I always came unawares upon you, when I did come; you certainly knew that I was coming ever since last Spring, and you might have got every Thing ready for me. There is one Captive at the Camp that says he will not come; he says the Governor has seen him, and talked with him at the Camp; all the rest are here.

*A Belt.*

*Brother Onas,*

It may be there are two Governors of you; your Messages and your Words do not agree together; when I repeat what you have said to me, it seems disagreeable to you.

Here the Governor asked what he meant by two Governors, and desired him to explain himself, for he could not understand him.

*He answered,*

*Brother,*

You want to know what my Meaning is, by saying there are two Governors. In every Country there is always one Head Governor, but here are two Governors. It will not do for me to point out People, for you must certainly know there is more than one Governor. I hear one say such a Thing, and another say such a Thing; but I will not point out any Body, lest you should differ. You will hear of it hereafter. I heard that both Governors came from *Philadelphia*, but perhaps I may be misinformed.

The Governor desired to know, whether any Messages had been delivered to them in their own Country, and by whom, and what the Messages were. He insisted on their giving him a plain Answer.

They answered, that the *Cayugas*, who were at *Philadelphia* in the Spring, brought the Messages to them; but do not pretend that they were delivered in the Governor's Name, but they might have brought what passed only in private Conversation.

*Brother Onas,*

As I have now brought your Flesh and Blood, I would have you to take Care of them, and keep them fast. I brought a Girl to *Easton*, and she run away: When I came Home, I found her there. Bless me! says I, there is my Wife. I was sorry that I had delivered her, but to my Surprise I found her at Home. You know it is hard to part with a Wife.

*Brother,*

I have brought an *English* Prisoner, who I love as my own Wife: I have a young Child by her. You know it is very hard for a Man to part with his Wife. I have delivered her, therefore take Care of her, and keep her safe, that she dont make her Escape.

E

*Brother*

1762.

*Brother Onas,*

Our Grandfathers used to tell us, we should keep fast Hold of the Chain of Friendship, and always advised us to observe it; but now, in latter Days, as soon as I came across the Hatchet, I got Hold of it, and really I did not know what I was about, and stuck it into your Heads. By this Belt, I take the Hatchet out of your Head; it belongs to you and the *French*; you are both of one Colour. It has been the Fault of the *French* that we struck you, and therefore we take the Hatchet out of your Head.

*A Belt of Eight Rows.**Brother Onas,*

Now that I have taken the Hatchet out of your Head, I gather your Bones, which lie scattered in so many Places, that I cannot name them particularly.

*Brother,*

There is a large Pine Tree in the *Oncida* Country, which I take and pull up by the Roots, and then it makes a great Hole; when I look down the Hole, I see a great River, running very strong at the Bottom. By this Belt I gather all your Bones, wherever I can find them, and bury them in that Hole, and the Hatchet with them; when I put them down the Hole, they fall into that strong Stream, and float down it, I know not where. I stick that Pine Tree down again in the same Hole, and then no Body can discover that there has been a Hole; so that neither you nor I, nor our nor your Grandchildren, shall ever be able to know where your Bones are laid. This is the Custom of our Forefathers, that when any Difference arose between them and their Brethren, they buried it in this Manner.

*A Belt.**Brother,*

I own you are my eldest Brother. The eldest Brother should always teach the youngest Brother, when they misbehave; I therefore desire when you see us misbehave, that you would tell us of it, and teach us better.

*A Belt of Seven Rows.**Brother Onas,*

Our late Differences have been the Cause why the Clouds have hung over our Heads, and made it dark. Now by this Belt I take away all the Clouds, that we may see the Sky clear, and the Sun rise and set. We Fourteen Nations, now present, tell you this.

*A Belt of Six Rows.**Brother Onas,*

I don't doubt but there is some Foulness come into your Heart, through your Throat. My Grandfathers used to tell me, that whenever we found our Brother's Heart and Throat to be foul, that they had left me the best Medicines, and desired me to put it to your Mouth, to drink as a Physic, and that it would cleanse their Throat and Heart, and pass quite through their Body down to the Ground; and, Brethren, by this String I bury it in the Ground, so that your Heart and Throat may be for ever clean. We Fourteen Nations tell you so.

*A String.**Brother Onas,*

I have removed all the Filthiness from your Body, and since I have cleansed it out and in, I shall go about that good Work of Peace.

*Brother Onas,*

It was we of the *Molocks*, *Oncidas*, *Senecas*, *Onondagoes*, *Cayugas*, and *Tuscaroras*, that first brought about the good Work of Peace.—He added, that the *Molocks* and *Oncidas* were the eldest of the *Six Nations*, and both of a Height.

*Brother Onas,*

I will acquaint you further, that I have more Brothers to the Westward, and that we are all Brothers down as far as to the Sun-set; my Friends are so many, that I cannot tell how many they are.

*Brother Onas,*

I will let you know, that though the *Molocks* are the eldest, yet they are the furthest off to the Eastward: When they hear any Thing, they pass through the *Oncidas* to the *Onondagoes*, where the Council Fire burns: Likewise, when the *Senecas* hear any Thing, they come to the *Cayugas*, because they are next to the *Onondagoes* Council; so that whenever they hear any Thing to the East or West, it is carried to the *Onondagoes* Council. (Meaning, that when you shall send any Messages to the *Onondagoes* Council, they must be sent either to the *Senecas* or *Molocks*.)

*Brother Onas,*

I will mention our old Friendship; I will make it new again; I will brighten up our old Chain of Friendship. Our Grandfathers used to tell one another they had one Heart, and  
here

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here it is ; they both had Hold of it : They used to tell one another they had one Head, here it is. I tell you the same ; you and we have one Head, and one Heart. We Fourteen Nations tell you so. 1762.

*They delivered a Belt of Nine Rows, representing the Figure of two Men in the Middle, with a Heart between them, and Six Diamonds on each Side; one of the Men represents the Indians, the other the English.*

Brother Onas,

Now we have renewed our old Friendship; I am a little afraid your Fire is almost out, it is not good; now I will take all that bad Fire away, and kindle it again, and make a good Fire of it; I will take good dry Wood, and kindle up the Fire afresh that our Grandfathers have made, and so make the Smoke rise up so very high, that all distant Nations shall see it, and thereby know that there is a Council Fire here. There was a good Fire at *Easton*; that was really a good Fire, for when I came to that good *Easton* Fire, I could have my Belly full of Victuals, and Plenty of Drink; but now I come here, I have little to eat; I am sure I have no other Drink than dirty Water, which almost chokes me.

*A Belt of Six Rows.*

Brother Onas,

What we have hitherto said, concerning Peace, has been concluded upon by our old Counsellors. We also desired our chief Warriors to be strong, and assist the old Counsellors; and desired, if any Thing should be wanting in the old Counsellors, they would assist them in it, in order that our Friendship may be lasting; for the Counsellors can do nothing, unless the Warriors should give their Consent to it. We Fourteen Nations tell you so.

*A Belt with Seven Rows, with Two Diamonds in it, representing the Counsellors and Warriors, united in Council together.*

Brother Onas,

Our Friendship seems to go on very kindly. I will tell you one Thing, you are always longing after my Land, from the East to the West; you seem to be longing after it. Now I desire you will not covet it any more; you will serve me as you have done our Cousins, the *Delawares*; you have got all their Land from them; all the Land hereabouts belonged to them once, and you have got it all.

Brother Onas,

I desire you to go no further than *Nixbisagua* (or *Mohony*) I desire you will settle no higher up, for if you keep pressing on me, you will push me out, for I shall have no Place to live on, nor hunt in, neither for me nor my Grandchildren; so I desire you will press no further. I desire another Thing, that you will not take it from me by Force: If you take this Land by Force, it will never go well with either of us. You may remember that GOD gave us this Land, and you some other; yet I have parted with some of it to you.

*A Belt of Six Rows.*

Brother Onas,

You have desired me to assist you, in order to bring in your Flesh and Blood, which now you see I have done. You used to tell me, if I would bring in your Flesh and Blood, or assist you therein, you would satisfy those who brought them in; these are mighty pleasing Words to me, and I hope you will do so. Some of our Warriors who are here have no Guns, and if you will bestow any on them, I desire they may be good. You are daily making Rifles; I do not know what you do with them. When you gave me any Guns, you gave me yellow-stocked ones, that are worth nothing. I have asked you now four Times. At *Easton* you gave me only Gun-Locks: What think you could I do with them, without Stocks and Barrels? I make no Guns. After I got the Gun-Locks, I joined myself with General *Forbes*, and went to War with him, as you ordered me, against the *French*; and as soon as I had done it, you still gave me only Gun-locks.

*A Bunch of Ten Strings, mostly black.*

Brother Onas,

Having finished what I had to say to you, I am now going to speak to my Cousins. Please to hearken to what I shall say to them.

*Then directing his Discourse to the Delawares, he spoke as follows.*

My Cousins,

I could hardly get along. I heard such frightful News, that indeed I could not get along, if I had not had good Courage. *Teedyuscung*, before I sat off from Home, I heard you should say, you would poison us all, so that we should not hold this Treaty. Thinks I to myself, I will come nevertheless; if I die, it will be well; I can die but once; so then I came along as far as *Wyoming*.

My Cousins,

As soon as I came there, *Teedyuscung* began to make his Complaints that he had no Fire; so say: I, Cousin, there is certainly some Fire, for I made one here for the *Shawanese*, (*Cacawasheca*)

1762. (*Cacawafbeca*) and I made another Fire at *Shamokin*, for *Alammapis*; another Fire I made at *Wigbalousin*; another Fire I made at *Diaboga*. All those Fires are there yet. The Fire at *Wigbalousin* is a good Fire, for I heard no bad Stories there; that Fire at *Shamokin* is not yet out; if any Body stirs it, it will soon blaze. I made the Fire at *Wyoming* for the *Shawanese*; perhaps they will still return to that Place. Then I came along as far as *Harris's Ferry*; there I heard another Piece of bad News from *Teedyuscung*, who said he had got a Sort of Poison that will give the *Indians* the Bloody Flux, and as soon as they come, he would give it to them, that they might get the Flux, and die along the Road as they go. But, notwithstanding these Discouragements, I came along, and got here. I now suspect there is a Bag of Poison somewhere about this Camp, that will give us the Flux as we go Home; and I think it will be great Shame, if it should be so, because our *English* Brethren sent for us; and if any of us should die, it will appear to them as if they had lost so many of their own People, because it was they that sent for us.

Now, *Teedyuscung*, I must teach you better; I will correct you; you must not talk of such a Thing, for if any of us die, it will be said *Teedyuscung* was the Cause of it; so you should not say such Things. By this Belt I make a Fire for *Teedyuscung*, at *Wyoming*; I tell him to sit there by the Fire Side, and watch that Fire; but I don't give it to him, for our *English* Brethren cast an Eye upon that Land; therefore I say to *Teedyuscung*, watch that Fire, and if any White People come there, tell them to go away, for that Land belongs to your Uncles, the *Six Nations*. The *Six Nations* want to keep up that Fire, that they may hear from their Brethren the *English*, and others.

*The Belt was given to Tipischohan.*

*Then turning to the Governor, he said,*

*Brother,*

This is all I have to say at present, but I have more in my Heart, which I cannot speak now, having staid so long that I am quite fatigued.

The Governor then acquainted *Thomas King*, that he had been attentive to all he said, and that he thanked him for it, and when he had considered of it, would at a proper Time return him an Answer; but told him, that he had not yet delivered him the Prisoners, and as this was in improper Place, he desired a few *Indians* would take them to the Court-House, where he would receive them.

The Conference then broke up, and the Governor, his Council, and the Commissioners, went with some *Indian* Chiefs to the Court-House, to receive the Prisoners; where being come, the Governor acquainted *Thomas King*, that he was now ready to receive the Prisoners from him, and that they need not be under any Apprehensions of being used ill, for that he would be kind to them, and treat them like Children, and restore them to their Parents and Relations.

*Then they delivered to the Governor the Prisoners, as follow.*

*Elizabeth Williams*, a young Woman, delivered by *Musause*, a *Munsey* Indian; *Henry Williams*, about Eighteen Years of Age, Brother to *Elizabeth Williams*, delivered by *Conoy-hoceratoquin*, a *Munsey*; *Peggy Dougherty*, delivered by *Eckgobson*, a *Munsey*; *Mary Tidd*, and her Child, taken near *Samuel Dupui's*, by *Eckgobson*; *Abigail Evan*, and her Child, taken at *Stony-Creek*, in *Virginia*, by *Cowachfara*, a *Seneca*.

A Boy, by *Meightong*, a *Munsey*; a little Girl, by *Eckgobson*, a *Munsey*; a little Boy, by *Pessewauck*, a *Munsey*; a Boy, of about Fourteen Years, by *Eckgobson*, a *Munsey*; a Boy, of Twelve Years, by *Cowockslaira*, a *Seneca*; a little Boy, of Seven Years, by *Corocksaara*, a *Seneca*; a little Girl, of Six Years, by *Contarongue*, a *Seneca*. These Childrens Names unknown, as they cannot speak *English*, or give any Account from whence they were taken.

*John Brightwell*, of *Lower Marlborough*, near *Patuxent*, in *Maryland*, a Deserter from the First Battalion of *Royal Americans*.



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Lancaster, August 22, 1762.

1762.

*At a CONFERENCE at John Hambright's (where the Governor delivered to the Delaware Indians the Presents made to them, by himself and the Province)*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable* JAMES HAMILTON, *Esquire*, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, &c.

WILLIAM LOGAN, *Esq*, *Member of the Council*;

JOSEPH FOX, JAMES WEBB, *Esquires*, *Members of the Assembly*;

ISRAEL PEMBERTON, JEREMIAH WARDER, ISAAC GREENLEAF.  
BENJAMIN HOOTON;

Beaver and Teedyuscung, *Chiefs of the Delaware Nation at Allegheny and Wyoming*;

Joseph Compas, *alias* Catepackeaman, Joseph Peepy, Tayshiccomen, Taqualaw, *Counsellors to the Chiefs*.

THE Governor opened the Conference, and spoke to the *Indians* as follows, *viz.*

*Brother Beaver,*

I told you, a few Days since, of the Disputes that had happened between your Brothers, the Proprietaries, and *Teedyuscung*, about Land; and that I had their Orders, as soon as that Dispute should be ended, and the Proprietaries Characters cleared, to make the *Delaware Indians* a Present of considerable Value, as a Mark of their Affection to their old Friends. To which Present from the Proprietaries, the good People of this Province have been pleased to make an Addition, of equal Value.

*Brothers, Teedyuscung and Beaver,*

As that Dispute is now happily settled, I do (in Consequence of the Proprietaries Orders, and upon what was agreed upon at *Easton*, upon that Subject, between me and your Friends, the People of this Province) make you a Present of the Goods and Money now lying before you, to be equally divided between you, as a Proof of the Regard, both of the Proprietaries and People, for their old Friends, the *Delaware Nation*.

*Brother Beaver,*

As this is the first Time we have seen you, and our Friends from the Westward, since the late Disturbances; and as some of them have been at Expence in collecting and bringing down our Flesh and Blood, which they have now delivered to us, I, and your Friends of this Province, have thought fit to make you this further Present, to testify the Pleasure we have in seeing you, after so long an Absence, and our Thankfulness for your having restored the Prisoners.—As you know better than we, in what Manner to divide the Present now made you, we desire you will do it amongst those who come with you, in the most just and equitable Manner, paying a particular Regard to those who have now, or at any other Time, been at Trouble and Expence in collecting and restoring our Flesh and Blood.

*Brother Teedyuscung,*

We have had frequent Opportunities of shaking you by the Hand, since the War, and you, upon many Occasions, received the strongest Proofs of our Reconciliation and Friendship for you. Nevertheless, as we observe that a greater Number than common of your Friends are come down with you, in order to enable you to shew your Kindness to them, we think fit to make you this additional Present.

And now, Brothers, I heartily wish the Peace and Friendship, which have been renewed betwixt us at this Treaty, may continue and grow stronger, as long as the Sun shall shine, or the Rivers run; to which you may be assured we, on our Parts, shall contribute to the utmost of our Power, as we doubt not you will also on yours.

After the Governor had finished his Speeches to *Beaver* and *Teedyuscung*, the latter rose up, and addressing himself to *Beaver*, desired him to take Notice, that he now delivered up all his Right and Claim to the Lands on the River *Delaware*, that have been in Dispute between him and the Proprietaries of *Pennsylvania*; and that he now, as he (*Beaver*) saw, received



1762. this Money and Goods from his Brethren the *English*. He further desired *Beaver* to acquaint all the *Indians* at *Allegheny*, that the *Delaware* Nation have now no Right or Claim to any of the Lands on the Waters of the River *Delaware*, that have been in Dispute.

*Then turning to the Governor, said to him,*

Now Brother Governor, our Children and Grandchildren shall never be able to say hereafter, that they have any Right or Claim to the Lands that have been in Dispute upon that River.

The Governor, directing his Discourse to *Beaver* and *Teedyuscung*, told them, that as they had now received a considerable Sum of Money, he cautioned them against giving too much of it to their young Men, who, instead of laying it out in Things necessary and useful, might be tempted to debauch themselves with strong Liquors, which might occasion them to quarrel, and do Mischief, not only to one another, but also to their Brethren, the *English*; which might endanger the Chain of Friendship betwixt them and us, and would be a very ungrateful Return for all the Kindness we had shewn them.

*To which they both answered,*

That they were obliged to the Governor for his Advice, in which they thought he had their Good at Heart, and promised to follow it, and heartily thanked him for it.

The Governor then delivered to *Beaver* and *Teedyuscung* respectively, *Two Hundred Pounds*, in milled Dollars, and the Value of *Four Hundred Pounds* in Goods, to be equally divided between them. He further presented to *Beaver*, and those who came with him from the *Ohio*, the Value of *Four Hundred Pounds* in Goods; and the Value of *Two Hundred Pounds* in Goods to *Teedyuscung*, and his Friends and People. And after taking them both by the Hand he departed, and the Conference ended.

*At a CONFERENCE with the Northern Indians, held at Lancaster, on Monday, the Twenty-third of August, 1762.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable J A M E S H A M I L T O N, Esquire, &c. &c. as before.*

**T**HOMAS KING stood up, and addressing himself to the Governor, spoke as follows, viz.

*Brother Onas,*

It is about three Years ago that you asked me, whether I was willing you should build a Fort at *Shamokin*; you said you wanted to build a Fort there, to stand against the *French*, and to defend the Inhabitants; that our Great King had commanded you to build Forts. You said you would keep a Fort there as long as the War continued, but that you did not want any of our Land there.

*Brother Onas,*

You likewise asked me to let you build a Fort there, to defend my Land, and to defend yourself; you told me, that you did not desire any greater Quantity of my Land than what the Fort took up. I granted you Liberty to build a Fort, because you told me it was the Great King GEORGE desired you might build one on my Land; and I endeavoured to assist you. You also told me, as soon as ever the Peace was concluded you would go away; or that at any Time when I should tell you to go away, you would go away, and that I might do what I would with the Fort.

*Brother Onas,*

Now all the different Tribes of us present, desire that you will call your Soldiers away from *Shamokin*; for we have concluded a Peace, and are as one Brother, having one Head and one Heart.

If you take away your Soldiers, we desire you would keep your Trading House there, and have some honest Man in it, because our Cousins follow their Hunting there, and will want a Trade. This is the Way for us to live peaceably together.

*Brother Onas,*

I must tell you again, these Soldiers must go away from *Shamokin* Fort; I desire it, and let there be only Traders live there; you know who are the honest People; we desire that  
only

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only honest People may live there, and that you will not be too hard with us, when they may buy our Skins and Furs, and such Things as we may have to sell. This will be the Way for us to live peaceably together; but for you to keep Soldiers there, is not the Way to live peaceable. Your Soldiers are very often unruly, and our Warriors are unruly, and when such get together they do not agree. For as you have now made Peace with all our Nations, there is no Occasion for Soldiers to live there any longer. 1762.

Brother Onas,

We, the *Six Nations*, have all consulted, and concluded on this Matter of your removing the Soldiers from *Shamokin*; for you know we go to War with the Southern *Indians*, the *Cherokees*; we have been at War with them ever since we were created, and the Place where the *Shamokin* Fort stands is right in our Warriors Path, and you know that Warriors are always an unruly People. For this Reason we desire you to take away your Soldiers, and place some honest Man there, that he may supply our Warriors with Ammunition, and any other Necessaries that they may want, when they go to War against the *Cherokees*. We must press you to take away your Soldiers from *Shamokin*, as our Warriors are unruly. You have planted Corn there, and if our Warriors come there, they may cut some of your Corn-stalks, and then you will be angry. The Fort you have there does not now do any Good, for you have many other Forts all around you; this one therefore can be of no Use to you; it stands as it were at your own Doors.

*A Belt of Twelve Rows.*

Note, He said he had forgot a Word in this Belt, which was to tell the Governor, that he might chuse and appoint such Men as pleased to trade, and also a Black-Smith and Gun-Smith, to mend their Guns and Hatchets, or do any Thing they may want.

He then added,

We desire that the present Store-keepers at *Shamokin* may be removed, and honest Men placed there in their Room; for our Hunters, who have been down there, complain that when *Indians* come there, and want Provisions and Goods, they find the Store sometimes shut up, and they cannot be supplied with what they want.

Brother Onas,

For my Part, I think *John Harris* is the most suitable Man to keep Store; for he lives right in the Road where our Warriors pass, and he is very well known by all of us in our Nation, as his Father was before him; we all know him. If you chuse *John Harris*, we desire you will order him to keep Provisions and Cloaths, to give to our People, who sometimes come there naked; and likewise Ammunition for our Warriors, for that is their Path. We desire you may have no Trading Houses higher up the *Sasquebannah* than *Shamokin*; let the *Indians* come there, or to *John Harris's*; if they want to trade, let them come down to these Trading Houses. We also desire you will send your Messengers to *John Harris's*, so that we may hear from one another, because where he lives the Road seems to divide, and spread, and it goes to many Places. And we further desire you will give him a Commission for these Things, in Writing.

*Thomas King* being asked, if they meant that *John Harris* was to be furnished with Goods to sell or to give to the *Indians*? He answered, that they desired there might be a Trading House there, and that this was what they requested; and desiring to be excused, if they forgot any Part of their Speeches, as they were very long.

He proceeded.

Brother Onas,

I have now mentioned two Places for you to keep Store Houses at, *Shamokin* and *John Harris's*; but perhaps they will sell at different Prices, and if we have a Mind to have Goods cheapest, we may go to *John Harris's*. We therefore desire you will let us know, what Prices you set upon your Goods.

*A Belt of Ten Rows.*

Brother Onas,

I will also acquaint you of another proper Trading Place, and who we think will be a suitable Man to keep that Store House, and that is *George Crogban*, who is very well known by all our Nations, and several others. We desire you will appoint him to keep Store at *Bedford*, because that is also in our Warriors Path. We desire likewise, that there may be a Black-Smith and Gun-Smith, because my Cousins will be there a hunting, and will want their Things mended. This will be known every where, throughout all our Nations; for as the Peace is made, our young Men will set themselves to hunt, and bring Skins there, and will have nothing else to do but hunt.

*A Belt of Eight Rows.*

Brother

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Brother Onas,

I will also acquaint you of another Trading Place, which is the Place they call *Patorumack*, in *Maryland*. One *Daniel Cressap* has sent me Word, by many Warriors, this Spring, and he tells me, that if the Governor would order him to keep a Store there, he would provide every Thing for the Warriors; for his Father used to maintain all the *Indian* Warriors that passed and re-passed that Way. He likewise tells me, if the Governor would let him know what he should do, and if he should be allowed to do this, he would provide for the Warriors. We now desire, that he may be the Person appointed to receive Messages, and that you would acquaint the Governor of *Maryland* with this, that the Warriors may pass and re-pass that Way, without any Molestation.

*A Belt of Seven Rows.*

Brother Onas,

We desire you to acquaint the Governor of *Virginia*, that we may pass and re-pass through his Province, when we go to War with the *Cherokees*; for our Warriors Road is stopped up in many Places; *English* People have settled on it. And now we desire that a Road may be opened, that we may pass safely. We desire nothing but Love and Friendship with our Brethren, the *English*, as we pass through. We desire you will send a Letter, with this Belt, to the Governor of *Virginia*, as from us, as soon as possible; for I do not know how soon my People may go that Way; our Warriors have already the Hatchet in their Hands, and perhaps they may go there before your Letter gets there; for which Reason I desire you will make Haste in this Business.

*A Belt of Five Rows.*

Brother Onas,

We now desire you to be strong, and that you will give us Powder; I do not think that you will refuse to let me have Powder, for you are able. Our Brother, General *Johnson*, though but a single Man, supplies all our People with Powder; when we go to see him, he fills all our Powder-horns with it. I see a great many of you here, and I think you are more able than he. Our own People at Home will have their Eye upon us, and expect that we shall bring them some Powder, and Presents; we therefore hope you will consider us in this, and make them larger than common, as we do not come to see you often.

*A Belt of Nine Rows.*

Brother Onas,

I now speak in Behalf of our Warriors. When we heard your Words come to our Countries, they were very pleasing to us, that you would make Presents to your Brethren, when they come to see you, and would give them any Thing they might want. Now we desire you will give us some Vermilion, for you know that the eldest Brother has always Pity and Compassion on the youngest Brother; we know you are able, as you make all these Things in yourselves. We have all concluded Peace now, but we have given our young Men Liberty to go to War with the Southern *Indians*; this is the Reason of our wanting the red Paint; you see the Warriors always paint themselves, when they go to War.

*A String.*

Brother Onas,

I shall now speak a few Words, without any Belt or String. Whenever the *French* were asked for Paint, or any Thing else, they always gave it to the *Indians* readily; and it is no Wonder that so many *Indians* liked the *French*, since they were so kind to them.

You see several of our *Indians* here dressed in *French* Cloaths; and we desire the Governor will be strong, and supply us with every Thing.

Brother Onas,

I have not left any Thing in my Heart; I have said every Thing material I had to say; and now I desire you will help me as far as *Shamokin*, and supply me with Provisions; for perhaps some of our People, if they are hungry, may hurt some of the Inhabitants Corn or Fruit, and cause Differences to arise. When I came from *Eaflon* last, I had no Provisions given me to eat, so that when I got Home I was almost starved, and a mere Skeleton.

*A String.*

Brother Onas,

We want a little Lad that lives among you; he is *Keisheta's* Son; the old Man ordered that he should live at *Philadelphia*, in order to learn *English*, to be an Interpreter; we think by this Time he has learned it, and we now think it Time for him to come Home; his Relations, that are present, desire that he may go Home now with them.

*A String.*

Brother Onas,

You may remember, three Years ago, that this Man (pointing to *Samuel Curtiss*) mentioned something to you about his Daughter, that was stolen from him in *Dorset* County, in *Maryland*,

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*Maryland*, about Fourteen Years ago. I spoke to you once before about it, and I have heard nothing from you concerning her.

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*A black and white String.*

*Brother Onas,*

I am now going to speak to you in Behalf of *Tokahaion's* two Daughters. They desire the Governor will give them a Horse; they hear the Governor is very kind, and gives many People Horses; they have two Plantations, at which they plant Corn, and want Horses to carry their Corn, to ease their Backs, because when at Home, their Corn Fields are at a considerable Distance from them.

*A String.*

*Then Seneca George rose up, and spoke as follows, viz.*

*Brother Onas, and all our Brethren with you,*

We all desire you to remember our Son, *Robert White*, who carries all our Messages; he is old, and we desire you will give him a Horse; you did give him a Mare before, but she is dead; she was with Foal, and died.

*A Belt of Eight Rows.*

*Thomas King then spoke as follows, viz.*

*Brother Onas,*

This is all I have to say; I have nothing more in my Mind; I beg you will consider of all that I have said, and take Time to do it; it looks as if you were in Haste to go Home, but I desire you will be patient, and stay; I came a great Way, and will contentedly stay as long as may be convenient.

## T U E S D A Y, the Twenty-fourth of August.

**T H O M A S K I N G**, in Behalf of the Chiefs of the *Six Nations*, waited on the Governor, and acquainted him, that as their Speeches to him of Yesterday were long, he suspected he might have forgot something, and desired he would give him the Opportunity of hearing every Thing he had said repeated to them.

On which the Governor appointed a Meeting at the old *Lutheran Church*, at which were

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable J A M E S H A M I L T O N*, Esquire, GOVERNOR, &c.

*WILLIAM LOGAN, RICHARD PETERS*, Esquires, of the Council;

*JOSEPH FOX, JAMES WRIGHT, SAMUEL RHODES*, Esquires, of the Assembly;

*Thomas King, Tokahaion, Kinderuntie, and several other Chiefs of the Six Nations;*

*ANDREW MONTGOMERY, and ISAAC STILLE*, Interpreters.

**W H E N** the *Indians* were seated, the Governor, laying the several Belts and Strings in their Order, as delivered him Yesterday, directed the Secretary to read the Minutes, which were distinctly interpreted to them, Paragraph by Paragraph, and declared by the *Indians* to be right.

*After which Thomas King arose, and spoke as follows.*

*Brother Onas,*

I mistook when I told you Yesterday, that I would have you keep a Store at *Bedford*; I meant that *Sir William Johnson* should have a Store there, and that you should have the Care of the Stores at *Shamokin*, and *John Harris's*. As *George Croghan* is under *Sir William Johnson*, I wanted that he should appoint *Mr. Croghan* to keep the Store at *Bedford*.

*Then Tokahaion, a Cayuga Chief, spoke to the Governor as follows.*

*Brother Onas,*

My Cousins, that live at *Wigbalousin*, tell me, they went to the *Easton Treaty* to hear something about the Land Affair, between the Governor and *Teedyuscung*; these, my Cousins, went to the Governor, to enquire about their own Lands. The Governor made Answer to them, and told them, that he had bought their Land from their Uncles.—What they wanted to know about their Land is this, that if they found it was not sold by the *Six Nations*, they

1762. think they ought to be paid for it. And since my Cousins made this Complaint to the Governor, at *Easton*, they have asked me, whether I had sold the Land, or not. And I told them, that I did not know that I had sold any Lands belonging to my Cousins; but (speaking to the Governor) said, you know it, because you have Writings.

*He further added,*

You can tell whether you have bought the Land, or not; if it is not sold to you by the *Six Nations*, it still belongs to them; but I do not want to sell Land, that you have already bought.

The *Indians* having finished what they had to say, the Governor acquainted them, that *Thomas King* had promised him, the other Day, that they would deliver up all the Prisoners that were in their Camp, and that he understood some were there yet, and desired to know the Reason of their not being delivered up.

*Thomas King answered,*

*Brother,*

I acknowledge to have said, I would deliver up all the Prisoners, and I thought it had been done, and that all were delivered up that remained in the Camp; but we have gone too far, in engaging to deliver up all the Prisoners in the *Indian Country*, that belong to the absent Warriors. However, we suppose they will be delivered up, and we will do our Endeavours that it shall be so, and will consult with those that have the Prisoners.

*Then Kinderuntie, the Seneca Warrior, spoke.*

*Brother,*

There are yet two White Men in the Camp; one of them, though he came with us, yet it was not by our Consent; he would follow us; he belongs to a Warrior, that is gone to War against the *Cherokees*, and we had no Right to bring him, without the Warrior's Consent; you see him every Day; he is at Liberty. The other is a Defenter; he came among us of his own Accord; we informed Sir *William Johnson* of it, and Sir *William* said, that perhaps he might have misbehaved, and that we might keep him; perhaps he might learn the Language, and be of Service as an Interpreter, and that he might stay with us, if he would; he did not come to us as a Prisoner, and as he has his Liberty, you may talk with him, if you please.

*The Governor made Answer,*

That as to the Captive, he expected they would deliver him up; and desired that they would bring the Defenter to him To-morrow Morning, that he might speak with him.

*To which Kinderuntie replied,*

*Brother,*

I cannot deliver up the Captive to you; he does not belong to me; he belongs, as I told you, to those that are gone to War; he came here of his own Accord; he followed me down, and if I should deliver him now, the Warriors would say that I had sold him, and that will make me ashamed; I therefore desire my Brother will not force me to deliver him at this Time, to make me ashamed. As to the Defenter, I will bring him to you at any Time.

The Governor concluded, by saying to them, that he would have them consider of this Matter in their Council again, and reflect seriously upon it, as he should have no Dependence on all they had already said, about restoring the Prisoners, unless they now delivered up this one to him.

The *Indians* then broke up, and went to their Camp.

*At a CONFERENCE with the Northern Indians, held at Lancaster, on Thursday, the Twenty-sixth of August, 1762.*

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable J A M E S H A M I L T O N, Esquire, &c. &c. as before.*

THE Governor, first addressing himself to the *Minisink Nation*, spoke to them as follows.

*Brethren of the Minisink Nation,*

You have, since I saw you, lost a great Man. With this String I condole with you, and share your Grief on that Occasion; and with this Stroud I cover his Grave, and desire you may mourn for him no longer.

*A String and Stroud.*

*Brethren,*



*Brethren,*

By this String I desire you may consult among yourselves, and appoint a Man to sit in Council in his Place, which will be agreeable to me.

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*A String.*

The Governor then, addressing himself to the *Six Nations*, returned the following Answer to the several Speeches made by *Thomas King*, the *Oneida* Chief.

*Brethren,*

You have, according to the antient Custom of your Ancestors, upon my bidding you welcome, and cleaning you, performed the usual Ceremonies on like Occasions; with which I am well pleased, and return you Thanks.

*A large String.*

*Brethren, (Holding up the Belts and Strings that they gave)*

By these Belts you have made me several Speeches, respecting my requesting you to use your Influence with your Nephews, and all other *Indian* Nations, to restore to us all our Flesh and Blood. I make no Doubt you have met with some Difficulties on that Head, as I am very well acquainted with the Manner in which you carry on War against one another, and that what Prisoners you take, you claim an absolute Property in, by adopting them into your own Nation, as soon as they bring them Home.

But, Brethren, the Case is quite different between you and us. We do not look upon you to have the same Sort of Right over our Flesh and Blood, as over your own. As we are of a different Colour from you, so we have different Customs. It is a constant Rule with us White People, that upon making of a Peace with those with whom we have been at War, the Prisoners on both Sides are faithfully delivered up. Besides, you may remember it was a positive Engagement between us, upon re-establishing the antient Chain of Friendship, that those Nations who had taken any of our People Prisoners, should deliver them all up; and this, Brethren, I must insist upon, as the only Means of burying every Thing that has passed between us. I thank you for the Influence you have used, and the Trouble you have taken, upon this Occasion; but we are informed, by such as have lately passed through the *Indian* Countries, that there yet remain a great many of our People, as Prisoners, in some of your Towns, particularly among our Brothers, the *Senecas*. It is, I suppose, as you say, that some of them may belong to the Warriors, who are gone to War against the Southern *Indians*, with whom you are always at War; but whether they belong to them, or any other People, we expect that you will acquaint them with your repeated Engagements, that they shall all be delivered up, and therefore that they will no longer continue unwilling to part with them.

*Brethren,*

As to what you say about our Promises of paying you for our Flesh and Blood, you must have been mistaken; for I never either told you so, or sent you any such Message. If you have received any Messages to that Effect, they must have come from some other People. But I must be plain with you on this Subject, and tell you, that it is never our Custom to purchase our Flesh and Blood of any Nation whatsoever. But, Brethren, what I have told you, and what I now again tell you, is this, that for any Services you may have done, with any of the Nations, on that Account, or for any Trouble or Expence they may be at, in bringing them down to me, I will make you and them a suitable Satisfaction.

*Here gives three Belts, and a Bunch of Wampum.*

*Brethren,*

As to what you say about making Servants of our Prisoners, we are entirely ignorant of it; we do no such Thing, but as soon as we receive them from your Hands, we deliver them up to their Parents and Relations, if they happen to be present, and if not, we cloath them, and take Care of them, till we can get an Opportunity of sending them to their Friends. They are our own Flesh and Blood, and we use them as tenderly as is in our Power; if any have been treated otherwise, it is owing to your not delivering them to me. We have, indeed, at the Instance of some of your own People, put the Prisoners into the Court-House, till we could take their Names, and be informed of the Places of their Abode; and as soon as we were told this, they were all cloathed, and forthwith sent along, with some good Persons to take Care of them, to their Habitations; therefore do not entertain any Notion that we make Servants or Slaves of them, and when you return Home, let all your Nations know that this is truly the Case, and that the Prisoners are at Liberty to go to their Relations, as soon as they are delivered up to us; or, if they have no Relations, they go into such Places where they can best get Employment, in order to maintain themselves.

*Brethren,*

I think it my Duty to tell you, that such of our White Men who want to stay with you, are either Deserters from the Army, or have behaved ill amongst us, and were they to stay with you,



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you, they would be very apt to be very mischievous, and make ill Blood between us; we desire therefore you will not encourage them, but deliver all such up as you have amongst you; and if you place any Dependence upon them, either in Peace or War, they will certainly deceive you, as they have done us.

*A String.*

*Brethren,*

It grieves me that any Occasion should have been administred to you, to observe to me, in so public a Manner, that there are others besides myself who concern themselves in Affairs of Government. If it be as you say, I must tell you, Brethren, that it is a great Presumption, and an high Infringement of the Rights of Government, for any Person whatsoever, within this Province, except by my special Order or Commission, to send or deliver Messages to you, or to any other Nations of *Indians*, or to treat with you, or them, on any public Matters. I am the only Person intrusted by His Majesty, and the Proprietaries, with the Administration of public Affairs within this Province; and I desire you to take Notice, that in order to prevent any Thing of this Kind for the future, all Messengers I shall send to you shall be furnished with proper Credentials, and my Speeches in Writing, under the usual Seal; and if any Persons, *Indians* or others, should take upon them to deliver to you any Messages in my Name, unless they bring with them such Credentials as above mentioned, I desire you will pay no Regard to them, and acquaint me therewith.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

You acquaint me, that your Grandfathers advised you never to have any Difference with your Brethren, the *English*. It had been well you had constantly taken their Advice, but as you say the Evil Spirit got the better of your Understandings, and compelled you to strike us, you, the other Day, by this Belt of Wampum, took the Hatchet out of my Head. It is possible, Brethren, that as you struck us, and obliged us to strike you, that you also have been hurt by us; I therefore, by this Belt, take the Hatchet out of your Heads.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

By this Belt I join with you in collecting all our and your Bones, wheresoever scattered, and in burying them, with the Hatchet, and do heap up Earth about the Roots of the great Tree in the *Oneida* Country, where they and the Hatchet are buried; so that the Smell thereof may never offend us hereafter.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

By this Belt you tell me that I am your elder Brother, and whenever you misbehave, you desire me to give you Advice. Brethren, my real Regard to your Welfare, as we are Brethren, will always induce me to take Notice of any Thing wrong that I shall observe in your Conduct; and by this Belt I stop your Ears against hearkening to any but myself.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

I join with you in dispersing the dark Clouds that have gathered together, during our Differences, and hid the Light from us, that we may see the Sky clearly, from Sun-rising to Sun-setting.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

By this String of Wampum you tell me, that some Foulness may have got into my Heart, through my Throat, and that with a Medicine, left you by your Fathers, you make it pass quite through my Body to the Ground, and bury it there. As you may have contracted the like Foulness, by this String of Wampum I thoroughly purge your Body, and remove every Defilement.

*A String.*

*Brethren,*

You tell me, by this Belt, that there are only two Doors, the *Mohawks* and *Senecas*, to the *Onondagoe* Council, one to the Westward, the other to the Eastward, through one of which all the Messages to that Council should properly come.

As I understand, by this Information, that you expect that this Method should always be observed by me, I shall very readily conform to it, and think it a very prudent Establishment of yours, for the Dispatch and regular Transaction of Business.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

By this Belt you take Notice, that our old Council Fire is almost out, and not good, and that you now put to it the same good dry Wood, such as your Ancestors used, and make it burn as bright as ever. You add further, that your Entertainment has not been as good here as at *Eagleson*.

*Brethren,*

Brethren,

I take it kind and friendly in you, that you have kindled up the old Fire; and by this Belt I heap up some good dry Wood, and join with you in putting it on the Council Fire, that it may burn as bright as ever. I am very sorry there should be any Cause of Complaint given you here, with Respect to your Accommodations; I took all the Pains in my Power that there should be none, and I hope now every Thing is made agreeable to you, with Respect to your good Accommodation.

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A Belt.

Brethren,

By this Belt you acquaint me, that your Warriors have assisted the Counsellors in making firm the good Work of Peace, and that without their Concurrence and Assistance the Counsellors can do nothing effectually.

Brethren,

It gives me Pleasure to hear that your Warriors are united with you in Council, and are become unanimous in establishing the Peace, which has been so happily brought about. I am sensible of their Importance, and hope that the Harmony which now subsists may long continue; and I shall be ready to serve them, as well as you, as long as their future Conduct shall merit it.

A Belt.

Brethren,

By this Belt you tell me, that the *English* have a longing Eye after your Land, and desire that we may not covet any more of your Land; and say further, that we have got all the Land belonging to the *Delawares*, and shall serve you as we have done them.

Brethren,

It is true the *Delawares* had a large Tract of Land in this Province, bordering on the River *Delaware*, which the Proprietaries of this Province have, from Time to Time, fairly purchased of them, and have honestly paid them for it, which they have acknowledged, in your Presence.

Brethren,

By the same Belt you desire we will not think of making any more Purchase of Land, or settling your Lands by Force; for if we do, we shall push you back, and leave you no Land to live or hunt upon; and desire we would confine ourselves to *Nixbijaqua*, or *Mobonoy*, and settle no higher up.

Brethren,

The Proprietaries of *Pennsylvania* have never forced a Purchase of Lands from any of their Brethren, the *Indians*, since they have owned this Province. It is very well known, that the Native *Indians* very readily fold their Lands to the Proprietaries, as soon as he arrived here in their Country, about Eighty Years ago. And about Thirty Years ago the *Six Nations*, observing greater Numbers of White People than those old Purchases could accommodate, voluntarily fold to the present Proprietaries some Lands, lying further West. And their Number still increasing, at *Albany*, in the Year 1754, they sold them more Lands, as far as the Limits of the Province to the West, to be bounded by a Line agreed upon to the Northward.

And let me remind you of their Kindness to you, in this Respect; for no sooner were they informed that you repented of this last Sale, than they immediately gave Orders to their Agents here, to execute a Release to you for all the Lands over the *Allegheny Hills*, which was accordingly done at *Eagleson*, in the Year 1758, in public Council; when a Draught of the Part of the Country, which the Proprietaries held, by the *Six Nations* Deed, on this Side the *Allegheny Hills*, was shewn to, and approved by, the *Six Nations*, some of whom are now present; and the Draught, and Copy of the Proprietary Release, were delivered in open Council to them, who returned their hearty Thanks to the Proprietaries for their Goodness. I hear those Chiefs put the Release and Draught into Sir *William Johnson's* Hands, and desired him to keep it for them, together with many other Deeds and Papers, at the same Time. Now, Brethren, as no Time has been fixed for the running of the North Line, or Boundary of this last Purchase, I desire you to apply to Sir *William Johnson*, and whenever you and he shall think it necessary to run that Line, I shall always be ready to join with you; and until this be done, agreeable to your Deed, I shall not suffer any of my People to settle beyond it. By your Speech it appears to me, that you think the Line is fixed at *Mobonoy*; but by the Deed, which I have not brought with me, and so cannot now produce it, to the best of my Remembrance, the Line begins at a certain Mountain, by the River Side, about a Mile above

H

the

1762. the Mouth of *Mohony*. I must therefore desire, that none of your People be permitted to disturb any Persons within the Limits of that Purchase, till that Line be settled.

*A Belt.*

*Brethren,*

By this String you desire me to give some Guns, telling me that you had already made this Request four Times.

*Brethren,*

At the Conclusion of this Treaty I propose to make you a Present, Part of which will consist of some good Guns, which I hope will please you.

*Brethren,*

I have heard attentively what you said to your Cousins, and to *Teedyuscung* in particular. Among other Things you say, you formerly kindled a Fire at *Shamokin*, for *Allumapes*; another at *Wyoming*, for the *Shawanese*; and others at *Wigbalouin* and *Diaboga*. You say to *Teedyuscung*, that the *English* cast an evil Eye on the Lands at *Wyoming*, and that he is to watch that Fire, and if any White People come there, to tell them to go away; for that Land belongs to the *Six Nations*.

*Brethren,*

Some of you may remember, that at the Treaty held last Year, at *Easton*, the *Six Nations* complained to me, that some *English* had settled upon their Lands, and desired me to assist them in preventing that Settlement, that they might not be wrangled out of their Lands. They told me further, that they heard the Land had been sold; that the *Six Nations* never sold it, and that those who sold it stole it from them; that it was two *Tuscaroras*, one *Oneida*, and one *Mohawk*, who sold it, unknown to the *Six Nations*. To this Request I answered, that a Number of People, from *Connecticut* Government, had settled at a Place on the River *Delaware*, called *Cushietunck*, about Fifty Miles North of the *Blue Hills*, being the Settlement complained of, and claimed all the Lands from thence quite up to *Wyoming*; that I had sent Messengers to them, to inform them that those Lands belonged to the *Six Nations*, and ordered them to remove away; but they refused to do it, assuring me, by the Messengers, that they had purchased all those Lands of the *Six Nations*, and under that Pretence had a Right to hold them.

As there are now many more of the *Six Nations* present than were at *Easton* last Year, I again request you to tell me plainly, whether these Strangers are settled there by your Consent or not, and why no Measures have been taken, if, as some of you told me at *Easton*, the Lands were not sold by you, to oblige those private *Indians*, who stole the Land from you, to procure a Surrender of their unjust Deed, from the People to whom they have made it, that it might be brought into the *Onondagoe* Council, and there cancelled or destroyed.

*Upon which Thomas King, without consulting any of the other Chiefs, rose up and spoke.*

*Brother,*

It is very well known that the Land was sold by the *Six Nations*; some are here now that sold that Land; it was sold for *Two Thousand Dollars*, but it was not sold by our Consent in public Council; it was as it were stolen from us. Some People said that my Name was to it, on which I went down immediately to *Connecticut*, to see whether it was or not, and found it was not. I brought a Paper back from *Connecticut*, which I shall shew to the Governor. Had I not gone down to *Connecticut*, the Lands would have been all settled up to *Wyoming*, as far as *Awicka*, Twelve Miles on this Side *Chenango*.

*Thomas King* being then asked, whether those Lands at *Cushietunck* were a Part of those Lands that were stolen from them? He answered, they had nothing to do with them; they belonged to the *Delawares*.

Then the Governor asked, whether the Lands above the Hills, and at *Cushietunck* in particular, belonged to the *Six Nations*, or to the *Delawares*? this was asked of all the *Six Nations* present, and the Governor desired they would all give an Answer to it, *Thomas King* having already said that those Lands belonged to the *Delawares*. They answered, that they would take it into Council, and give him an Answer in Writing.

Whereupon the Conference broke up for the present.

## [ 31 ]

*At a CONFERENCE with the Indians, held at Lancaster, on Friday, the Twenty-seventh of August, 1762.* 1762.

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable J A M E S H A M I L T O N, Esquire, &c. &c. as before.*

THE Governor continuing his Speeches to the *Six Nations*, spoke as follows.

*Brethren,*

By this String I inform you, that a few Days since your Cousins, the *Western Indians*, applied to me about our Trade with them, and told me that we sold our Goods very dear, and desired we would sell them cheaper; on which I informed them that I had, for their Benefit, opened a large Store of Goods at *Pittsburgh*, and had appointed honest Men there to deal justly with them, and made no Doubt but they had done so; but that our Land Carriage was so long, and made the Expences so very high, that we lost Money by the Trade every Year; and that I knew of no other Method, by which we could supply them cheaper, than by your suffering us to go up the Western Branch of the *Sasquehannah* River, with Boats or Canoes, and to build some small Store Houses, to put our Goods and Skins in, as we went up and came down that River. This Liberty I told them I would apply to you for, and I now desire you will be free, and tell me whether you will consent that we should build such Store Houses there, being unwilling to do any Thing of that Kind, without having first obtained your Approbation, or to give you the least Reason to think we intend to settle any of the Lands there.

If you approve of this Proposal, I will send proper Persons to view that River, and to see how far Boats or Canoes can go up it; and I desire the People I shall send upon that Service may be under your Protection, and treated as your Friends, by any of your People they may happen to meet with in their Journey.

*A String.*

*Then Kinderuntie, the head Warrior of the Seneca Nation, suddenly rose up, and spoke as follows.*

*Brother Onas,*

You have laid out two Roads already; one you told me was a good one, the other leads from *Potowmack*, and now you want another Road to go by Water; we cannot grant it to you, because our chief old Men are not here; we are chiefly Warriors here; I am almost as chief a Man as any among them, but we cannot grant it to you, because our chief Men are not present, and the Matter has not been consulted in Council. I give you this Answer now, because I have the Care of those Lands; but if it is agreed upon in our Council, that will be another Thing; but at present we deny you entirely.

*Brother,*

You may remember you told me, when you was going to *Pittsburgh*, you would build a Fort against the *French*; and you told me that you wanted none of our Lands; our Cousins know this, and that you promised to go away as soon as you drove the *French* away, and yet you stay there, and build Houses, and make it stronger and stronger every Day; for this Reason we entirely deny your Request; you shall not have a Road this Way.

*A Belt.*

*To which the Governor answered,*

*Brethren,*

This Request did not arise from me; I only mentioned it, in order to oblige your Cousins, the *Delawares*, who desired a Trade with us, and I did it that they might have their Goods cheaper; but this is an indifferent Matter to me; it particularly concerns your Cousins, the *Delawares*, and the *Western Indians*; and since the *Six Nations* disapprove of our going up and down the West Branch, and building Store Houses there, I shall say nothing further upon this Subject.

*To which the Seneca Chief made Answer,*

*Brother,*

I am glad to hear you, as you say it did not come from you, but that it came from our Cousins; I thought it had been your own Proposal. I really quite wonder at my Cousins, that they did not tell me this; but since they have swallowed up all their own Land, and live to the Westward, I believe they are growing proud. The Lands do belong to me where they live; I conquered it with my Sword; but they are grown proud, and will, I suppose, not own us for their Uncles.

The

1762.

The Governor answered, that if he expressed himself in such a Manner to them, as if the Application did come from himself, he was mistaken; for that he meant to express himself that he did it in Consequence of the *Delawares* desiring a Trade with us, and that our Goods might come cheaper to them, and that he knew of no other Method of rendering them so, but by Means of a Water Carriage; and therefore he told the *Delawares* that he would apply to their Uncles, the *Six Nations*, for Liberty to carry our Goods up the West Branch of *Saquahannab*; and he desired that they should not think the *Delawares* in Fault, on this Account, as they did not propose this Method to him; and that no Blame should be imputed to them at all in this Affair; and that as he found it disagreeable to the *Six Nations*, he would say nothing further about it.

*The Governor then proceeded to speak to the Six Nations as follows.*

*Brethren,*

By this Belt you desired, that as there was no War now between you and us, and the Fort at *Shamokin* stood upon your Warriors Path, the Soldiers might be removed from that Garrison; but that the Trading House might still continue, that your Hunters and Warriors might be supplied with Goods; and further desired to know what Prices we set upon our Goods.

*Brethren,*

You must be sensible, that though an End be happily put to the War between the *Indians* and us, yet it still continues as warm as ever between us and the *French*; and therefore without His Majesty's express Orders, at whose Instance you acknowledge it was built, by your own Consent, I cannot remove the Soldiers from that Garrison. I shall give particular Directions to the Commanding Officer, that the Soldiers behave very well, both to your Warriors and Hunters, when they come there; and if the Warriors behave well on their Parts, and keep sober, there can be no Differences between them.

*Brethren,*

You further desire, by this Belt, that the Person who has the Care of the Provincial Store may be removed, and an honest Man put in his Place.

*Brethren,*

The Agent at *Shamokin* has, so far as I know, supported the Character of an honest Man; but as it seems he is not agreeable to you, I will consult with the Gentlemen who are joined with me in the Direction of that Store House, when I return to *Philadelphia*, and give you an Answer at a proper Time.

As to the Trading House, it shall continue, for your Convenience and Accommodation; but it is not in my Power to fix any certain Price upon our Goods. You know we don't make the Goods ourselves; they are made in *England*, and the transporting them over the Seas is dangerous in War Time, and very expensive, so that they must come much dearer now than in Time of Peace, and their Prices change, as the Risk and Demand for them is greater or less; but I am told, that they are sold to you as cheap as they can be afforded, and cheaper than they can be purchased from private Traders, and Care will be taken that they be good in their Quality.

*A Belt.*

*Brother,*

By this Belt you give it as your Opinion, that *John Harris's* House, standing on your Warriors Path, would be a good Place for a Trading House, for the Accommodation of your Warriors and Hunters, and desire one may be erected there, and recommend *John Harris* to be Store-keeper.

*Brethren,*

By the Relation you gave me at *Easton*, in 1758, when you was relating the Causes of the War, it appears that you were of Opinion, one of the principal Reasons which made you join the *French* against us, was owing in a great Measure to the ill Treatment your Warriors met with in *Virginia*, in those Places where your War Path passes through the settled Part of that Colony; and you have now desired me to write to the Governor of *Virginia*, that as there are Settlers on your War Path, whereby it is stopped, he would cause it to be opened.

Now, Brethren, I must acquaint you, that all the Way from *Harris's Ferry* to *Potowmack*, the White People are settled very thick, so that should your Warriors now use that Path, frequent Differences between them and the Inhabitants might probably arise, by means whereof, the Peace so lately established between us may be endangered. And I must desire you, for this



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this Reason, to use your best Interest with your Warriors, in case they are determined to go to War, that they would pursue the old War Path from *Shamokin*, which lies along the Foot of the *Allegheny Hills*, and which is the nearest Way they can go to their Enemies Country.

1762.

A Belt.

Brethren,

As you tell me you intend to apply immediately to Sir *William Johnson*, to give Orders that the Warriors be supplied with Necessaries, through Mr. *Croghan*, at *Rays-Town*, I must refer you to him, that the same may be done in other of the King's Garrisons, along the War Path.

Brethren,

As *John Harris's* House is a great Deal out of the Way, if more Trading Houses shall hereafter be thought necessary than there are at present, which we shall consider of, we shall take Care to fix them at the most convenient Places, for the Accommodation of our *Indian* Brethren, and appoint honest Men to take the Direction of the Trade, who will deal justly and kindly with all the *Indians*.

A Belt.

Brethren,

By this Belt you desire a Trading House may be erected on *Potowmack*, at *Daniel Cressip's* House, and that he may have the Care of it, for the Supply of your Warriors, and that I will send your Request to the Governor of *Maryland*.

Brethren,

Your Belt, and all you have said upon it, shall be carefully sent to Governor *Sharpe*.

Brethren,

I shall also, agreeable to your Request, transmit your Belt, and what you have said upon it, to the Governor of *Virginia*; and I shall lose no Time in doing it, as your Warriors, you tell me, are now ready to set out.

A String.

Brethren,

Some red Paint, or Vermilion, is provided for you, and it shall be delivered to you.

Brethren,

Agreeable to your Request, the Persons whom I shall appoint to attend you, on your Return Home, will have Orders to furnish you with Provisions, as far as *Shamokin*. I have received several Complaints of great Mischief being done by the *Indians*, in their coming here, and therefore must insist upon it that you restrain your young Men from committing any further Violence, or from taking any Thing from the Inhabitants in their Return; for this must have a natural Tendency to raise ill Blood in the Minds of the People.

A String.

Brethren,

The little Boy, *Kisbeta's* Son, is, I hope, on his Way here, having sent for him to *Philadelphia*.

Brethren,

Since you spoke to me, I am told *Samuel Curtis* is informed where his Daughter is, and if he pleases to go and see her, and desires my Passports, he shall be furnished with them.

A String.

Brethren,

A Horse shall be delivered to *Tokabaion*, for the Use of his two Daughters.

Brethren,

A Horse will likewise be given to *Robert White*, in Lieu of the one that died.

Brethren,

As to the Application made by your Friends at *Wigbalousin*, with respect to Lands they lay Claim to beyond the Mountains, I am surprized this should be mentioned to me by *Tokabaion*, after what passed at *Easton*, in the Year 1758, between me and the *Six Nations*, respecting those Lands. Their Deed to the Proprietaries for those Lands was then produced, and was acknowledged to have been executed by the *Six Nations*, some of whom were then present. They further added, that they had sold the Land in Question, and were honestly paid for it, and that the Land was theirs, and they would justify it; these were their Expressions. This being the Case, and we being unacquainted with any Rights they have, must refer them to you, and desire you will settle this Matter among yourselves.

A String.

I

Brethren,



1762.

*Brethren,*

By this Belt you tell me, that your Grandfathers advised you to keep fast Hold of the Chain of Friendship, and that you, the *Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Onondagoes, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras*, have brought about the Peace; that you have more Brothers, Friends and Allies to the Westward, as far as the Sun sets, so many that you cannot tell their Numbers; and in Behalf of them and yourselves, who now make up fourteen Nations; you make our old Friendship new again, and brighten the Covenant Chain.

*Brethren,*

You know that when the Peace was concluded first between us, at *Easton*, as well as in several friendly Conferences held afterwards, we both of us took great Pains to send the Peace Belt among all your Nations, and among your Friends and Allies, to the most distant Parts; and we have heard you say with Pleasure, and we have ourselves likewise received Messages from several *Indian* Nations, that they were glad to hear we had made Peace together, and joined heartily in it.

*Brethren,*

We thank you for renewing your old Friendship; we very heartily join with you in it, and in brightening the Covenant Chain, and confirm our Words with this Belt. When you return Home, we desire you will shew this Belt to your own People, and to all the Nations in your Alliance, and let them know how friendly your Brothers have received you; advise them not to hearken to any Stories that bad People may tell them, to our Prejudice; desire them to stop their Ears to all such Stories, and assure them that we shall, on all Occasions, preserve our Friendship with our *Indian* Brethren, and their Allies. And we hope, that both you and we shall be so careful as not to give the least Occasion of Difference, so long as the World lasts.

*A very large Peace Belt.**Brethren,*

As I have now finished all my Business with you, I inform you, that as the good People of this Province think you may want some Cloathing, and other Necessaries, they have, from the Regard they have for you, put into my Hands a considerable Present of Goods, which I shall deliver to such Persons as you shall appoint to receive and divide them; and I desire, that in the dividing them you will pay particular Regard, and give an handsome Present to such *Indians* who have been at any Expence and Trouble in bringing down the Prisoners.

*Thomas King* desired that the Governor would stay a little longer, for that they had something further to say to him.

*Then the Onondagoe Chief, Deogwanda, rose up, and addressing himself to the Governor, said,*

*Prother Onas,*

I mentioned to you, the other Day, my Desire that there should be a Store House kept at *John Harris's*, and that he might have the Care of the Store for the Warriors. I desired, at the same Time, that the Road might be opened for the Warriors, to pass through the back Settlements to the Southern *Indians*; you know we are, and always have been at War with them, and I shall now begin to strike them. You told me, in Answer, that you thought it best that that Road should be stopt up, lest any Differences should arise between your People and our Warriors; and desired, if any Warriors did go to War, they would take the old Road that led to the Southward, under the Mountains; and I now tell you, that as you desired that Road should be stopt, it shall be so, and I will take the old Road. We don't now desire a Store House should be kept at *John Harris's* for the Warriors, but that he may be supplied with Provisions, and other Necessaries, for our Chiefs and old Men, as they pass to and fro about the good Work of Peace. We know *John Harris*, and he is known among all the *Indian* Nations, and we desire he may be the Man appointed for the Care of this Matter.

*A String*


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*At a CONFERENCE at Mr. Slough's House, after the public Conferences.*  
August 27, 1762.

P R E S E N T,

*The Honourable* JAMES HAMILTON, Esquire, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, &c.

WILLIAM LOGAN, RICHARD PETERS, Esquires.

*KINDERUNNIE*, in Company with some other *Six Nation Indians*, having, agreeable to the Governor's Desire, brought *Peter Weese*, one of the Captives, mentioned to him in the old *Lutheran Church*; the Governor took *Peter* into a private Room from the *Indians*.

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*Indians*, to confer with him respecting his Inclination to stay among the *Indians*, lest he should be under any Fear of speaking his Mind freely in their Presence; when, after a free Conference, *Peter* desired he might not now be detained among the White People, but left to his Liberty to return with the *Indians*, and that on his Way he would call on his Brother, who lived near *Pittsburgh*, and speak with him, and return to the Governor in the Spring, and gave several Reasons for his staying with them this Winter. On which the Governor contented to his Request, and went with him to the *Indians*; and then acquainted the *Six Nation* Chiefs present, that as he had now consented that the Prisoner, *Peter Weese*, should stay among them, agreeable to his Inclination, and their Desire, he hoped they would be as honourable, on their Part, in delivering up the other Prisoner, who was a Defter from the Army, and now in their Camp; and that they would do every Thing in their Power, on their Return to their own Country, to collect every Prisoner among them, and deliver them up faithfully, agreeable to their Promises.

1762.

Kinderuntie answered,

That he was well pleased with what the Governor had done; that he would now deliver up the Defter to him, and that he should make it his particular Business, when he returned Home, to make a thorough Search every where in their Towns for all the Prisoners that are among them; that the Governor might rely upon these Endeavours, and that as soon as he had done this he would faithfully deliver them all up, and use his Interest with all others to do the same.

The Defter was brought soon after to the Governor, who assured him of his receiving him with Kindness, and he would grant him his Protection, if he would consent to come among the *English*. He answered, that as he confided in the Governor's Assurances, he was very willing to return among the *English* again, and if he would grant him a Pass, he would go down into *Maryland* to his Parents and Relations there.

Kinderuntie then said,

Brother,

As both you and we are in a great Hurry to have the Business of the Treaty finished, that we may all return Home, I shall not detain you; and shall only at this Time request you to grant to *Totiniontonab* a Rifle Gun, of your own Make, and a Saddle for my Friend, this young Man here.

A String.

The Governor said, he would consider of what they said, and return them an Answer Tomorrow Morning; and should be glad at that Time to see all the chief Men of the *Six Nations*, that he might deliver them the Presents, and take his Leave of them, as it is now growing late.

SATURDAY, the Twenty-eighth of August, 1762.

EARLY in the Morning *Deogwanda* and *Kinderuntie* waited on the Governor, at his Lodgings, and told him, that they had agreed in Council not to say any Thing further about Lands; but would take what the Governor had said to them on *Thursday*, respecting the Lands above the Hills, and at *Cysbietunck*, and also what he said the next Day, respecting the Lands claimed by the *Minisink* Indians, at *Wigbalousin*, to the *Onondago* Council, to be there considered.

On the same Day, in the Afternoon, the following *Indians* waited on the Governor, at his Lodgings, viz.

<i>Kinderuntie</i> , the <i>Seneca</i> Chief,	{	P R E S E N T,
<i>Totiniontonab</i> , a <i>Cayuga</i> ,		WILLIAM LOGAN,
<i>John Shakelamy</i> ,		RICHARD PETERS,
and two <i>Seneca</i> Warriors;		Esquires.

Who complain against *Nathaniel Holland*, at *Fort-Augusta*, as a Man who always treats the *Indians* who come there with ill Usage, and bad Language, inasmuch that they are very often so provoked as to do him Violence; and as the public Business is now over, they intreat the Governor to remove him, and put a more quiet Man in his Place. They further say, that as the Governor has acquainted them that the War has occasioned a Rise in the Price of Goods, they hope the Governor will give Orders that they may be paid a higher Price for their Skins and Furs in Proportion.

The

1762.

The Governor made Answer, that he would take this Matter into Consideration; and do in it whatever was thought reasonable; and further acquainted them, that the final Presents they had requested of him the Day before should be granted them.

*AUGUST the Twenty-ninth. Sunday Morning.*

THE Governor having ordered all the Goods intended as a Present to the *Six Nation Indians* to be taken to Mr. *Hambricht's* Malt-House, and appointed this Morning for those *Indians* to meet him there, to receive them; they accordingly came, when being seated, and the Goods divided into four different Parcels, in Proportion to the Numbers of the different Tribes, the Governor, in the Presence of *William Logan*, Esq; Member of the Council, *Joseph Fox*, *Samuel Rhoads*, Esquires, of the Assembly, and some Gentlemen from *Philadelphia*, acquainted them that, agreeable to what he told them on *Friday* last, he had now provided a handsome Present of Goods, and desired they would accept of them, as a Mark of the Affection and Regard of the good People of this Province for them; and having laid aside a Parcel of the same, to a considerable Value, by themselves, he told the *Indians*, that that particular Parcel was to be divided among such *Indians* as had been at any Expence or Trouble in bringing down the Captives.

The Governor then delivered the Goods, amounting to about *Eight Hundred Pounds*, and taking his Leave of the *Indians*, left them to divide them among themselves, as they should think proper.

*The E N D*

*APPENDICES*



## *Bibliographical Notes and Census*

INDIAN treaties—that is, the separately printed treaties—have had a peculiar charm for collectors. Thomas Penn, Benjamin Franklin, Anthony Benezet and others in the eighteenth century collected them, but for a specific use. The first bibliophile to show an interest in them was probably Du Simitière and he apparently gathered more of the Franklin treaties than any other collector—but then he had the advantage of being almost contemporaneous. He was followed by Zaccheus Collins and William M. Tilghman of Philadelphia, and most of the twenty-three copies of Franklin's thirteen Indian treaties in the Library Company of Philadelphia came from the collections of these three men. James Lenox was another notable collector of the treaties: all of the eight Franklin issues in the New York Public Library came from his collection. William S. Mason gathered the ten editions in the Mason-Franklin Collection at Yale University. George F. Brinley and Henry Stevens of the 19th century and Mr. Frank C. Deering of our own day likewise surrendered to the spell of this fascinating branch of Americana. Henry F. De Puy was a noted enthusiast in this field and he probably did more than anyone else to arouse collectors to share his love for the American Indian treaty.

In 1917 Mr. De Puy published through the Lenox Club *A Bibliography of the English Colonial Treaties with the American Indians*, which listed fifty of the separately printed titles. Their rarity, as Mr. De Puy pointed out, was shown by the fact that "only one public library in the country contains one-third of the number of titles recorded in this monograph, while thirteen titles are known by only a single copy. And of two no copy is known to exist in America." Mr. De Puy's modesty kept him from adding to this statement the fact that he possessed eighteen of the fifty titles in his bibliography. Half of those owned by Mr. De Puy at that time were Franklin treaties: the Henry E. Huntington Library acquired eight of these (nos. 4-7 and 9-12 in the present list) and the Library of Congress acquired three (nos. 4-5 and 13) from his collection. Mr. De Puy was not only an enthusiastic collector and a careful bibliographer, but he also sensed the historical importance of the treaties. His concentrated notes are scholarly and so useful to students that their brevity is sometimes painful.

The census of Franklin treaties here presented is undoubtedly far from complete, despite an effort to discover the holdings of all libraries devoted to Americana. But it shows that libraries have increased their possessions considerably since Mr. De Puy published his bibliography, due in large part to the fact that three of the chief private collections have since been placed in libraries—the De Puy, the Mason, and the Curtis Collections. The last-named collection, assembled by the late John Gribbel, is now in the University of Pennsylvania Library and is the most nearly complete—lacking only the Carlisle treaty of 1753. This collection has an especial interest because of the fact that it includes four treaties annotated by Franklin and presented by him to Lord Shelburne.

While the Library Company has more copies of the Franklin treaties than any other library, it does not have all, lacking those of 1736 and 1742. The Henry E. Huntington Library likewise has eleven of the thirteen; the American Philosophical Society and Yale University, Mason-Franklin Collection, have ten; and the New York Public Library, the John Carter Brown Library, the Library of Congress, the University of Pittsburgh, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania have eight. The 1736 treaty appears to be the rarest of all—only two copies having been located—while that of 1744 appears to be the least rare, since it has been located in sixteen libraries and private collections. The two treaties of 1757 and that of 1758 are likewise relatively common, twelve locations having been found for each of these editions.



Although four copies of the last-mentioned treaty have been found with the date 1759 on the title-page (American Philosophical Society, Yale University Mason-Franklin Collection, the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania State Library) Mr. De Puy concluded that this was merely a second printing and did not constitute a separate edition. This conclusion would at first seem to be confirmed by the following statement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for December 21, 1758: "There having been a greater Demand for the last Indian Treaty held at Easton than usual, the first impression [published November 17] is sold off; but the Second is in the Press, and will be published with all convenient speed, when those that are not already furnished, may be supplied at the New-Printing-Office, in Market-Street." But if printing from reset type, with a different date-imprint, and with many variations in phraseology, spelling, and punctuation constitutes the difference between an edition and an impression, then this 1758 treaty was in fact brought out by Franklin and Hall in two editions. The two editions do agree in pagination but they do not agree line for line. Strictly speaking, therefore, there are fourteen editions of the thirteen treaties.

Inasmuch as the thirteen treaties are given in exact facsimile in this volume, it has not been considered necessary to give collations or measurements. However, the following notes on the particular treaties do seek to locate the original manuscript minutes of the treaties, and to point out important variations between the manuscripts and the Franklin version. The manuscript reports of the treaties vary so much in phraseology and in other unimportant details that it would be a fruitless as well as a very confusing task to attempt to present all of the variations. The Franklin version was normally the official fair copy of the rough minutes, as worked over by Richard Peters, and his editions are more satisfactory than those printed (though likewise from the official fair copy) in the *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*. The notes on the separate treaties, particularly for that of 1758, will show something of the method of preparing the rough minutes for the press.

The facsimiles of the treaties in this volume were made partly from the copies in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (nos. 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13), partly from those in the American Philosophical Society (nos. 4, 5, and 6), and partly from those in the Library Company of Philadelphia (no. 2), together with several single pages from the copies in the Curtis Collection and the Library Company of Philadelphia.

### *Abbreviations*

APS	American Philosophical Society
ASWR	Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach
BM	British Museum
FCD	Frank C. Deering
HEH	Henry E. Huntington Library
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania
JCB	John Carter Brown Library
LC	Library of Congress
LCH	Lathrop C. Harper
LCP	Library Company of Philadelphia
N	Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library
NYHS	New York Historical Society
NYPL	Lenox Collection, New York Public Library
PaSL	Pennsylvania State Library
UPa	Curtis Collection, University of Pennsylvania Library
UPitt	Darlington Collection, University of Pittsburgh Library
WLC	William L. Clements Library
YLM-F	Mason-Franklin Collection, Yale University Library

*A Treaty of Friendship held with the Chiefs of the Six Nations, at Philadelphia, in September and October, 1736.* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin, at the New Printing-Office near the Market. MDCCXXXVII.) *De Puy No.* 16.

*Copies located:* UPa, HSP.

This treaty is printed in *Pa. C. R.*, IV, 79ff. The original rough draft of the minutes, partly in the handwriting of James Logan and partly in that of Robert Charles, is in *Pa. State Lib.*, Prov. Papers, VI, 61, 62, 72, VII, 18. There are minor variations in phraseology and in the spelling of Indian names. The following paragraph, following line 18, page 8 of the treaty as printed by Franklin, was crossed out in the MS. and not printed in *Pa. C. R.*: "Here the Indians made a Complaint of some late unkind Treatment from New York in neglecting them, but the Interpreter having delivered it privately to the Proprietor & President he was desired to tell the Indians that such a Complaint was not so proper to be heard by so great a Concourse of People of all Ranks [and that] the Indians should be heard on this subject at a private Conference."

Prov. Papers, VI, 63, also contains the rough draft of the deed of Oct. 11, 1736. But the most important omission in the printing of the treaty is that for the private conference with the proprietor on October 5, 1736: "On the 5th the Proprietor desiring to speak with the Chiefs at his own house they met, then were spoke to this Effect.

Friends & Brethren

You have now confirmed all past Treaties and Strengthened them by a new one. Our fire is lighted up for you here, and yours for us, and the Road between your People and our People is fully cleared. Our hearts are opened and all darkness is done away. But when our other public affairs will allow us time we shall meet you once more in public before you leave us, and more fully bind you to this Effect.

We have heard that your Natives have had some claim to the Lands on Sasquehannah River. The Proprietor Tho: Penn desires to speak to you freely on that head and that you would speak freely to him, that there may be no misunderstanding whatever, for if any should appear, now when you have made this great visit to us, and so solemnly confirmed all past Treaties, is the time, to enquire into and clear it up fully. In order to which it is fit you shd. first know what he has heard and learned of that matter from old Papers Writings and transactions that passed before he was born, for he knows nothing further than what he has learn'd from these which are things that remain unalterable & can speak nothing but what was first committed to them in characters that cannot change. With these he will acquaint you & when you have heard & considered the whole you will with open hearts & without reserve give us your answer.

The Proprietor then produced divers authentic minutes of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Albany in 1683 whereby it appeared that the Indians of those Nations had

about that time granted all their Lands on Sasquehannah to the Governor of New York who then was Coll Tho: Dungan, afterwards Earl of Limerick and by one of the Said Minutes it appeared that the said Indians on the day of

1683 confirmed the said Grant to the said Governor by an Instrument under their hands & Seals & receivd some consideration for it.

The Proprietor further produced from the said Governor Coll Dungan conveying for a valuable consideration paid him in London all the said Lands on Sasquehannah as granted to him by the Indians as aforesaid. He also shew'd them that when his father the late Proprietor came the last time into this Country from England about 36 years since, he found there was a considerable Number of the Sasquehannah Indians or their descendants whom the five nations had conquered & carried away return'd again to Conestoga the place of their former habitations, whereupon he Sent for their Chiefs to Philadelphia and in a Treaty held with them there had informed them of his Purchase of and Title to those Lands in which they acquiesced and by a deed duly executed further confirmed the same and thus the Proprietor told them that his father the great friend of all the Indians who made it his constant Rule never to take one foot of Land of the Indians without first duly purchasing it had always believed as his children and all our people had constantly done that the lands truly belonged to him and them alone and that no other person or nation had any right to them. This the Proprietor said he found by old writings to be the case and he desired them to consider it and give their answer, presenting them at the same time with a very large Belt of Wampum of 21 Rows deep made on purpose with his & their country's Arms in the middle of it. The Indians said they would meet in the morning & consult amongst themselves & give the Answer.

The next day the 6th of October The Chiefs & others of the Indians met the Proprietor to the number of about 24 met the Proprietor & gave their answer to what has been proposed to them last Night to this purpose." Unfortunately the proceedings of October 6 do not seem to be preserved. (Prov. Papers, VI, 72).

The following variation in the MS. of the first paragraph on page 4 of the treaty is worthy of note: Present, in addition to those listed on page 3, "Isr. Pemberton, Jas. Steel, Conrad Wyser, Interpreter. The Interpreter advised to begin the discourse with them in their own way which is with three strings of wampam in the hand and to speak to each of them in the following manner. It was done accordingly." (Prov. Papers, VII, 18).

Franklin announced in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for Sept. 15-22, 1737, that he had published this treaty at 8d.

*The Treaty held with the Indians of the Six Nations, at Philadelphia, in July, 1742.* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin, at the New-Printing-Office, near the Market. MDCCXLIII.) *De Puy No.* 17.

*Copies located:* FCD, NYPL, YLM-F, LC, APS, HEH, UPa, HSP, BM.

No manuscript of this treaty has been found. On March 10, 1742/43, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* carried the following notice: "Just Published. The Treaty Held with the Indians of the Six Nations, at Philadelphia, in July, 1742. Sold by the printer herof. Price, 1/6." There was a London edition of this treaty containing an excellent preface (De Puy,

19). Mr. De Puy gives the date 1747 to this edition and queries it. He bascd this date on the logical inference that, since the preface of the London edition mentioned Colden's *History of the Five Nations* (London, 1747) as being ready for the press, the treaty appeared shortly before the latter. However, the following two documents definitely establish

the date as being early in 1744 and also identify Dr. John Fothergill as the author of the preface: John Hunt, in a letter to Israel Pemberton, dated 12 mo. 6th, 1743 (Feb. 6, 1743/44), says: "Dr. Fothergill has wrote a preface to the Indian Treaty lately Publish'd at Philadelphia and has given it with a copy of the Treaty to a printer. Tis now in the press and will come out in a few days. Believe 'twill be very Pleasing and beget favourable sentiments respecting you in the minds of the People" (Pemberton Papers, III, 107.) A few weeks later Dr. Fothergill himself wrote to Israel Pemberton as follows: "I have sent thee herewith the Philadelphia treaty of 1742 reprinted here, with some few additional hints of who and what the Indians are. I shall be glad of every thing relating to them that falls in they way, and I a little wonder that nobody has given us any account of them since W[illiam] Penn[—]perhaps C. Weiser may be the properest person if he had leisure to undertake it; your records of Indian affairs would afford a great many lights"; *ibid.*, XXXIV, 6, dated at London, 1st mo. 19, 1743/44 (March 19, 1743/44).

In his preface to the London edition of this treaty, Dr. Fothergill expressed the thought that "its Contents deserved to be more generally known, than probably would have been from the few copies which might be sent over." The preface also includes an account of the Six Nations and their allies and dependents; this information, he says, was "Communicated by a Gentleman of good Understanding and Probity; one who is very well skill'd in the Indian Affairs, adopted into one of their Tribes, is of their Council, and their constant Interpreter at the Philadelphia Treaties, to a Friend of his, who sent it to his Correspondent here." This obviously refers to Conrad Weiser, who probably gave the account to James Logan.

The following comment reveals Dr. Fothergill's apprecia-

tion of the importance of the Six Nations: "One sees, in the following short sketch of the Behaviour of the Indians, strong Traces of good sense, a nice Address in the Conduct of their Affairs, a noble Simplicity, and that manly Fortitude which is the constant Companion of Integrity. The Friendship of a Nation like this, tho' under the Appellation of Savages or Barbarians, is an Honour to the most civiliz'd People: I say nothing of the Advantage which is derived from them by Commerce: And the French well know, by dear Experience, how terrible they are to their Enemies in War." (p. xi.)

The copy of this London edition in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania was Thomas Penn's own copy, and the proprietor must have read with satisfaction the statement that "the present worthy Governor and Council [of Pennsylvania] seem so sensible of the Necessity of cultivating a good Understanding with the Six Nations, as to be likely to omit no Opportunity of brightening the Chain, or increasing the Fire of Friendship with them" (*ibid.*, x). This necessity is subtly indicated in a leaf in the back of this volume in the proprietor's own hand, wherein he tabulates the number of warriors among the allies of the Six Nations, and concludes that the number totals thirteen thousand men.

The following letter from Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, dated Feb. 4, 1743/44, probably refers to the treaty of 1742: "The account you give me of Indian Affairs affords me much pleasure, but I wonder you should not have sent mee half a dozen of the Treatys to give away to my Friends. Don't fail to send mee four by the first ship and never omit sending mee half a dozen as soon as printed, if you have another Treaty; every Trader to the place has some, and I who wanted to give them to some Persons of Distinction not one." (Penn Letter Book, II, 70.)

### III

*A Treaty Held at the Town of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, By the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and the Honourable the Commissioners for the Provinces of Virginia and Maryland, with the Indians of the Six Nations in June, 1744.* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin, at the New-Printing-Office, near the Market. MDCCXLIV.) De Puy No. 22.

*Copies located:* N, FCD, NYPL, YLM-F, LCH, JCB, WLC, LC, APS, LCP (three copies), HEH, NYHS, UPa, BM, UPitt, HSP. The copy in the Mason-Franklin Collection was once owned by Anthony Benezet; that in the Library of Congress, by John Pemberton.

There are several incomplete manuscript copies of this treaty in Provincial Council Records, H.S.P., in the hand of Richard Peters, Conrad Weiser, James [?] Pemberton, and various clerks. Most of the unpublished portions of these rough drafts and copies consist of such as the following: "Canassatego, Tachanootia, Shickallamy & several others said they hoped something would be given them to Drink for they were very Dry. The Commissioners ordered a sufficient Quantity of Wine & Water to be Mixed and Drank health to the Great King & there Brethren the Six Nations." (This at the end of the third paragraph on page 30 of the treaty.) The following deleted portion of the MS. after the word "value" on page 27 of the treaty is also worthy of note: "Telling us that the Delaware Indians were under our Direction and it behooved us to take care that they should Act a right part. We agree with you that our Cousins the Delawares are in our power."

Thomas Penn criticized Franklin's format for this treaty: "Your box by Captain Evans came to hand with your book of

laws, copies of Indian treaties, and sundry other papers. I have great pleasure to find, notwithstanding the very improper behavior of the commissioners from Virginia and Maryland, Mr. Thomas brought it to so happy a conclusion. At this time it is particularly fortunate and useful and I intend to give some of the copies, but Franklin judged very ill to print them in a folio, which makes them look larger than they are. I think you have been too particular in returning their compliment at the end of every sentence and putting it down in the treaty. I look upon it not right to return compliments in their manner." (To Richard Peters, March 1, 1744/45, Penn Letter Book, II, 108-109.)

De Puy says that 200 copies of this treaty were sent by Franklin to William Strahan, a statement accepted by Wroth (*American Bookshelf*, 114). But in G. S. Eddy, *Account Books Kept by Benjamin Franklin*, II (1929), 118, the entry is: "Sept. 11, 1744, for 300 Indian Treaties (omitted) sent per Capt. Hougstun."

### IV

*An Account of the Treaty Held at the City of Albany, in the Province of New-York, By His Excellency the Governor of that Province, And the Honourable the Commissioners for the Provinces of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, with the Indians of the*

*Six Nations, in October, 1745.* (Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin at the New-Printing-Office, near the Market, MDCCXLVI.) *De Puy* No. 24.

*Copies located:* FCD, NYPL, YLM-F, JCB, LC (De Puy), APS, LCP (two copies), HEH (Benezet), UPa.

No manuscript copy of this treaty has been located.

V

*A Treaty between the President and Council of the Province of Pennsylvania, and the Indians of Ohio, Held at Philadelphia, Nov. 13. 1747.* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin, at the New-Printing-Office, near the Market. MDCCXLVII.) *De Puy* No. 26.

*Copies located:* NYPL, YLM-F, JCB, LC (De Puy), APS, LCP (two copies), HEH (Benezet-De Puy), UPa, BM.

No manuscript copy of this treaty has been located.

VI

*A Treaty Held by Commissioners, Members of the Council of the Province of Pennsylvania, At the Town of Lancaster, with some Chiefs of the Six Nations at Ohio, and Others, for the Admission of the Twightwee Nation into the Alliance of his Majesty, &c. in the Month of July, 1748.* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin, at the New-Printing-Office, near the Market. MDCCXLVIII.) *De Puy* No. 27.

*Copies located:* N, FCD, NYPL, YLM-F, APS, LCP, HEH (Benezet-De Puy), UPa, BM.

No manuscript copy of this treaty has been located. Franklin announced in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for Dec. 9, 1746, that he had "lately published, The Votes of the last Sessions of the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania. To which is

added, The Treaty held with the Indians at Albany, in October, 1745. Price 3s. 6d. N. B. Those who incline to take the Treaty without the Votes, may have it separate."

VII

*A Treaty Held with the Ohio Indians, at Carlisle, In October, 1753.* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin, and D. Hall, at the New-Printing Office, near the Market. MDCCCLIII.) *De Puy* No. 31.

*Copies located:* N, YLM-F, LCP, HEH (Benezet-De Puy), BM, UPitt, HSP, APS.

Printed in *Pa. C. R.*, V, 665-86 (which includes, p. 684-86, the letter of Callendar and Taffe and the names of the Indians not printed in the treaty); MS. copy in Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, I, 89-106. This copy, which was sent to Thomas Penn and was certified by Richard Peters as a true copy, includes also the proceedings of the Provincial Council

Sept. 21-22, 1753 (*Pa. C. R.*, V, 657-59) and also Nov. 15-20, 1753 (*ibid.*, V, 689-96). Attached to this document is a two-page MS. in the hand of Thomas Penn containing a proposal for building forts on the Ohio—a document apparently intended for someone in the government.

VIII

*Minutes of Conferences, Held with the Indians, at Easton, In the Months of July and November, 1756; Together with Two Messages Sent by the Government to the Indians residing on Sasquehannah; and the Report of the Committee appointed by the Assembly to attend the Governor at the last of the said Conferences.* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin, and D. Hall, at the New-Printing-Office, near the Market. MDCCCLVII.) *De Puy* No. 39.

*Copies located:* YLM-F (has marginalia), JCB, APS, LCP (has marginalia), UPa (Franklin-Shelburne), UPitt, HSP.

The treaty reproduced in this volume bears the underscoring—and abundant commas—of Ferdinand J. Paris, counsellor for the proprietors. The Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, has a manuscript copy of the minutes of these conferences, which agrees in substance with the version as printed in *Pa. C. R.*, VII, 107ff. The Provincial Council

Records, H.S.P., contain various documents preliminary to these conferences: the report of Newcastle, May 31, 1756 (rough draft in the hand of Richard Peters); a manuscript of 17 pages detailing the preliminary conferences at Reading and Harris' Ferry in January, 1756, (*Pa. C. R.*, VI, 779-84, VII, 137-39); the minutes of a council with the Six Nations held

at Philadelphia June 8, 1756 (*ibid.*, VII, 144-45); the conferences of March 27, 1756 (*ibid.*, VII, 64ff.); the conferences of May 31-June 1, 1756 (rough draft in the hand of Richard Peters). Most of these manuscript records of conferences contain data respecting the causes of the Delaware hostilities which are not printed in *Pa. C. R.* There is also in this same source a MS. copy of the treaties of July and November, 1756, apparently in the hand of John Pemberton, which agrees except in details with that printed in *Pa. C. R.*, VII, 107ff.

The Darlington Memorial Library, University of Pittsburgh, has a MS. of the conferences between the Quakers and the Indians, April, 1756 (printed in *An Account of the Conferences held, and the Treaties made, between Major General Sir William Johnson and the Chief Sachems and Warriors of the Mohawks*, G. London, 1756, 63-77).

The following extract of a letter from John Pemberton to Samuel Fothergill shows the attitude of the Friends toward the conferences of 1756: "I herewith send thee copies of the two last Indian Treaties by which thou wilt observe thro' the blessing of Providence on the Endeavours which have recd [?] Matters with them afford no unpromising appearance to which Friends have been Instrumental greatly to Contribute & at a Considerable expense both of time & Money; when the first Account of the Indians coming in in consequence of the severall messages Sent them per Cap. Newcastle (a faithful Indian Chief Since dead in this City and buried at his own request in Friends buryall ground) Some of which passed before thy departure which was about the 20th of 7 mo. last, most of the Friends in this City Collected at the Meeting House & in a representation of what had passed in the former small Conference and that it appeared likely we might be of Considerable Service by Shewing our readiness to Contribute our Endeavours to restore peace to the Province & that we had reason to think the Indians reposed some Confidence in Friends. He [Governor Morris] was so generally agreeable that a Subscription was Immediately made & near two thousand pounds subscribed before parting and a Committee appointed to receive the same and to attend the Treaty at Easton, which they & many others accordingly did, & the Indians gave severall particular tokens of their satisfaction in seeing Friends there. The Old King on first meeting John Evans & two or three other Friends said Now Here's Quakers Now I believe all I have heard to be true; Tho there were difficulties in the way & it required prudence to Conduct the affairs so as to avoid interfering with the Government & Governor Morris who at the treaty had the management forbid Friends having any Intercourse with the Indians, yet they remarkably subsid & matters fell out in such a manner at length that the Governor & those with him were obliged to make use of the present Friends carried with them, gave it in our name & some of his Councill included Friends being there was of considerable use.

In pursuance of what the Indians then engaged, they came down, & Governor Denny hath held another treaty with them

in the 11 mo. last, which Ended to good satisfaction. Friends waited upon him with an address before his Leaving the City offering their service as before, to which he consented & a great number attended also our English Friends J. Hunt C. Wilson & Ja Tasker it happening a few days after his arrival, as the Indians have now explained themselves more fully than heretofore, we have reason to hope for an accommodation of the differences, tho' there are some of our Leading men in the Government appear very averse to it & would rather choose a Continuance of a Warr with them to answer their own ambitious views. Representing the Indians as persons in whom no Confidence can be placed &c but we are satisfied they have Grievances which ought to be redressed & they have given proofs that they may be trusted, No mischief being Committed by them or any others on our Northern Frontiers between the time of the first Conference at Easton & the Last—and it appeared they had no Communication with the Ohio Indians. Our Warriors went on an Expedition this Summer against the latter, which by them is boasted of as an extraordinary exploit, yet on an Impartial examination thereof believe it would not appear so much so—but this I Leave and may just remark that our News Writers here are fond of publishing every account they receive of Mischief done the Frontiers which have been frequent this summer tho less so than last winter, and without a proper distinction by which means People on your side may probably conclude it strange that they should continue their murders at the same time that they are treating with us, but it is well to Observe it is the Western part of the Province hath been groaning [under] this distress and that they do not appear to have any Communication with these when we are treating with the Government. Generall Loudon and Johnson have so just an opinion of the best method of reducing the Indians to an Alliance with us that they have given a Commission of a person for sending out messages to the Ohio Indians to endeavour to obtain a Conference with them and that person hath been in this City sometime to forward the business (and he hath Consented to have the assistance of the Trustees of the Friendly Association, for restoring peace with the Indians by pacifick measures which is the terms the Contributors to that Fund have fix'd upon) and they sett out on that errand yesterday—of the success whereof I Hope in future if it meets the blessing of Providence to give thee a good Account" (Pemberton Papers, XXXIV, 43-45).

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* for March 17, 1757, contains the following corrections for the 1756 treaty: "In transcribing the Copy of the Minutes of Conferences held with the Indians at Easton, two Mistakes were made, which occasioned two Errors in the Printing; and as some of them were delivered out before these Mistakes were observed, those who have got them, are desired to correct as follows, viz. In page 5, Line 14, instead of *by our Prudence, and that of our Uncles*, read, *by your Prudence, and that of our Uncles*. And in Page 25, Line 34, instead of *the Governor did send him read, the Governor did not send him.*"

## IX

*Minutes of Conferences, Held with the Indians, at Harris's Ferry, and at Lancaster, in March, April, and May, 1757.* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin, and D. Hall, at the New-Printing-Office, near the Market. MDCCLVII.) *De Puy No. 40.*

*Copies located:* N, NYPL, PaSL, YLM-F, JCB, LC (Brinley), APS, LCP (three copies), HEH (De Puy), UPa (Franklin-Shelburne), UPitt, HSP.

Sir William Johnson's authorization to George Croghan to hold a meeting with the Shawnee and Delawares to "engage them if possible to join His Majesty's Arms," dated Feb. 16, 1757, is in Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, III, 1. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* for Aug. 18, 1757 carried the following announcement: "Just published and to be sold at the New-Printing-Office, in Market-Street (Price One Shilling) Min-

utes of Conferences, held with the Indians at Harris's Ferry and Lancaster in March, April and May, 1757."

The official manuscript version of the treaty is in Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, III, 5-9, and bears this endorsement: "Examined the above contained in Thirty Eight Pages with the Original Minutes taken by Mr. William Trent & find them to be a true copy. Richard Peters, Secretary."



was the only one authorized to take notes at this treaty; see p. 10 of the treaty). This manuscript official version was sent to Thomas Penn (not including Weiser's journal of his journey to Shamokin in 1743; see p. 20-22) and on page 16 of the printed version, opposite line 7 from the top of the page, Penn

inserted this comment: "the people of Pensilva have not settled the Land at Wyoming by any Authority. It must have been the people of Connecticut. The Land of Juniatta is purchased of the Six Nations."

X

*Minutes of Conferences, Held with the Indians, at Easton, In the Months of July, and August, 1757.* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin, and D. Hall, at the New-Printing-Office, near the Market. MDCCCLVII.) *De Puy No. 42.*

(Copies located: N, NYPL, YLM-F (two copies), JCB, LC (Brinley), APS, LCP (four copies), HEH (De Puy), ASWR, UPa (Franklin-Shelburne), UPitt, HSP.

The various underscorings and punctuation marks in the copy of the treaty reproduced in this volume are those of Ferdinand J. Paris.

The Curtis copy has marginalia by Franklin, most of which are merely subject headings. Croghan's journal of his proceedings May 24-July 21, 1757 is in Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, III, 12; the treaty itself, together with private meetings of the provincial council, is to be found in *Pa. C. R.*, VII, 648-714; see also *N. E. C. D.*, VII, 287-322. Several versions of the minutes were drawn up and compared and then an official version (as printed in *Pa. C. R.*) agreed upon. On this matter Isaac Norris, speaker of the assembly, wrote to Franklin: "the Treaty laid before the House is in the Hand of Geo. Croghan . . . but what share he had in these minutes, beside what they were compelled to make and collate at the publick conference you who are acquainted with our Indian Minute Makers need not be informed." Franklin MSS., I, 50, cited by Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 134.

The account of the proceedings of the provincial council at the treaty is in Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, III, 19-22, certified by Richard Peters (see *Pa. C. R.*, VII, 649-65, 671-72, 679-83, 687-89, 692-97). There are four other manuscript copies of the proceedings which vary more or less and which had differing origins (all in H.S.P. and three in Provincial Council Records): one appears to be in the handwriting of John Pemberton (H.S.P. AM.545) and is a fair copy; two are in the handwriting of young Jacob Duché; the fourth appears to be the provincial commissioners' draft. The variations in these copies reflect the different points of view of the contending forces. On page 18, just after the listing of the deeds and releases, the commissioners' minutes reads as follows: "All these duly proved and recorded in the Rolls Office of this Province, except the first, which is only a Copy Written on paper neither proved nor Recorded, with the Blanks in it that appear in the copy hereto subjoined" (referring to the Indian purchase of Aug. 16, 1686, the basis for the Walking Purchase of 1737). The Franklin version reads as follows: "The above Deeds were shewn, in open Council, and Copies of them delivered to Teedyuscung, which his Secretary [Charles Thomson] acknowledged he had compared with the Originals, and that they were true Copies."

The commissioners' manuscript also has this significant paragraph which is omitted from the printed version (p. 18, just after the paragraph beginning "The Conferences held in Council," etc.): "When the foregoing Private Conferences

were read in publick which was on the 4th of August the King ordered the following paragraph to be inserted, which was read at the Table and approved of by the Governor: 'When the King found that his request of being allowed a Secretary was denied him, he was very much displeased and went to the Provincial Commissioners, and told them that he had asked the Governor to be allowed the Privilege of a Clerk to take down the Minutes for him, but the Governor had refused it. For which reason he would not enter upon Business but would go away with his men; the Commissioners advised him rather to go back and ask again and they would go with him and speak for him. And accordingly they drew up a Remonstrance . . . & Enforced his demand with a Belt of Wampum. The Governor said the Form had been agreed on but as the Indians so earnestly insisted, he would no longer oppose it.'"

On September 5, 1757, Tedyuscung appeared before the governor in Philadelphia and in "a very sower manner asked why the Treaty was not printed" (*Pa. C. R.*, VII, 730; MS. rough notes, in Peters' hand, in Provincial Council Records, H.S.P.). "He was told that Decency required it should not be published before it had been delivered to Sir William Johnson, and that it was Sir William's Business to direct the publication thereof; and that Mr. Croghan had desired this in a Letter the Governor had received from him." According to the account of the meeting in *Pa. C. R.*, "Tedyuscung was not satisfied." But Peters' manuscript notes place Tedyuscung more in character: "he fell into a violent passion." The Delaware King "said Croghan was a Rogue, and that he would have nothing to do with him or Johnson, and insisted on the Deed of 1718 and on the Treatys being published immediately." The original notes also contain a highly interesting threat made by Tedyuscung: "That the Governor told him . . . at Easton he would look into his Tedyuscung's complaints and redress them and from him only he expected redress. If he had it not, he would return with the treaty and go to England to King George. This he mentioned again at parting." The world, however, was denied the spectacle of Tedyuscung at the Court of St. James.

On Sept. 6, the day following this outburst, Governor Denny and Tedyuscung—the two best troublemakers in the province—dined together, and Tedyuscung, for once trying to be polite, committed the error of inquiring after Mrs. Denny's health. Denny promised that the treaty would be published "with all convenient Speed" (*Pa. C. R.*, VII, 731).

XI

*Minutes of Conferences, Held at Easton, In October, 1758, With the Chief Sachems and Warriors of the Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Tuteloes, Skaniadaradigronos, consisting of the Nanticokes and Conoys, who now make one Nation; Chugnuts, Delawares, Unamies, Mahickanders, or Mohickons; Minisinks, and Wapingers, or Pumpions.* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin, and D. Hall, at the New-Printing-Office, near the Market. MDCCCLVIII.) *De Puy No. 44.*



*Copies located:* N, NYPL, PaSL, YLM-F, LC (Brinley), APS, LCP, HEH (De Puy), UPa (Franklin-Shelburne), UPitt, HSP.

The second edition, bearing the date 1759 on the title-page, is in APS, YLM-F, PaSL, and LCP. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 16, 1758: "Tomorrow will be published, and sold at the New-Printing-Office (Price One Shilling and Six-pence) Minutes of Conferences, held at Easton, in October, 1758 . . ." Richard Peters' diary for 1758 gives some information about the process of correcting and printing the minutes of an Indian treaty. On Saturday, Oct. 28, Peters arrived home from Easton. On the 29th he visited Benjamin Chew and read the latter's private journal [*q.v.*]. Monday the 30th he corrected the minutes and consulted with Denny about them. On the 31st, after an evening at the coffee house, Chew and others returned home with Peters and helped correct the minutes. For

the next week Peters spent as much of his time revising and comparing the minutes as his secretarial duties would permit. On Nov. 6 he made this entry in the diary: "Delivered the treaty to Mr. Levers [his clerk] to be printed and ordered him to overlook the press." Four days later he wrote Weiser: "The Minutes are almost printed. I will send you a copy next week" (Peters Manuscripts, V, 59). On Nov. 14, he again wrote: "Four sheets of the treaty are printed and this week the whole will be finished. I will send it you. Before such a publication all persons present should get together and compare Notes, but this being impossible and wanting many Copies, I am drove to the necessity of publishing" (*ibid.*, V, 60).

## XII

*Minutes of Conferences, Held at Easton, In August, 1761. With the Chief Sachems and Warriors of the Onondagoes, Oneidas, Mohickons, Tuteloës, Cayugas, Nanticokes, Delawares, Conoys.* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin, and D. Hall, at the New-Printing-Office, near the Market. MDCCLXI.) *De Puy* No. 46.

*Copies located:* PaSL, JCB, LCP (two copies), HEH (De Puy), UPa, HSP.

The Library Company of Philadelphia has two copies of this edition, one of which has "Sachems" on the title-page and the other has "Sachems."

## XIII

*Minutes of Conferences Held at Lancaster, In August, 1762. With the Sachems and Warriors of Several Tribes of Northern and Western Indians.* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin, and D. Hall, at the New-Printing-Office, near the Market. MDCCLXIII.) *De Puy* No. 47.

*Copies located:* YLM-F, LC (De Puy), APS, LCP (three copies), HEH, UPa, UPitt, HSP.

A rough manuscript draft of this treaty is in Provincial Council Records, H.S.P., *Pa. C. R.*, VIII, 721-24.

## *Journal of Conrad Weiser at the Albany Treaty of 1745*

In the Night before the 4th of October we came to Albany and went ashore, &c. Next Morning the Commissioners were Invited to Mr. Philip Levingstone Junr to lodge. I with the rest went to a publick House. We were all Invited this Day to dine with Mr. Levingstone. I stay'd alone at my Lodging & did the same by all other Invitations. This Day the most of the Indians arriv'd in Albany & the Commissioners from Boston.

The 5th: I was sent for by Governor Clinton's Secretary who informed me that the Indians seem'd to deny what they had told me last Summer in the Mohocks Country concerning the People of Albany, & that the Albany People were not pleased with my Coming. I answer'd that the first I did not believe but the second I did. The Secretary said His Excellency wanted me for an Interpreter at the ensuing Treaty in order to Examine the Indians about the late Alarm — their Interpreter was accused of being the Author of it — I promised to serve in what I could and parted friendly. I saw Canassatego and the rest of my old Friends today.

The 6th: being the first of the Week the Indians paid us several Visits and enquired how their Brethren the Governor and James Logan were.

The 7th. The Governor of New York sent for me by Mr. Hollands. Coming to his Lodging I found at his Door the Mohock Indian Canatagayon with whom I was desir'd to walk up into the Governor's Room where I found Messrs Horsmandon, Murray & Colo Stature examining Andrew Van Petton the low Dutchman who had been accused of being the Author of the Indian Alarm last Winter and the aforesaid Indian being the Person who had alarmed the Indians, said he had his Story from said Andrew who had sent him.

The Indian being asked by Mr. Horsmandon (1) Where he had been last Winter (2) Whether he heard anything of the late Alarm from Andrew Patton (3) and whether Andrew was the first Man he had it from. The Indian answered distinctly, (1) I have been the most part of the Winter at the House of Andrew Van Petton (2) he never told me any thing of the false Alarm — he cant talk one word of Indian (3) As to whom I had it first from, the Council of the Mohocks knows this as well as I do. Enquire of them for I will not make you any further Answer nor name any body. Then he turned to me and said, this is stealing Words out of my Mouth, and not right. Let the Examination be publick — appeared to be out of Patience. I call'd Mr. Horsmandon and advised him discharge the Indian for otherwise the rest wou'd be Offended, which was done accord. The same Evening some of the Chiefs of the Mohawks came to me and signified their Disatisfaction in the Proceedings with that Indian and said that doing so was no better than stealing, they asked me what passed and I informed them of every Particular. After this Colo Stature sent for Henry Thyunagayon a Mohock Chief and had a long Conference with him about Albany People their Land Affair. I was not present but Abraham the Indian inform'd me of it next Morning.

The 8th. In the Morning I took a Walk out of the City upon the Hill where a good many of the Indians encamped. They in general Complain'd that the Governor did not Treat them well, that he had begun to Treat with single

Persons about several Things, if he cou'd do with one or two what need had he to send for us all (sayd they) here we lye out of Doors in this Cold Weather, not half Victuals enough, and have now been here so many Days and never saw nor heard of the Governor. I told the Governor's Secretary all this. In the Evening the Governor sent for the Chiefs of the Mohocks, & Canassatego & Caheshcarrowany and spoke to them in his Lodging — present, The Governor, and two of his Council, Colo Stature, the Interpreter, Captain Callagh, Aaron Stephens and myself. The Governor begun with the late Alarm and desir'd to know the Author and told them of the danger of such wicked People and tho' he wou'd promise not to hurt their persons yet they ought at least to be made ashamed and to be published as Lyes — He infore'd this request with a Belt of Wampum. He then desir'd them to lay all their Grievances before him and he wou'd see Justice done them in every Thing &c. Captain Callagh took the Belt in his hand to go and interpret what the Governor had said, but he was immediately stop't by the aforesaid Henry who opposed strongly what the Governor had said about discovering the Author of the Alarm, and spoke above a quarter of an hour very bold and rude. I desir'd he might be interrupted and laid hold of, but Capt'n Callagh who had the Governor's Belt in his Hand was confused & pusillanimous at the Indians bold and rude Speech. I took the Belt out of his Hands (well assured that the Majority of the Indian Council were not pleas'd with Henry's Behaviour) and desir'd Henry to forbear and hold his Tongue, and I told the Indians that this was ill manners & not using their Brother the Governor of New York well, to break in before he had finished his Speech. I am ashamed (sayd I) for your sakes and no doubt some of you are so too. We ought to use one another well & not behave as Drunkards. I desire you will hear the Governor first and go to your Lodgings and agree upon an Answer unanimously according to your old and good ways &c. The Indians gave loud Shouts of Approbation while I spoke and Henry was ashamed and rebuked by Canassatego & the rest of the Council. Then I proceeded to Interpret what the Governor had said & pressed it upon them with the strongest words to discover who was the author of the late Alarm.

The 9th: The Indian Council met the Governor again in the Evening and gave their Answer to what the Governor had said yesterday. Present with the Governor two of his Council, Messrs Horsmandon, Murray, Colo Stature. Henry being Speaker said that Andrew Van Petton was the Person who sent word to the Mohocks Country to Alarm the Indians with the news that the White People were coming to cut off the Indians and told a very fine and long Story about it and called to Canatagayon and Aaron two of the Mohocks (the latter a Chief) and order'd them to stand up and tell the Story over, as they were the Persons who had it out of Andrew's Mouth. They told the Story. After all the Governor asked them whether Andrew should be sent for (who was brought to Town some Days before) but Henry and Aaron were very much against sending for Andrew, however it was not at last thought proper, for Brand whisper'd to me before, that it was manifest to the Indian Council that the said Henry & Aaron, whoever

else, were the Authors of the Alarm, and that it was altogether their own Invention, and so the Governor at my Desire did not insist upon it any further. The old low dutch man Andrew Von Petton who cou'd not talk any thing of the Mohocks, was then thought to be Innocent. After this the Indians of the Mohocks Country laid before the Governor their Complaints about their Land and gave a great many Instances how they had been cheated, but some I knew were groundless and in some they had reason to complain against many of the People in Albany. The Governor promised them to adjust the Matter on a certain day during the time of his stay in Albany, when he would examine every thing and remove all their Grievances, and then dismissed them the Meeting having lasted about five hours. I let the Governor of New York know in the Morning before he met the Indians that I was come to attend the Commissioners of Pennsylvania and if my services were required application ought first to be made to them to give me leave. The Governor answer'd, Sir, did not I send you yesterday to ask their leave? I replied No, that last night was the first time that ever I saw his Excellency's face. Then he turn'd to his Secretary and asked him the same question who answered No. The Governor gave him a Curse & went his way. Mr. Murray went to the Commissioners immediately for leave, which was granted.

The 10th. The Governor of New York spoke to the Indians in Publick the first time Present the Commissioners of Indians Affairs his Council the Commissioners of New England — ours were absent.

When the Governor proclaimed War in the Name of God against the French and their Indians and desir'd that the five Nations and their Allies might assist the English, he gave a Belt of Wampum wrought in the Figure of a Hatchet which was thrown down by the Interpreter at the Indians Feet. The Indians receiv'd it with aloud Shout and the younger Indians offer'd to dance the Warr Dance immediately and receive the Hatchet and make use of it, but the older restrain'd them and obliged them to hold their Peace. The Governor made large Promises to the Indians of assisting them with Ammunition Cloaths & Provision, and in short the Interpreter added all whatever they wanted. The Belt was received with the usual Joia of all the Indians.

The 11th. Early in the Morning I went upon the Hill & met Capt'n Onuharyshun & his Brethern. I asked how they liked to go to War against the French and their Indians. They said it was a thing they did not like just now — that it would require some time to consider to prepare and strengthen their Allies with other Nations — that the English were yet Masters and lay atop of the French & had not yet need of Assistance. The Interpreter of Albany desir'd my Assistance to prevail upon the Indians to take up the Hatchet for to please the New England People, but as it might be of dangerous Consequence to the People of the Province of New York and elsewhere. I told him not to make use of it till further order, that it would be a dangerous undertaking for us who were but Interpreters. He answer'd he was order'd to do so by the Governor's Council and that my Assistance was in particular required by them and by the Commissioners of Indian Affairs. I told him I wou'd consider about it, and I advis'd with our Commissioners, as I mistrusted the Interpreter, & they thought it a Snare & told me to be very careful.

Canassatego and some others of the Onantago Chiefs came to me to Speak to me in private and asked me the reason why the Commissioners of Pennsylvania were not present at the publick Meeting yesterday when the Hatchet was offer'd to the Indians. I told them that I cou'd not well tell their Reasons, but believed it was because they were peaceable People and quite averse to Warr, and did not care to see the Indians engage in a War on behalf of either of the contending Powers, but chose they shou'd altogether remain Neuter, and observe punctually what was agreed upon at the Treaty in Lancaster last year. They the Indians told me that the Warr between the French and English had formerly Eat up all their People that had too rashly engaged in it without any Cause, and that the White People daily increasing saved themselves and the

Indians decreased; that the Six Nations and French praying Indians as well as their other Indian Allies were sensible of this and would for the future be more careful before they destroy'd one another again, for such would be the Consequence, they were sure that the French Indians aforesaid wou'd not meddle with the present Warr and as for the Tribes of Indians living to the North East in the Neighbourhood of New England, their being troublesome to the New England People was no new thing to hear of. The English had cheated them out of a great deal of their Land & they had been mischievous to the English, however they would send Deputies to them to bring them to a Peace that the New England People were much worse than Indians, for they make no more of killing an Indian, tho' in Alliance with them, than they do a Dog. They were on both Sides spiteful and ill natur'd and therefore no notice to be taken more than to reconcile them to each other, for which end they (the Six Nations) wou'd use their Endeavours but not to engage them in a general War which cou'd not but be destructive to the Indians and the White People and it was impossible for them to end it when once having no such Power over their Warriours as the Chiefs of the White People had over theirs. I told them that I believ'd the chief thing the Governor of New York and the Commissioners of Pennsylvania aim'd at was to secure to them the Friendship of the Six Nations & their Allies if things shou'd come to Extremes & the French Indians shou'd engage in a War against the English that the latter might depend upon the immediate Assistance of the Six Nations. They asked me several Questions about the War between the French and English and I told them that we had news that the English had lost several Thousand Men over the Seas in a neighbouring Country (not in the English Dominions) in a Battle with [the] French, which was owing to some of our Allies who gave way either Cowardice or Treachery, that the French had likewise lost many Thousand Men and had nothing to boast of than that they kept the Ground (their Army being double the number of ours) and had taken a few Prisoners, That in the meantime the English had been very successfull upon the Seas where they beat the French, sunk their Privateers and took a vast many of their Ships with immense Sums of Money and other Goods on board, by which the French Nation was impoverish'd and the People pray'd to their Prince to make Peace with the English, but his Pride is so great in that he never hears what his poor People says, he values them no more no not so much as you value your Dogs, but in all liklihood he will soon be obliged to sue for Peace &c:

The 12th: The Governor had his Answer — present, himselfe his Council and the Commissioners of Indian Affairs in Albany, and all the Commissrs of New England and Pennsylvania.

The Indians answered every Article according to their usual Ways with Strings or Belts of Wampum.

As to the Article of the Hatchet they receiv'd it with these Expressions. Brethren we are very sorry to hear that the Eastern Indians have killed some of your People — We condole with you as your Brethren being one flesh and blood with you — We will therefore take up the Hatchet against your Enemy but we will hide it in our Bosom till we have sent Deputies to those Indians in order to Treat with them to make you Satisfaction for what they have done by fair Means before we make use of the Hatchet — for it wou'd not be prudent nor just to come upon them with the Hatchet in our Hands and our Arms stretched out in order to strike if they wou'd not comply with our Request. In the meantime we will renew our Alliance with other Nations of Indians to secure ourselves and make our Assistance more effectual to you. A large Belt of Wampum was given by Canassatego who was Speaker.

The Indians had not yet finished when Colo Wheats a Commissioner of Boston stood up & protested against the Indians answer on behalf of all the Commissioners of the Massachusetts Bay and said they want no Indians Satisfaction which would only consist in a couple of Skins. The Governor of New York answer'd him and said that he had been desir'd

by Governor Shirley to send for the Chiefs of the Six Nations in order to prevail upon them to make Peace with the New England People; That accordingly he had sent for the Chiefs of the Six Nations, but as those People lived very remote, it required sometime before he cou'd do anything. The Government of the Massachusetts proclaimed War against said Indians without giving him the least Information of it which he thought was very unjust. Colos Wendal and Stature also Spoke and were answer'd by the Governor. The Indians finished at last (after they had answered the Governors Belts and Strings of Wampum) with two new Belts of Wampum, the first Canasatego took in his Hand and sayd, Brethren let this Belt of Wampum serve to tie you all together as you are now here from several Provinces & Towns, let your mind be all one and join your Strength together. You are a numerous People and your Enemy will be afraid of you. Your Brethren of the united Nations desire and beseech you to be all of one mind one heart & one body. The Belt was given to the Governor. Canasatego proceeded Brethren, the first League of Friendship with you was occasioned by your Goods wch you sold to us sometimes very reasonable, but now the Goods are very dear & we grow poorer every day because there is no more Game in the Woods. We often desir'd you to order the Goods to be sold cheaper to us but we never had any Success and now there are so many of you here we desire you will take it into your Consideration and look upon us as your poor Brethren, for this is the last time that we shall say any thing about it. Gave the Belt of Wampum.

Every thing was by this time in Confusion and the Governor answer'd the two last Articles immediately out of hand without consulting the Commissioners, at which the Indians were altogether displeas'd. The Governor begun to hurry away & the Indians asked him for a Barrel of Beer to drink, he damn'd them and sayd he gave them some the other day and order'd them a Barrel of Beer.

The 13th. Early in the Governor [day?] the Mohikan Indians who had also been sent for by the Governor, about forty of fifty of them waited upon him. They were order'd to sit down by the Governor's door which they did. They brought a good deal of Venison to present it to the Governor & to shake hands with him. The Secretary sent for me. None of the Indians were admitted to the Governor. I told the Secretary to receive the Venison. He damn'd them & sayd they brought it to get ten times as much Victuals from the Governor. I will not have it what Shall I do with it. Some other Gentlemen being present I told him he ought to receive it and rather throw it out of the back door to the Dogs than not to receive it, and as these People had been sent for [by] the Governor it was more than reasonable that they should have Victuals and be no ways offended. He order'd some of the Servants to take the Venison. The Indians sayd they were come to Albany at the Invitation of the Governor and came now to wait upon the Governor to shake hands with him. After the Indians sat about an hour & an half they got Drums and were discharged without seeing the Governor. The same day the Six Nations receiv'd their Presents from the Governor to the Value of Three hundred Pounds as near as I cou'd guess.

The 14th: The Pennsylvania Commissioners spoke to the Indians in the Store House of Mr. Livingston & had their Answers immediately. The Commissrs gave them two fat Steers & a barrel of strong Beer. They were exceedingly well pleased with the Presents which came unexpected and as valuable as that of the Governor of New York.

The Governor of New York went away without fulfilling his Promise to remove the Indians Grievances about Lands & otherwise at which the Indians were intirely displeas'd and told me Now you see yourself how we are treated.<sup>1</sup>

Conrad Weiser

7th December 1745

<sup>1</sup> This Manuscript, in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, was put in the form of a letter addressed in the handwriting of Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, and endorsed: "To be sunk in

case of an Enemy." While it is dated December 7, 1745, Peters added this postscript on December 24: "The Commissioners have not yet made their Report."

## *Benjamin Chew's Journal of a Journey to Easton, 1758*

Friday, October 6, 1758, I sat out from Philadelphia in company with John Mifflin, Esq., Andrew Allen and James Peters. At 11 o'clock dined with Mr. Allen at Mt. Airy, lodged at Kelly's a public house about 28 miles from town.

Saturday, October 7, 1758, sat out at 7 o'clock, diverted ourselves on the journey with shooting, bated our horses at Tetlers and arrived at Easton about three o'clock in the afternoon, not knowing what lodging Mr. Peters had provided for us, and being at a loss where to go, we alight at the Governor's house, as well to pay our compliments to him as to inquire of Mr. Peters where our quarters were. On going into the Governor's room we found him warmly engaged in conversation with Mr. Growden about Sir John Sinclair's orders for a guard to go from Easton into Bucks County and press every wagon without distinction. Mr. Growden represented to the Governor that this order was cruel and unjust. That many townships had cheerfully done their duty by sending wagons as soon as they had been demanded, and requested that the Governor would be pleased so far as to interpose as to use some means that such townships should be exempt from the rigor of the order. The Governor was very angry and inveighed bitterly against the province for not furnishing wagons to the General who was now obliged to remain inactive for want of them, and that it was probable the expedition would miscarry on that account, adding that the power was lodged by the Crown in the hands of the military commanding officer, and he neither had right or inclination to give himself any trouble concerning the above order, but it must be executed by the officer at the risk of his neck and much more to that effect, and at last appealed to me for my opinion in the matter on which I said, I did not think it proper for the Governor to give any orders contradictory to those already given by the General, or any other person acting under his authority, but that I thought it very unreasonable and unjust, as well as injurious to the service that the innocent should be involved with those who had either neglected or refused to do their duty. It would therefore be very kind in the Governor to write to Sir John Sinclair a letter on the occasion to intercede with him to discharge the wagons impressed from the townships that had already raised and sent into the service the number of wagons demanded of them, especially as we had good reason to think that more would be impressed than the service required. The Governor was deaf to everything that I could say to him and seemed more enraged than before, whereupon I went into the next room to sit down to a cold dinner. After dinner I returned and the Governor read to me an order he had drawn in writing to Capt. Nelson the officer commanded to impress, wherein he directed him to carry every man who secreted his wagon a prisoner to Philadelphia, and deliver him to Sir John Sinclair, who he said would swing him and treat him as he deserved. Tho' the Governor did not ask my opinion I could not be silent when it appeared to me that he was assuming powers so illegal, arbitrary and oppressive. I told him with all the respect and modesty in my power that he would do well to consider what he was about, that his honor and reputation was greatly at stake in the step he was about to take. That although it was no act of Council, I

thought it my duty to tell him that the order was illegal and could not be justified by him and might be attended with most mischievous consequences, that as Governor he was the guardian and protector of the rights and persons of the people, who if they transgressed the laws were to be called to account and punished by the civil power, and could not under an English constitution be delivered up to the military for trial or punishment. This was inverting the order of civil government and absolutely subversive of it. To this the Governor in a very insolent, taunting way said, Sir, you give your opinion I suppose as a lawyer, and I am very much obliged to you. As for my honor and reputation it is my business to take care of that, and as to the order I am determined to give it, and turning to the Officer said, I will support you in it and I desire you will carry such wretches as conceal their wagons pinioned to Sir John. If anyone thinks it illegal let him sue me for it. It is for the King's service and I am sure he will protect me in it. I thought I was Captain General said he, but I may be mistaken, but I am very much obliged to you, Sir, for your advice. He then delivered the order signed by him to Capt. Nelson in the presence of Mr. Growden, Mr. Lardner and Mr. Thomas Janny, a Justice of Bucks, who sat by and bid him do his duty.

Teedyuscung then came in and welcomed the Governor to town and desired him to speak to the Indians tomorrow in the ceremonial way, according to their custom, to wipe the dust and sweat off their faces, pick the briars out of their legs, clear their throats and open their ears after their journey, etc. The Governor entered into conversation with him and informed him of our late successes and told him that the French in the late action at Fort Duquesne had placed the Indians in the front of the battle and many were killed and indiscreetly said we had the Indians in a pound, they had better care of themselves and used some threatening expressions against them. Teedyuscung was displeased with this but Mr. Peters pacified him telling him that the Governor only told him the sentiments of others and not his own, and did it only by way of information. George Croghan was by at part of this conversation, but soon left the room and so did I.

In the evening a Council was held in the Governor's lodgings and it was settled that the Governor should meet the Indians tomorrow morning, and Mr. Peters and C. Weiser were desired to adjust and settle the ceremonies and the Governor's speech to them.

Sunday the eighth. The Governor spoke to the Indians about 2 o'clock. Nicholas, a Mohawk interpreted what the Governor said to Tagashata the Seneca Chief, and Montour to the Delawares. Teedyuscung sat by, seemed low spirited and eclipsed, but said nothing. Tagashata returned the usual compliments and ceremonies and delivered back to the Governor the belt he had received from him to invite him to this Council fire.

Israel Pemberton and many other Friends came to town this day, some before, some after the conference.

In the evening a Council was held and being acquainted that the Governor of the Jerseys was come to Phillipsboro, Mr. Peters, Logan and Lardner were appointed a committee to wait on him in the morning to invite him over to the



Treaty in the morning, and to know what part he would take or intended to act in it, that we might govern ourselves accordingly. Mr. Weiser and I were desired to prepare the Governor's speech to the Indians against morning. Mr. Peters on our first coming to town informed us that the Governor was determined that the Council should be provided with a table separate from him, and that he would have no company with him, but such as he thought proper to invite from time to time. Accordingly the Council have breakfasted and supped at our lodgings, and dined at Sculls, a public house. The Governor ordered Peters never to let his nephew come into his sight, saying he was not a companion for boys. What a strange, peevish, petulant creature it is!

Monday the ninth. This morning Mr. Weiser and I prepared a draft of the Governor's speech to the Indians. Governor Bernard came over the river with the gentlemen of his company about eleven o'clock and was received at the water side by our Governor, his Council, the Assembly men and Commissioners with our guard under arms, and attended up to the Governor's lodgings. In the afternoon Governor Bernard proposed going through the usual ceremonies but on sending for the Indians was informed that their chief men were in Council together and many of the other Indians were drunk. Therefore it was deferred to the morning as well as Governor Denny's speech, proposed to be delivered today. Lardner was the only member of Council invited to dine with the Governor, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Van Horn, Mr. White, Spicer and other gentlemen of Governor Bernard's company dined with us. In the evening Governor Bernard returned and lodged at Phillipsburg. While the Council was sitting this evening, George Croghan came and gave information that there had been a great meeting of the Indian chiefs today in which Tagashata had called on the Delawares and Munseys to say why they had struck their brethren, the English, desired they would assign the true cause, and if any of the Six Nations had encouraged them to do it, and to conceal nothing, and told us that the Delawares etc. were in Council, what answer to give, and that the Indians would choose to speak to us first it being improper for us to treat until they had taken the hatchet out of our heads, but he supposed Mr. Weiser would be applied to by them and informed of their resolutions. This matter being well considered by the Council, it was agreed to speak to them in the morning as we intended, unless they acquainted Mr. Weiser before that they chose to speak first. The Governor and Council also agreed in the course of this Treaty that it might be expedient and promote the service we were about, if a committee of Council should confer on proper occasions with the Assembly men and commissioners in town about the business we were engaged in.

Tuesday the tenth. This morning Mr. Weiser informed the members of Council that he had been sent for by the Indians of the Six Nations, and told by Tagashata and the other Chiefs that they were yet in Council among themselves about business of consequence relative to the present Treaty, which was necessary to be settled previous to their meeting us in public, and desired he would inform the Governor and Council of this that they might not be impatient or think they were mispending time. In the afternoon they sent another message of the same nature by Mr. Weiser who was again sent to know whether they had come to any resolution and said they would give the Governor notice when they were ready.

Wednesday the eleventh. This morning we were summoned to Council at 10 o'clock. When we attended, Mr. Peters informed us he had received intelligence that the Quakers were at that time assembled with a number of the Indians at the Lutheran Church, on which Messrs. Growden, Lardner, Mifflin and I walked that way as if by accident to know the truth of this, and discover if possible what they were about. As we passed along we saw Isaac Norris and Joseph Galloway under the shed about one hundred yards from the house where the Quakers and Indians were met, and Joe Fox, John Hughes and others standing at a little distance from them, who seemed to eye us very watchfully. When we

came near the house I heard very distinctly the voice of an Indian speaker aloud in the house with the same accent, tone and emphasis as they generally use in public speaking in Treaties. On this I stepped forward before the rest of my company, quickening my pace. A white man whom we all observed standing in the doorway, withdrew and went into the house on which the speaking ceased and everything was hushed and silent. I went up first and put my head into a window that stood open. There I observed a large assembly of Quakers and Indians sitting some around a long table and others on benches behind with great solemnity, and as much form as is usual in public treaties. Israel Pemberton was on one side about midway the table sitting with a pipe in his mouth, collected in himself in great state. On his right hand sat Daniel Stanton, the English Preacher lately come over, Amos Strickland and Daniel Roberdeau and members of the Assembly, Thompson the Indian Secretary and many others, on his left hand sat Isaac Zane, John Pemberton, Richard Wistar and others. I did not count them but the whites appeared to be between twenty and thirty. The number of Indians I think was much greater. I knew very few of them, but distinguished Tagashata the Seneca Chief and Tom King. As soon as I looked in, Israel Pemberton accosted me and asked me to walk in and smoke a pipe with them and I should hear the Roman oratory revived in Tom King's speaking, that they were about no harm. I excused myself from going in saying we were only taking the air and did not come to interrupt them. He replied they were upon the best subjects in the world, love and friendship. I told him they were noble subjects and I wished all those success who were sincerely disposed to promote and cultivate them. He then asked me if it would be unlawful for them to send for a glass of wine and drink with their Brethren. I said he must judge for himself. But says he, I want the Attorney-General's opinion. I jocosely told him if he applied to me as a lawyer for my advice I could not give it without a fee, for it was generally said, advice for nothing is worth nothing. Roberdeau and he were both very earnest in pressing us to come in, and he said if they could get me in and they sent for liquor they would lay it upon me. I told him then I was right in being on my guard. Israel Pemberton then came out and pressed both me and Mr. Growden, who stood by me, to go in, telling Mr. Growden who said they did not know him, that there were many there who knew his father. I said we were going into Council and only were sauntering until the Governor was ready for us, and we came away leaving them behind us. It was agreed in Council that Messrs Growden, Lardner, Logan, Mifflin, and I should be a committee to meet and confer with the members of Assembly and Commissioners now in town about the Governor's speech prepared for the Indians, and know whether they thought it proper and adapted to the occasion and our circumstances. The Council accordingly met at our lodgings and I went to acquaint the gentlemen with our resolution and invite them to a meeting with us. I had a good deal of conversation with Isaac Norris and the rest of them on the occasion. They were very civil and complaisant and joined with me that it was improper that any differences or disputes relating to matters of government between the branches of the Legislature should subsist or creep in among us, so as to impede or obstruct the great business now in hand, in which the interest of one was the interest of all, agreed to reestablish harmony, a good understanding and mutual interest with each other and that all former shyness and coolness should be forgot, etc. They, to wit, Messrs. Norris, Fox, Hughes, Galloway, Roberdeau and Strickland came up with me and met the committee of Council. I opened the conference with informing them that the speech now on the table had been prepared and everything on our part ready to speak to the Indians ever since Monday morning, and told them the reasons that had prevented our proceeding as we intended, complained that unjust clamours and reports had been set about to our prejudice and endeavored to show the ill consequences that might attend the propagating such ill-grounded suspicions. This alluded to a conversation that had passed this



morning between Logan, Lardner and Mifflin and Jo Fox wherein he charged us with the delay and said that measures were used with the Six Nation Indians to compel the Delawares to contradict what they had before said as to the cause of their striking us, to give themselves the lie and to acknowledge their fault and ask our pardon. This he said they never would do and it would involve us in a new war, owned he had this information from Teedyuscung and Tettamy and that this was the subject of the late Indian Councils. I assured them we were not concerned in their Councils nor were practicing any measures directly or indirectly to bring this about. That if any such matter was in agitation among the Indians it was more than we knew, but whatever they were they must settle them among themselves, and that it did not become any of us to interpose in them. If we did it might be of ill consequence. They denied they had laid any such thing to our charge but complained that Croghan was in these Councils and at the bottom of it, said he was a rascal (this was Mr. Fox's expression) that they could prove he had said to Vernon that we should have no peace, that he was not an Englishman, but an Indian, and they thought this matter should be inquired into by the Governor. I told them we had nothing to do with Croghan, nor he with us, that what they proposed was a ticklish measure and that if he was a bad man all we had to do was to watch him and be on our guard against him, and that if we publicly accused him and he had so great an influence over the Six Nation Indians as they said he had, it might be attended with mischievous consequences, in which Mr. Norris agreed and the rest acquiesced. The speech was then read over and considered paragraph by paragraph and universally approved of by them all, with a small proposed amendment in one sentence in a matter of form only. We then invited them to dine with the Council tomorrow, which they agreed to. Governor Bernard came over about eleven and we waited to hear from the Indians till near one-half hour past one o'clock, in which time Mr. Weiser was sent to inquire if they were ready and said they were not to be found. He had seen a few of their Chiefs who agreed to meet at four o'clock. The Governor of the Jerseys had been detained much against his will from twelve o'clock, wanting to return to Phillipsburg to dinner when we attended him by invitation. Mr. Logan came over to us and said he had been very ill-used by I. Pemberton in the public street, who on his saying that the Governor had been ready to meet the Indians from the time of the Quakers meeting them in the morning, told him it was a lie. Logan clenched his fist and told him he had often abused him but to take care of himself for he would bear it no longer, and said that the affinity that was between them was the only reason why he did not knock him down, which he would certainly do if he took the like liberties with him for the future. Pemberton charged the Governor and Council with the delay. At four o'clock we met the Indians. The Governor of the Jerseys went through the usual ceremonies, (this being his first meeting with them, and as to business desired they would consider the several messages that had passed between them to which he referred) and concluded with requesting them to let him know what he was to expect from them. Teedyuscung then stood up and said in substance, that he had given the halloo as we desired him and such of his brethren as were here had heard him, and he had nothing to do but sit still and hear what they and we said to one another, that he had before said to us what he had to say, and told us why he struck us, that he had made up all differences with us as far as he could for our future peace, etc.

Tagashata who chose to speak to us first then rose, said it was late and they were dry and hungry and therefore desired to be heard in the morning. The glass was served round and here the conference ended, after The Governor had pressed dispatch and the Indians had promised to give us notice when they would be ready in the morning. During the conference I had some conversation with Israel Pemberton who sat behind me about his quarrel with Mr. Logan, in which he told me that he had not charged us with the delay

but Mr. Logan had charged him with being the occasion of it. That Mr. Logan had shamefully obstructed the public peace for two years past, and he could and would prove it, he should bye and bye be at liberty to speak soon and it should all come out. It is worthy of observation that when Teedyuscung got up to speak today, the Indian seemed surprised and Croghan asked him if what he was about to say was the result of their deliberations or by the advice of the Indians or any of his councillors, to which he made no answer but went on. What makes this more remarkable is that we were afterwards informed by Croghan, Montour and others, the Indians were not privy to what he said, and declared he had no commission or direction from any of them to say what he did, or to speak at all. We spent the evening at our own lodgings very cheerfully, and toward the close of it received a line from the commissioners and Assembly men apologizing for not dining with us tomorrow according to our invitation, having been since asked to dine with the Governor of the Jerseys.

Thursday the twelfth. Met the Indians this morning at eleven o'clock. Tagashata, the Seneca Chief said he was commissioned by his nephews, the Delawares, Minisinks or Munsies to speak to us on their behalf, and what he was about to say was at their request. He then took out of our heads the hatchet they had struck us with and buried it under ground, where it should never more be seen, acknowledged for them the French had seduced and misled them which was the cause of their striking us. It was a French hatchet which they would return and never more think of war with the English but cultivate their friendship, were sorry for what they had done and desired it might be forgotten, in confirmation of which he delivered two belts of wampum tied together, as an emblem of union and peace. He said the

who were the Eldest of the Six Nations were joined in commission with him in this speech. Tohaajo, the Cayuga Chief then stood up and on behalf of his own tribe, the Tualoos, Nantycokes and other younger nations delivered a belt by which he owned that the French had like a thief in the night stole some of their foolish young men from them and made them strike us 4 times though their Chiefs endeavored to hold them fast, and what they did was against their advice and will, said they now repented and were sorry for it, and heartily asked our pardon and hoped we would forgive them, and they would promise never to strike us again. I forgot to mention that Tagashata said further that they had sent to the Delawares and their own and all other Indians living on the Ohio under the French influence, and advised them not to strike us but come away and leave the French, and that they hoped they would harken to them. Teedyuscung came in very drunk soon after we met, was very troublesome the whole time and interrupted the conference very much, swearing that he was King of all the nations and of all the world, and the Six Nations were fools and said in Indian, as Messers Croghan, Weiser, and Montour afterwards informed us, and as he had often been heard to say before, that they did not know how to behave to the English, that the way to be well used by them was to make war on them and cut their throats, that he had struck them and would continue to do so as long as he lived. The Indians and even his own counsellors seemed angry and much disgusted with his behavior, but took little notice of it at that time. In the evening Mr. Weiser informed us that he had some time ago employed Nicholas, a Mohawk Chief to find out if possible from Teedyuscung the true reason in private conversation why he struck us. On which Nicholas made him this report.

That on his first application to Teedyuscung he could get nothing from him but he desired him to inquire first of the Minisinks and have they had assigned their reasons he would give him. He then went to the Minisinks who said they were women and wore Pettycoats and could not speak, but the Senecas were their mouth and their fathers. Nicholas then applied to Tagashata who gave this account. That after they had heard the Delawares had struck us they sent to them to know the cause, and Teedyuscung brought them a bundle of scalps

which they threw away and were surprised, and told him he had murdered their Brethren, the English, and reprimanded him severely for it, on which he threw down his Pettycoat, saying he was now a man and they might wear it themselves, that he had taken up the hatchet and was able to fight all his enemies and would not obey them or harken to their advice. Then Nicholas went to Tohaajo, the Cayuga Chief, who denied they knew or were made acquainted with Teedyuscung's striking us before he did it, but afterwards he came to their town and told them the Shawanese by the Senecas' advice had induced them to take up the hatchet against us but now they deny it and the English would come and cut him off, and requested the Cayugas to join him which they rejected. He then said he would go over to the French. They advised him against it and told him the French would not keep him under their wing longer than he acted as they pleased, and then they would throw him into the lake. The Senecas may say what they will, we know how it is, but we went away much dissatisfied. Nicholas then returned again to Teedyuscung and demanded on behalf of his uncles, the Mohawks that he would now tell him the true cause of the war. Teedyuscung said the reason was the English had cheated him of a great many lands and now claimed his land at Wyomink, and were going to drive him off. Nicholas answered that he knew better, as to Wyomink they had no right to lands there, he lied, and insisted on knowing the truth. On which Teedyuscung said well uncle now I will tell you the real truth. You know the Virginians some years ago killed some of the Shawanese and among the rest one of their great men. The Shawanese to revenge this joined the French when the troubles began between them and the English and invited us by a belt to take up the hatchet with them, putting us in mind that one of us was unjustly hanged some years ago at Amboy in the Jerseys, and they seduced us, but I have returned them the belt and thrown it in their faces and am sorry for it. Mr. Weiser further informed us that he had some conversation with the Indians about meeting the Quakers yesterday morning in the Lutheran Church and disappointing the Governor who intended to speak to them at that time. They were invited there as they thought to meet their brother Onas but were deceived, and now found there were more Onases than one.

Friday the 13th. This morning a speech was prepared for our Governor to deliver to the Indians, which on consulting with Mr. Norris and other Assembly men and commissioners was unanimously agreed to with a small amendment proposed by them relative to Sir William Johnsons bringing about a cessation of hostilities with the Delawares in the narrative part of the speech, which in a summary way informed the Indians who were not present at the former treaties with Teedyuscung at this place what had passed between us and concluded with a demand of the true reason why our prisoners were not delivered up to us according to his promise made in behalf of the ten nations he said he represented, till which was done we could never sleep in peace or rest satisfied with their friendship. The Governor of the Jerseys joined by a belt in such parts of the speech as had any regard to his government. The message sent from the Ohio Indians to this government by Pisquetomen was then delivered by him to the Governor. King Teedyuscung and Israel Pemberton by whom he said he was employed to carry a message up to them with Frederick Post whom he had brought back in safety. This being done he took each by the hand and delivered a belt and three strings, one of which he was by the Ohio Indians desired to return to Israel Pemberton, to whom it was accordingly delivered at the table in form by the Governor, who said jocosely to those who sat next him, I hope he will soon be favored with another string, which he richly merits. Nicholas then got up and spoke for some time with apparent warmth and resentment in his face and manner, turning frequently and pointing to Teedyuscung who sat by. Israel Pemberton said loud enough to be heard by many round the table, that it ought not to be interpreted because it would make a difference among the Indians. Mr. Weiser desired that he might be excused from interpreting what Nicholas had just now said,

that it might as well be done to the Governor and their Councils in private. The Governors both said they did not know what it was, but must be left to the Indians, and if they desired it it must be publicly delivered. This being explained the Indians insisted on it being done in public, but on Weiser's request to them it was postponed for the present by their consent. The Governor of the Jerseys and his company dined with us at Sculls and returned to Phillipsburg in the evening.

Saturday the fourteenth. This morning it being reported that the speech delivered yesterday by Nicholas, the Mohawk Chief, affected Teedyuscung's conduct and charged him in his negotiations with us, with assuming powers that did not belong to him, particularly his setting himself up as a king over ten nations. The commissioners and Quakers were greatly alarmed and publicly asserted Teedyuscung's power and authority and charged Mr. Croghan with being the author of this measure to raise a difference among the Indians and give the Six Nations an ascendancy over the Delawares that did not belong to them, but that Teedyuscung was a man of resolution and great influence among numerous tribes of Indians and would not submit to it, and that a bloody war would be the consequence. Jo: Galloway said to Mr. Logan and Lardner in a public company in the street, that from extracts he had taken and held in his hands he could show that Teedyuscung was the man he had pretended to be, and that they would show it, that he knew there was a scheme set afoot by some to disgrace and degrade him, but they should find themselves mistaken for they would support him or words to that effect. I did not hear this but had it from Logan and Lardner. The Indians being mostly drunk today we had no meeting.

Sunday the fifteenth. This morning Governor Bernard and Denny with their Councils and commissioners met the Chiefs of the Mohawks, Senecas, Onondagos, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Nanticookes and Tataloos at their own request at Sculls in a private room. The several chiefs on behalf of their nations joined in telling the Governors that they desired to have some discourse with them about their nephew, Teedyuscung, that we knew he sat himself up to be a great man and chief over ten nations. Now they desired us to inform them who made him a great man. They did not know him to be such, he was a stranger to them, perhaps we or some of us had made him so. If we had we should tell him so, or perhaps the French had made him so. They desired us to be free and tell them. Here they gave a belt. They then took notice of our having demanded our prisoners of them on Friday and repeated what was said on that subject. They then solemnly promised on their return to make diligent search for all such as were in their towns or power and restore them to us. To confirm this they gave a belt and string. The Governors appointed four o'clock in the afternoon to give them an answer, but at that hour they sent a message that they were sitting in Council and could not attend, but desired the meeting might be put off till the morning.

Monday the 16th. This morning prepared a speech for our Governor in answer to the Indians of yesterday, before it was delivered what the Indians had said to the Governor's relating Teedyuscung's power, was at their request interpreted to the Delawares who were present. The substance of what the Governor said was that on our first invitation to the Delawares to come to our Council fire after they struck us an answer was sent by Teedyuscung as Chief of the Delawares, who at our first meeting told us he represented ten nations, was a Chief of the Delawares but acted only as a messenger for the Six Nations who were his superiors, and that we giving credit to what he said had made him agent and councillor for us to inform all the Indians to what had passed between us and declare our good dispositions to be at peace with them, but we never made him a great man or gave him any authority over the Six Nations, nor in our former public treaties did he claim a superiority over them. If any other made him so great a man it was more than the Governor knew and he was sorry for it, but they must answer for themselves and concluded with recommending harmony among one another. The Governor then enforced their promise to return

our prisoners by saying what was proper on the subject. The commissioners were counselled with and approved this speech, not daring to object to it though they seemed surly and inclined to do it. N. B. Mr. Growden's presence I believe contributed not a little to this. When they went away Fox in an ill natured way said, they should be advised with sooner, and not be called in just before the meeting was to be held and that they should be admitted to have it with them to consider it at leisure. His meaning plainly was as we apprehended to take the advice of Israel Pemberton and other busy michievous fellows on the occasion, but this is what we concluded among ourselves of the Council never to submit to. Governor Bernard spoke afterwards and after saying they never made Teedyuscung so great a man, impertinently proceeded to tell them what he found relating to his public conduct in his treaties with this Province which he had promised on the occasion. We found that Israel had seen and approved this speech of Bernard's and that Charles Reed, the Secretary of the Jerseys was his tool and creature, and was governed by the House of Israel. We therefore resolved to be on our guard against him, and found he had acted a false part by us. The Indians at the end of Governor Denny's speech, as I was informed, laughing said, "See, he pities Teedyuscung. Tagashata the Seneca Chief then stood up and with a good deal of spirit put the Delawares and Minisinks in mind of their detaining our prisoners from us and charged the former with breach of faith in that respect, and by a belt delivered to Teedyuscung ordered it to be done immediately on their return and further ordered him to give them the Six Nations and us an account of what he had done with the peace belt he received from us last year and promised to hold up to all nations of Indians, and to show how he had discharged his commission. Robert White a Nantycoke, next on behalf of the Six Nations gave Teedyuscung and us a relation of their having sent the Delawares Belts repeatedly commanding them not to strike us to which they had never received any answer from them, but heard they said they were friends to the English, and would strike them too, and by a string demanded he would in public give an account of these matters and say what were become of these belts.

Tuesday, the seventeenth. The Indians were in Council all day and sent the Governors a message that they were so, and desired that they would not be impatient or hurry them, they had not the use of pen and ink as we had, and it took a great deal of time to do business and to consider matters, as they depended solely on their memories. It seems the several nations were assembled separately, each in their own council, and late in the afternoon there was a general meeting of the whole under the shed, but we could not learn what passed among them. At last they sent word to the Governors that it was then too late and desired they would excuse their meeting them till morning. After dinner Mr. Mifflin and I met in the street, Israel Pemberton, Fox and Galloway, who as usual seemed displeased and were as usual complaining and censoring the manner in which the treaty was conducted, but their principal malice seemed to be pointed against Croghan who they, Israel Pemberton particularly, said was a rascal and villain and it was a shame he should have the management of the Indians, and we ought to tell him so and interpose. I asked him why he did not tell him so, he had as good a right to do it as we had, and though they were pleased to charge him with playing tricks with the Indians and retarding the business, it was base suspicion and they did not pretend they had any proof of it, that he had at least as much right to be here as Israel Pemberton had, for he attended the treaty by order of Sir William Johnson. Israel said Sir William himself had no authority or right to be here, nor anything to do with it, and if he was here he would tell him so, and added, you support Croghan in what he does. I told him with a good deal of warmth that I had several times said in his hearing that we had nothing to do with Croghan or knew what he was about, and that what he said was false. On this he truckled meanly and said he did not mean me and did not intend to affront me. Why was I so warm. Indeed I only

wanted a fair opportunity to hit him a slap in the chops, and he saw it plainly, on which like a pitiful dog as he is, he became tame and complaisant. We had in the morning advised with the Six Nation chiefs in a private council about the message we had prepared to send to the Ohio. Israel had heard this as he does almost everything that passes, (by what means tis easy to judge) and said Teedyuscung should be consulted to join in the message or it would be fruitless, for he had more influence on the Indians there than all the Six Nations together, that attempts were made to pull Teedyuscung down but he would be a man of consequence notwithstanding and would be supported. Indeed this was the constant language of the Quakers and all their party without doors. from whence and their having Teedyuscung and his interpreters very frequently in private among them, and from his speeches both as to the matter and manner must convince everyone who was not stark blind that he took every measure and guided every motion by their direction.

Wednesday, the eighteenth. The conference began this morning about half an hour after eleven. Tom King spoke on behalf of the Six Nation warriors and all the others present. He opened with telling us that we had been very inquisitive to find out the cause of the war, that we had not yet found the true cause. We might think they had no reason for striking us and were much to blame, but in fact we were the aggressors and brought it upon ourselves. He then proceeded to mention our treacherously seizing of some Shawanese warriors in the Carolina and imprisoning them, by which the head man lost his life. This stirred up the Shawanese to revenge. The French soon after came to settle on the Ohio, took advantage of this disposition in the Shawanese and gave them the hatchet. This drew in some of their grandfathers, the Delawares. He then took notice the Virginians about three years ago killed some Senecas who were returning from war through that province. He further added that when the French were coming to the Ohio the Indians there informed us of it and desired we would furnish them with necessaries for war and come to their assistance, and they would oppose them and drive them back. But we paid no regard to them, and as they were not able to encounter the enemy themselves they took possession of Duquesne and fortified themselves and drove off our traders, which laid the Indians under the necessity of having an intercourse with them, and thus by degrees they became attached to the French, so that we must blame ourselves for our negligence and backwardness in not attending to the first call of the Indians, when we might easily have repelled the enemy. He next assured us on behalf of the Minisinks, that they should restore to us all the prisoners in their possession, and demanded of Governor Bernard that he should do justice to such people, who said they had rights to lands in the Jerseys, and that he would inquire into the matter, and concluded with saying that the Six Nation Indians were dissatisfied with the Proprietors large purchase of lands on the Ohio made at Albany in 1754, and that they reclaimed such a part of it as by the agreement they were not to receive a consideration for till it was settled, meaning the lands beyond the Allegheny Hills. Teedyuscung then stood up and put the Governor in mind of nine Indians killed at Goshen in Jerseys some years ago, which incensed the Indians who applied for satisfaction, but could not get it. Said he would as was demanded of him give an account of the peace belt which he asserted was sent to all the nations who kept it near a year and now it was in the hands of Lapachpeton, a Delaware living at Secaughkung, and promised to deliver all the prisoners he could find in their towns and do whatever his uncles did. It was remarkable that when he gave the above account of the peace belt, the Mohawk, Seneca, Onondago and other Chiefs of the Six Nations got up and left the conference. He then repeated that he had told us the Proprietors had wronged him of all the lands the Delawares owned from Tohickon, that it was agreed last year this dispute should be referred to the King and desired that what was agreed to might not now be altered, but he wanted to be informed whether it was decided by the King, and added that he only mentioned the

lands the Delawares owned, which were those that lay on the waters that empty themselves into the Delaware, for those lying on the waters running into the Susquehannah belonged to his uncles. He was then about to address himself to the Six Nations by a Belt, but the principal chiefs being gone, Tom King would not hear it in their absence, wherefore it was postponed till the next meeting.

Thursday, the nineteenth. Matters seemed now to be brought to a crisis. Teedyuscung had renewed the charges of fraud against the Proprietors, and set up a claim not only to the lands between Tohickon and the Kittatinny Hills, which were the subject of our former disputes, but to the lands above the hills to the head of the Delaware and that in the presence and hearing of the Six Nations. The proprietors claim the former by a purchase from the Delawares and confirmed also by a release from the Six Nations, and the latter from the hills to a straight line from Mahonishy Creek on Susquehannah to Lehighwochter Creek on Delaware, by a deed executed by the Six Nations only in the year 1749. We were all of opinion that the Governor should in his next speech take some notice of these claims and desire their interposition so far as to declare and support their rights and sale of one or both of these tracts of country, if we could possibly prevail on them to do it, and further by that means at once to give a sanction to both purchases made by the proprietors and set right their characters that had been blemished by Teedyuscung's false charges. To effect this so as to guard against a quarrel among the Indians (which at this time might be attended with very bad consequences to this Province and His Majesty's interest) appeared a very nice point and to require a great deal of skill and caution. And to make an attempt and fail of the success we proposed by a refusal of the Six Nations to interpose would expose us to the ridicule and abuse of our enemies who were always on the watch, and make Teedyuscung yet more insolent in his demands. It was therefore thought most expedient that we should take measures to know beforehand how the Six Nation Chiefs were disposed and what part they would act in this case. Conrad Weiser was employed to sound them first, and if he found them well affected to put it boldly to them, and know explicitly how far they would go on this occasion. He explained the matter very fully to them as well the dispute existing already between the Delawares and us about the forks land and the day and half walk as the late claim of the Delawares to the lands above the hills, a great part of which included in the deed of 1749. Whereupon they told him as he informed us that they would have nothing to do with the land on this side of the hill, for they had no right to it nor ever claimed any. That although they signed a deed to us for it in 1736, yet they never received any consideration for it, which showed they did not look on it as their right, and intended nothing by the release they executed for all the lands on this side of the Kittatinny Hills in the year 1736 on their removing the Delawares off this land at the Treaty at Philadelphia, 1742, than an acknowledgment that they were convinced we had fairly bought them of the Indians, on which Conrad Weiser told us he joined in opinion with them and always conceived the matter in the same light. But they assured him they had a right to the lands beyond the hills, acknowledged they had sold them to us and been paid for them, and they would in public justify and support that sale. Furnished with this information we were obliged to form the Governor's speech accordingly and were obliged to be satisfied with letting the former dispute and charges against the proprietors rest till it should be heard and decided by His Majesty as was agreed at the last treaty. Israel Pemberton had Governor Bernard and the Indians to dine with him, and the Quakers, at Sculls and distributed a good many presents among the Indians. The remainder of the day I was employed in drawing a release from the proprietors to the Six Nations for the lands beyond the Allegheny or Appalachian Hills comprised in the Albany purchase in 1754, agreeable to the request made by the Six Nations yesterday which Messrs. Weiser and Peters were empowered to do.

Friday, the twentieth. A confounded fracas happened this

morning about a Centries being placed by the Governor on some of Vernon's liquors in which the commissioners interfered with great warmth and indecency. I mean Fox and Galloway who made the streets resound with the epithets liberty and privilege, and they seemed determined to kick up a riot, with what view except to make themselves popular, God knows. I was very industrious and at last was happy enough to suppress it. The particulars are too long to insert. About eleven, the Governor met the Indians answered the most material parts of their last speech, told them the proprietors had ordered part of the Albany purchase to be released to them, and concluded with an address to the Six Nations and Delawares putting them in mind that as we were now all face to face it was a proper time to settle every matter that nothing, not so much as a doubt should remain in our minds to create any uneasiness or disturb our peace hereafter, and added that the Six Nations had sold lands to the proprietors and received a consideration for them, which the Delawares now claimed as their right. This was the case with regard to some part of the land lying between Tohickon and the head of the Delaware River which Teedyuscung in their hearing said the proprietors had cheated him of, that the proprietors were disposed to do strict justice to all the Indians, but it could not be supposed they could know in which of them the right was vested. It was a matter that could be settled only among themselves. Till this was done there would always remain jealousies and heartburnings among them and constant subjects of jarring and dispute with us, which might disturb and interrupt our future quiet. He therefore earnestly recommended it to them to adjust their claims amongst themselves in a friendly manner and let us know to whom those lands really belonged. As soon as this paragraph was interpreted to the Six Nations, the Mohawk Chief said with some emotion to the Governor, You speak in the dark and don't tell us what lands you mean. Show us the deeds that we may examine them and we will own everything that is just. On which I immediately went to my lodging and put into my pocket the two deeds of release executed by the Six Nations in the year 1736 for the land south of the Kittatinny Hills, thinking this might be a favorable opportunity to lay before them as well these deeds as as that of 1749, and they might, perhaps, take them all into consideration. Conrad Weiser came to his lodgings for the deed of 1749 and I mentioned the matter to him, but he with great earnestness entreated me not to do it and again assured me that the Indians would have nothing to do with the lands on this side of the hill, and would be greatly provoked as they had already told him this was their resolution. I then went down to Mr. Peters and advised with him about it and he was of opinion that those deeds should not be laid before them. The deed of 1749 was openly produced to the Six Nations with the map of the purchase, annexed to it, and after some little consultation among the Chiefs, Nicholas arose and with great spirit said, Brethren, the English and all the Indians hear me and bear witness to what I shall say. This deed we well remember. We know our chiefs who signed it, some of them are present now, we sold the land and were honestly paid for it, the land was ours and we will justify it. They are our nephews, let them say the contrary if they can. Conrad Weiser and Isaac Stille then took the deed and were explaining it to Teedyuscung and the Delawares, and showing that Nutimus and other chiefs of the Delawares had signed it. During this whole time, Israel Pemberton was the only person who seemed dissatisfied. He wriggled and twisted about in his seat at a strange rate and muttered something that I could not hear. At last he broke out and said it was a vile fraud and an imposition on the Indians, and as we as freemen will not sit patiently by and be witnesses of it without bearing our public testimony against it. That the speech would set the Indians together by the ears and it would end in cutting our throats. I told him he was a mad man and took the ready way to make the Indians cut our throats, and with the influence he had obtained with the Delawares had it in his power to bring it about. I asked him what right he had to interpose at all in the case, or what he meant by fraud and deception in the deed of



1749. What had been said to the Indians on the subject was proper and every impartial man would think it was for the public peace and interest that the Indians who had been brought together at so great an expense to the public should settle their claims amongst themselves, at this time to prevent future brawls and discontent, and I was persuaded they would easily and amicably adjust them if such hot heads as he would let them alone to themselves. He said the Delawares had a right to part of the lands sold by that deed and a fraud was intended them and he would speak out and show it. I told him he was crazy and an enemy to the peace of his country, on which he walked off and left me in a crowd of his creatures who had gathered round us. I then entered coolly into conversation with them, told them that their suspicions were unjust and they would own it when I explained the things to them, which I did as plainly and as clearly as I could. They were immediately softened down, blamed Israel much for his heat and indiscretion, and owned that the measures we had pursued were salutary and for the public good, but said then the commissioners should have been advised with about the speech according to our agreement. I told them we had no design in not showing it to them, but it had been settled but just before the Indians met and we had no time to do it. It was immaterial whether they had seen it or no. The only thing to be considered was whether the speech was proper and for the public interest, which they no longer denied and said they hoped it would end well. The truth was that Teedyuscung had in the morning at Mr. Weiser's with the Six Nations acknowledged in private that he had no right to land above the Kittocktinny Hills but we wanted it to be said by him in public, or we knew when the Six Nations' back were turned, Teedyuscung's friendly incendiaries would prevail with him to deny it and involve the proprietors in a new dispute, the

foundation of which was plainly laid by his laying claim in his speech to all the lands on the waters of the Delaware.

Governor Bernard intended to make a speech after our Governor to the Indians, but there was so much confusion that it was impossible and many of the Chiefs went away, so that he was obliged to defer it. In the afternoon Quakers, commissioners and their friends appeared with open countenances, and were very friendly and facetious, blamed Israel very much and approved of what had been done. Among these was James Pemberton, who persuaded me to go to his brother Israel and talk with him on the occasion. I told him that his brother was a violent unmannerly brute and I was unwilling to trust myself in his company, because if he took the same liberties with me as he had done with others, I should not keep my hand off him. If he would conquer his passions and become a rational creature, I should have no objection to confer with him on this or any other occasion. He censured his brother and said he was of a very unhappy temper, and often did things he was afterwards sorry for, etc.

Saturday, the twenty-first. This morning the Council and Commissioners met the Indians at their request at Sculls, where I. Pemberton, Isaac Zane and others were introduced, also by the desire of Teedyuscung, who made a speech to the Six Nations, wherein he owned to them that he was fully acquainted with the deed of 1749, and had consulted with his brethren about it. That the sale was a fair one and signed by one of their chiefs, as well as the Six Nations, and that part of the consideration money was paid to them. He, therefore, in this public manner agreed to it and confirmed it, desiring no more might be said about it, adding this was not the land in dispute between him and us, which lay between Tohickon and the hills called Kittocktinny.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The remainder of the manuscript, if it was continued to the end of the treaty, is missing. This "Journal of a Journey to Easton" is endorsed in the handwriting of Richard Peters: "A copy of Mr. Chews Private Diary during the Treaty at Easton in

October 1758." About half of the 36-page manuscript is in Peters' handwriting. This copy of the journal is in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

## *Journal of James Pemberton at the Lancaster Treaty, 1762*

On 3d day, 8th mo: 17th 1762, I left Philad[elphia] & went to Concord to see Nich[ola]s Newlin in the absence of his wife, & tarried there that night 23 m. Fourth day, morning, I set forward & reached Joseph Steer in the Evening where I found Robt Proud, S. Hatton, C. Lightfoot and W. Brown, and stayed there this night. Abt 42 m.

5th day, morning, in compy of the above Friends I went to Lancaster & about noon the Govr met with the Indians. Tom King on behalf of the Northern or Six Nation Indians spoke & the Conference Continued for about 6 Hours, great part seemed to be trifling Ceremony respecting the delivery of the Captives, declaring that agreeable to the Govrs desire of their Assistance to restore them they had used their Endeavors and brot all they at present could, some others remained among them, but as they were the property of some gone to Warr agst the Southern Indians they could not take them in their absence, but on their return would have them Sent. They reminded the Govr that it had been promised that the Captives should have their liberty & such as inclined to return to them shd be at liberty to do so & that the Govr had formerly said he had a large room full of Goods & would fully reward the Indians for bringing in the Captives. They desired the Govr would not desire any more lands of them. that He had got all the Lands from the Delawares & was desirous of their Lands & desired that the English might not go further than ; repeated their desire that the English would not desire their Lands otherwise they shd not have any to live or hunt on. They mentioned that they had been discouraged in their Coming down by repeated Information from Tedyuscung that the water should be Poysoned when they came here which shd give them the bloody flux, & they shd dye on their return & sayed their Brethren the English must know this, & that if it happened so, as they were all brothers, they would loose so many men. (Tho' Tedygs name was here mentioned, yet it is thot they had an Allusion to some Jealousy's Entertained of the English designing to do them harm.) For want of a Good Interpreter sevl matters were not explained Clearly, it being translated from the Mohawk into Delaware and so into English & so did not afford the desired satisfaction. They mentioned that their Grandfathers had given them a medicine then when their Brethren the English hearts was defiled that they shd give it, and it would Cleanse their throats & hearts & go through their body & that they had given this Medicine & it had Cleaned their Brothers heart, that it shd never be defiled again & with a string they buried it in the Earth. That in the Oneida Country they had a large Pine tree growing which they pulled up by the Roots, it made a great hole. At the bottom of that hole there was a strong stream of water into which they threw the bones of their Brethren that had been scattered into more places than they could name & that the stream had carried them away. That they had fixed the pine tree in the same place it was before in such a manner that it shd not appear where they had buried the Bones, that the revival might never be in the minds of their Children or Grand Children.

That the Hatchet which thro' the Instigation of the

French they had caught up & stuck in their Brethrens head, they now took out & buried it & wiped tears from their Eyes, as the Govr had done by them, as well as healed their bruised feet & plucked the Briers out of them.

This Latter part was delivered in the forepart of his speech & some part of the other in the Latter, but I have pened it as it Occurred at the time of writing, & is the Substance of what was delivered.

The Govr Enquired of them who it was & where they were promised great things for delivering the Captives. They said it was the Cayugas that informed them so & that Perhaps it might not be in Publick Council, but in private Comy, the Cayugas were so informed. This seemed to disturb the Govr and by his Conduct seemed apprehensive that some Persons had been meddling & it was easy to Guess where the design of blame was, but it appeared that the Govr had Expressed something to the Cayugas in the 5th mo: last, which for want then of a good Interpreter might be understood wrong. It being said he had informed them that there was no occasion of the 7 Nations coming down to deliver the prisoners & that if only a few came with them he could better afford to reward those few in an handsome manner.

Tom King likewise told the Govr that the English had an Eye to the Lands at Wyoming, that they had granted liberty to the Shawness to live there, that tho' they had removed they might return again, that they had placed Tedyg there as a watchman and had given directions that in case any English offered to settle there, to bid them to go away.

6th day about 11 o'Clock the King Beaver with the Western Indians & Tedyuscung with some of his men met the Governor and the Govr addressed them by saying that he had taken their request respecting the Prisoners into Consideration [and] shd appoint some Person at Pittsburg to receive the Captives. That he had likewise intended to have mentid to them something Respecting the Trade with them if they had not done it; that he had opened a store at Pittsburg where he had placed honest men. That honest men were appointed to Conduct this trade who fixed a price on both the English & Indian Goods. That they had the Goods Cheaper than could be afforded & as great a price was allowed for their skins & furs &c. as could be. The Province Lost a Considerable sum by this trade. The Charge of Carriage so many hundred Miles made the Goods come high. That if the 6 Nations would allow liberty to go up the Western branch of Sasquehanagh with Boats & Canoes & build 2 or 3 houses in the Way for the safety of the Goods in their Passage up towards Pittsburg, the Goods might be got there at less Expence & so be more Cheap. This he said he intended to propose to their Uncles the 6 Nations.

He mentioned the complaint Tedyg had made agst the Proprietors of fraud respecting their Lands, that it was referred to the Great King George who had abpted Sr Wm Johnson to settle the Matter he had met abt two months Since it was settled & Tedyg had declared that he was mistaken in his charge of being defrauded, that the Proprietors had given him liberty when this matter was settled & the Proprietors Characters Cleared up to make them a present & that



he intended to make them a present, They having first declared that they had no Claim to any Lands, that if the Govr & Tedyg were Satisfied they were. King Beaver spoke to this Purpose.

Ted[yuscan]g declared himself Willing to sign a Release in the presence of these men, of the Lands he had Com-plaind about, On which the Govr seemed much pleased and Called him an honest man.

He likewise Addressed the Western Indns which am told was to Assure them of the falsity of the charge yesterday made by Tom King agst him.

This days Conference did not end pleasingly to many as it seemed manifest some would go great Lengths to Cover the Proprietors Conduct, & it was said that part of the money designed to be paid the Claimers of the Land was intended to be given to the Western Indns under a shew of a present from the pro[prieto]rs.

7th day In the morning accomp'd by several friends I went to see the Indians who had come the furthest distance at their Camp & invited them to the Room taken by the Friendly Association, and there Friends had Oppo[rtnity] of Conversing with them. They Expressed their Pleasure with seeing their Brethren & Joining in Friendship with them. Some Presents were made them with which they seemed pleased & parted Lovingly. There were five stout likely men, 3 of the Oayoktanou, and 2 of the Kehabou nation. The first were the most distant. In the afternoon 2 Tawaa's & One Twittwee Indians visited Frds at their Room & there happened to be 16 of the Minisink Indians there, among whom was their Chief, so that there was an Oppo[rtnity] to revive their Friendship, which they did. The Minisinks by a String Expressing their Joy at seeing their Grand Children & meeting with them in their Brothers House, which the others received & Replied that the words of their Grandfathers had entered their hearts and gave them much pleasure, being rejoiced to see them, that they should inform their great men when they got home & it would rejoyce them. A shirt was given to each of them, and they Immediately put them on their backs & seemed much pleased & Each of the Minisink Indians shook the distant Indians by the hand at parting.

On 1st day there was 2 Meetings in Friends Meetg house to which came several Indians, but Truth did not rise much in either. The Govr at the time of the first meeting delivered the Delaware Indians the present provided & part of the Pay for their Lands, as by agreement at the late Treaty at Eastown.

The present was delivered by the Govr in a more Satisfactory manner than was expected.

2d day Morning. Several Friends set out for Philadelphia. About noon the 6 Nation Indians through Tom King Spoke to the Govr & delivered several Belts & several strings of Wampum, By which they expressed their desire, & often repeated it, that the Govr would remove the soldiers from Shamokin, that as the Great King had directed the Govr to build Forts & the Govr only requested liberty to build one there during the Warr to defend themselves & the Indians & did not desire to settle the Land only for the purpose mentioned, but that as the Warr was now over & they were become Brethren & had but One heart & One head, they that there was now no occasion of the Soldiers there. That Soldiers were often unruly & their Warriors were unruly sometimes & when these met together, as that Fort was in their Road towards the southward when they went to Warr with the Cherokees (& if the soldiers were Continued there) there might some difference arise between the soldiers & their Warriors, that might give them both trouble & besides they now see that they begin to plant Corn & perhaps some of their men might pluck an Ear of Corn & some might Cut a stalk down & this might beget revenge & therefore as they desired to live in love they were willing Occasion of dispute might be taken away, tho' they desire the Trade with them might be Continued and an honest Man placed in the store & that they might have their goods on Moderate terms & be allowed a Good price for their Skins. Desired likewise that there might be several trading

houses set up & mentd whom they thot proper to be placed in them.

This Speech was dictated to them without doubt, as such persons were named by them to Conduct the business that had been makg Interest with them & thot by some no ways proper & this Speech Contradicted One made last year when they desired a trading ho[use] at Diahoga or thereabouts & now requested there might not be any between Shamokin & Harris's, that it appeared clear some had been at Work with them. They likewise desired that as their path in which they usually went thro' Virginia to Warr was now Settled, the Govr would request the Govr of Virg[inia] to let them pass quietly thro' His Country & tell his People to be kind to their Warriors, & to do this Speedily as their young Men wanted to go Soon to Warr agst the Cherokees. The other parts of the Speech was mostly Bold beging.

3d day, Brother Israel had an Oppo[rtnity] in the Forenoon with the Munsey's in which One Opened his Mind respecting some Uncasiness, he was told the matter would be enquired into & an answer given afterwards. In the Evening Friends had a meeting in the Courthouse designed Chiefly for the Indians, but few came to it. They being abundance in liquor & the Govr had business with some in the time of the Meeting.

4th day. I was at the Camp where the Western Indians pitched, with J. Stevenson & S. Hatton. She was desirous of taking leave of some that came the most distant. The Indians were many of them Drunk, but three of those distant Indians were there & sober. Susy expressed a few things to them & J. Stevenson appeared in Supplication. Susy Hatton & some other Friends left Lancaster this day. In the Evening a Great Warrior Called the Gaur of the Seneca Nation came with his wife to see my Brother & they had much Conversation, in which he clearly expressed his belief in the One Eternal God, tho' he said some bad people among them did not believe in the being of a God & perhaps there might be some such among the White People. That tho' they had no book that might Inform them of Jesus Christ's appearance on Earth, yet he believed what had been then told him of his appearance in the heart & gave great Testimony to this as a Reprover & Instructor.

He was told that many professed themselves to be Christians that were not so, for those that were true Christians loved one another & were desirous of promoting love. Brother had a large Stone Pipe wch he shewed the Warr[ior] & smoked in it & told him it had been a Cataba's & came from that Country that he had been once in the country where they lived, & hoped he would not like it the worse for being a Cataba's. And that we would have them love the Cherokees and Cataba's & endeavor to settle a peace, rather than Encourage their young Men to go to Warr. Much useful Conversation of this kind passed to which he Assented & wished this Conversation had happened before they made their speech to the Govr to get the Road Opened.

He offered to go with Brother into any part of the Country to promote peace.

He appeared to be a man of Great Spirit of very lively faculties & quick Apprehension, that this Evening was usefully & profitably spent.

Some little time before this (the same Afternoon) we went to see the Munsey's at Papuna's Tent. They Opened Some Matters that Gave them pain, to wit, that Some of their Young Men were not fully satisfied respecting the man who was killed last year, that another was uneasy about a horse that was taken from him.

5th day. J. Stevenson, W. B[rown] M. Yarnall and Wife went towards Philada. The Govr met with the Indians about 11 oClock & returned Answers to part of the Speech Made the first day I came here, in which he endeavored to fix blame on some that presumed to act in Affairs of Government & send Messages to the Indians (tho' there were none such) & gave Caution to the Indns to take Notice of none but what should come Signed by him & with the proper Seal &c. &c. By this

speech he shewed his Malevolence that it might Appear at a Distance as tho' there were such presumers.

When he came to that part which related to the Lands near Wyoming, which the Connecticut People Claim by right of Purchase from the Mohawks, the Govr informed them that they Insisted on their right to settle those Lands. On Repeating this Tom King stood up & said that he had been Charged with signing a Deed for those Lands by the Indians, but that it was not so & said he went to Connecticut Last Winter to see the Deed & if his name was to it & had brot from thence a Paper which he would show the Govr. He said those Lands were Stolen away from the Delawares, that they belonged to them. There appeared an intention to Evade minuting this, but it being insisted on, it was done, and the Indians agreed to enquire into this matter & give some Answer to the Govr before they proceeded to hear him further & the Conference broke up in the Midst of his Speech, before the Belt on which he had been speaking was gone thro'. This Revival of Asserting the Delaware's right seemed greatly to Nettle the Proprietors party.

6th day. The Govr proposed Meetg the Indians early this morning and the Indians were waiting, but were not met till abt the 11th Hour. Then he began with Condoling for the Death of the Indn killed last Year on his return from Easton treaty, having been informed through mistake of One the Indns who had been spoke to mention to the Govr respectg the Indn killed in the Jerseys about the same time as the other was killed & this was omitted & the other for wch these forms of Condolance was made last fall by I[saac] Z[jane] &c was revived wch gave the Indns some Surprise, as they afterwds expressed to Friends.

The Govr then proceeded by Informing the Indns that as the Interpreter was taken poorly yesterday he did not finish his speech, but now intended to go on with it & desired them to attend. It was expected that the Indians would have said something respecting the Affair of the Lands mentd yesterday & it was said they were prepared to do it, but the Govr shunned this & without proceeding on the speech, he broke off with, he dropped that & went on another matter & Informed the Indians that altho' there was a peace Concluded between the Indians & the English Yet a Hott Warr still Continued between the English & French & therefore he could not without the King's directions remove the soldiers & demolish the Forts. But he would give strict directions to the Commanding Officers to keep the Men in order. And with Respect to their desire that the present Agent shd be removed from Fort Augusta, he said that he had the Character of a very honest Man but that when he returned to Philada he would consult the Gentln there, who are app[ointe]d to manage the Trade & if there was any Cause of Complaint it shd be remedied (or to this purpose).

There had been endeavors used to put the Indns on this Complaint, for they afterwds expressed their Approb[atio]n of the Agent & said to some he must not go away. The Govr mentd that with respect to their request that the Goods might be sold Cheap to them & a good price Allowed for their Skins, that at present the Great distance of Land Carr[ia]ge was very expensive & made them unable to sell them for less than they did, that the province lost every Year Considerably by the Trade, but that if the Six Nations wd allow them to carry them up the Western branch of Sasquehannah & build store ho[use]s at suitable places for the security of the Goods in their passage he would send some persons to see the River & where the most Convenient Passages for Boats & could be made & by this means they might sell the Goods Cheaper, and Gave a Belt for the Six Nations' council to consider this matter. On Delivering it a noted Warrior of the Seneca Nation (named Cayendah or The Garr or Weesheal, wch signifies a Turn Key to shut the Door agst the Devil to prevent his hurting people) quickly laid hold of the Belt and stepped up on a Bench with great Earnestness delivered himself to the foll[owin]g purpose.

Bro[ther]: you desired of me or my Council to have a Road along the Water & desired liberty to Clear the Water

that Boats might go up. You long ago requested to have a Road to Allegheny and promised faithfully that when the French were drove over the Sea You would remove the Forts and we should live in Love. But you told a lie for you are making them stronger and stronger every day. You likewise desired another Road to Our Country (that By Winchester &c.). You requested likewise a Road to Fort Augusta. I am a head Warrior & tell the Governor that never shall be another Road, that I have the Care of the Lands & I will keep them for my young Men that are growing up.

Bror: if I should give you liberty of this Road you must have store houses to put your Goods in as you go up. Brethren it is all One as if you killed me, if I let you do it, because you will drive all the Game away as you go backward & forward, we shall have no hunting. Now you hear me speak. The Govr & all his great people are here present as well as the head Warriors & I tell you, you shall never have the Road as long as God looks upon the Earth. It shall not be Considered by us nor come into our Council. He re[turne]d the Belt to the Govr, much more was said for He continued his speech about a Quarter of an hour & all his Senecas seemed affected for it was with so much Earnestness & a General Assent seemed to be Given by the Indians present, That many seemed amazed while he was speaking. The Interpreter delivd to the Govr but a small part. What I have inserted I took down some evenings after from his Own Mouth & he was willing to have repeated the whole or as much as he Could recollect, but had been fatigued that day & it was late. To this Man's speech the Govr replied, that if it was an uneasiness to them he would say no more about it but dropped it. It had been the request of the Delawares, their cousins. Then in a more pleasant & mild tone he remarked that it was strange their Cousins shd make such a Request without first Acquainting them & having their approbation, that they had sold their Own Lands & what they had for sometime past lived on was only from their Allowance & it was therefore assuming in them to propose such a thing, but we had treated with the Delawares as Men Conversd with Women behind a Blanket & they were Women.

The Govr then desired they would not impute blame to their Cousins, that if he had said it was their proposal he was mistaken, for it proceeded from himself. Their Cousins having desired that the Goods might be sold them Cheap & he had proposed this for them to Consider, as the Carriage by Water would be less Expensive & so the Goods might be sold Cheaper, but he should think no more about it as it was disagreeable to them & so this Matter ended.

The Govr then informed them that he would send the Belt they gave him to the Govr of Maryland about their request of a trading ho[use] at Potomack, and that he would likewise send the Belt they had given with the request they made for a Passage thro' Virg[ini]a for their Warriors to the Govr of Virginia, but informed them that it was his mind they shd take the Old Path, the Back of the Mountains which was a shorter Way for their Warriors & more safe for the Country from Harris along to Virginia was now thickly inhabited & by their Warriors passing among them some differences might arise that would interrupt the peace now happily Established; and they agreed to take that Path. The Govr referred them to Colo Johnson for a Supply of Ammunition &c. for the Warriors & informed them that G: Croghan would have a store at Fort Bedford to supply the Warriors in their passage. He mentioned some other matters of not much moment. The speeches were long & hurried thro' both yesterday & today, that the Indians were much fatigued & seemed no ways likely to Comprehend what was delivered & it seemed more seasonable to have broke up but there seemed a determination to have no more publick meetings with them & therefore the Governor having a very Large Belt, Called a peace Belt provided, he spoke on it, tho' there were but few Indians remaining in Comparison of the number in Town & so the Conference broke up. The Govr informed the Indns that there were a large present of Goods provided for them and should be delivered. Some of the principal Indians met

the Govr this Evening at his Lodgings, in which they agreed to deliver up to him the Remaining Prisoners that were among them, there being 2 men here with them not d[elivered]d up in Form.

The Indians waited at the Govrs Quarters early this morning according to appointment, but it was late before they had an appo[intment] with him and they were Waiting all day in Expectation of having their present, but the Goods were not sorted for the different Tribes 'till it was late & so it was deferred 'till morning, and as Fr[ien]ds did not know how to proportion the present (of the well disposed Germans 'till a list of the publick present was produced & that did not appear 'till evening, Fr[ien]ds were obliged also to defer their business 'till morning.)

Some of the Frdly Germans with several frds went to the Camp of the Friendly Indians in order to Return some answer to the several matters ment[i]one[d] some days before on behalf of the Munsey's. One matter was spoke to & well made up & the Indn & James Erwin, Agent of the Province, shook hands as a token of Reconciliation. The Indn being pd for & was told his Goods was at the Fort ready to be delivered. The Indian who Complained of his horse being taken from him had no redress as it appeared he was wrong in not proceeding regularly as he was advised to, as if the case had happened between 2 white men.

Here we were Informed of the Mistake in the speech delivd yesterday of Condolance, and the man who came down on acct of the Jersey affair seemed well disposed & desirous that the matter might not be deferred but now made up & Bro: Israel engaged to Consult the Governor about it. The Unruly Indn who still appeared dissatisfied not being present, it was thot best to have him & the Garr (Seneca Warrior) together & let him talk to him. There were 100 Indns or upwards dined this day at the Room taken by the frds to entertain the Indians in. There was a long conversation with the Garr this Evening. See the paper.

1st day, 8th mo: 29. Morning early. Some Fr[ien]ds

were basily Employed in dividing the present for Each sort of Indians & this held till about 11 oClock when the different sets of Indians were Called to receive their Allotment of the Goods. The Seneca Warrior Attended & made a speech to them severally to Excite them to promote peace. (I was not present when he thus expressed himself but was so informed.)

I heard him mention to One of the fr[ien]dly Germans who was expressing his desire of having the Captives brot in, that he would use his Endeavors, that he had done all the damage & hurt he Could during the Warr, but that as God had now turned his heart he would exert himself as strongly for Peace. But he added he did not take up the Tomahawk until he had 2 of his Own Children, One Brother & a Cousin Killed & then he was Aroused. Bro: was particularly engaged & hurried this day. He settled & paid some of the Claimers of a tract of Land on Brandywine, as the Govr omitted to do but took the Rect on behalf of the proprietor. He got the Garr & the unruly Indian together & he promised to forget the affair some small present was made him. He passed the Forms of Condolance & sent a present to the Relations of the Man Killed in the Jerseys on behalf of the Govr of the Jersey, & told the Indian that the Good people of that province Condemned the Action of the Man being killed and were sorry for it, & hoped the Relations would bury their sorrow & never more remember it. Several other matters he was basily Employed in & then took his leave of Several Indians & the Garr parted with him particularly affectionately & on parting presented him with his pipe & said that when he used it he might perhaps think of him when he was a great distance off (meaning in a Religious Sense).

After Bro: was Gone I met with the Garr at PWs. He told me he felt lonesome & his heart was sore at parting with his Friend, but he was Glad I staid & we had some agreeable Conversation, in which he discovered great marks of the Kind Visitation of the Almighty to his Mind & at parting proposed to come next Morning to see me take horse, which he did about the time we mounted.

## *Glossary of Trade Terms\**

*Broad.* Broad as applied to textiles is defined as "woven wide; in width suitable for a dress fabric; as *broad silks, broad goods.*"

*Calico.* Cotton cloth imported from the East. 1578.

*Camblet.* (Variant of Camlet): A name originally used for a costly Eastern fabric, subsequently for substitutes, made of various combinations of wool, silk, hair, and latterly cotton or linen. As, a garment of camlet.

*Duffels.* (From Duffel, a town near Antwerp.) A coarse woolen cloth having a thick nap or frieze. 1677.

*Frieze Coats.* Coats made of frieze. Frieze: a kind of coarse woolen cloth with a shaggy or tufted (friezed) pile on one side.

*Leaf.* Weaving. Leaves of heddles: all the heddles connected by the same two shafts of wood. Twill of three, four, etc., leaves; twill woven upon three, four, etc., leaves of heddles; as, eight-leaf twill. 1831. Also used as a tailoring term to designate "the outside folded part of a collar" and in hat manufacture to refer to "a hat brim."

*Lungee.* (Variant of lungi): A long cloth worn as a scarf, loin cloth, turban, etc.

*Matchcoat.* A kind of mantle worn by American Indians, originally made of fur, later, of coarse woolen cloth called matchcloth.

*Mazarine Blue.* A deep rich blue. 1686. A stuff or garment of this color. 1694.

*Morris bells.* One of the small metal bells attached to the clothing of morris-dancers. 1560.

*Narrow Scotch.* Narrow as used for textiles: woven in width suitable for ribbons, neckties; as, narrow cloth. Scotch for Scotch cloth; formerly, a cheap textile fabric like lawn.

*Nonsofpretties.* A kind of decorative braid or tape used in the late eighteenth century.

\*These definitions were drawn from such standard dictionaries as the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* and *Webster's New International Dictionary*.

*Stroud*. A blanket manufactured for barter or sale in trading with the North American Indian. The material of which these blankets were made. 1751.

*Superfine*. Consisting of very fine particles or threads.

*Turkey*. Turkey red: a brilliant and permanent red color produced on cotton goods.

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# Map of the INDIAN TREATIES, 1736~1762

MADE BETWEEN the Six Nations of the *IROQUOIS CONFEDERATION* (with tributary nations) AND the *PROVINCE of PENNSYLVANIA* (with some other English Colonies) .

Showing the countries of the *SIX NATIONS~MOHAWK, ONEIDA, ONONDAGA, CAYUGA, SENECA and TUSCARORA* — and the shifting territories of their allies and enemies.

Showing the principal Indian towns and trails and the forts built by the English and French, particularly in Pennsylvania; the celebrated Walking Purchase of 1762; and the homes of James Logan, Shikellamy (vice-regent of the Six Nations), Conrad Weiser, George Croghan, Sir William Johnson and the three residences of Thomas Cresap.

With a picture of a treaty session newly drawn from Thomas Hutchins' original of 1765.

By Margaret Van Doren ~1938

